THE HISTORIE OF TVVELVE CÆSARS, EMPEROVRS OF ROME:

12620

VVRITTEN IN LATINE BY C. Suetonius Tranquillus, and newly translated *into Englisſh, by* Philêmon Holland, Doctor in Phyſicke.

Together with a Marginall Gloſſe, and other briefe Annotations there-upon.



LONDON,
Printed for *Matthew Lownes*.
1606.

648.4 L6 D#1
+ref 923.137
+ref 937
cards
2799

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND VERTVOVS LADIE, THE LADIE HARINGTON.

MADAME, the late peſtilence in Couentrie, which occaſioned my tranſlation &c. of this Hiſtorie, moued me alſo, in part, to addreſſe the ſame vnto your Honour.

For being altogether reſtrained then, from free practiſe of my profeſſion abroad, & no leſſe impatient of idleneſſe at home, I could not readily thinke of a better courſe to ſpend that vacation, than in an Argument having a reference to mine old Grammaticall Muſes, and according, in ſome ſort, with my latter ſtudies in Phyſick. What howres therfore, either the doubtful or diſeaſed eſtate of my neighbours, together with the meditations of mine owne mortalitie would afford, I employed gladly in the ſaid Subiect.

Againe, for as much as the ſelfe ſame cauſe debarred me from acceſſe vnto your houſe at Combe (a dutie that otherwiſe the vicinitie of our aboad did require) I fully reſolued at the finiſhing of thoſe my Sedentary labours, to preſet the ſame to your view: therby to ſheild my ſelfe (whom it pleaſed you beforetime to grace with kind entertainmēt) from the iuſt imputation of rude negligence in that behalfe. But now, ſince the ſame citie ſo dangerous the yeare before, is become a retyring place of ſafety for your Houſhold, & hath to mee alreadie yeelded fit opportunitie to excuſe my former abſence perſonally by word of mouth, I haue preſumed nevertheles to dedicate the ſame vnto your Honour, as a token of my thankefulneſſe for your bounteous favour, farre aboue the proportion of my

deserts, and an earnest penny of that propense minde, which I carie to honour your name, in the best maner I could deuise.

And verily calling to my remembrance how courteously you have vouchsafed heretofore to accept even at second hand my trauailes in this kinde, and with good words testified oftentimes the contentment you receiued therin, I had no reason to doubt the like acceptance of that which out of a loving and deuote heart I offer first unto your selfe.

Lastly, when I consider, how together with sincere pietie, rare wisdome, and other eminent vertues, there is seated in your person a singular affection to aduance good literature, with an extraordinarie respect of learned men, I knew no means out of my small fortunes to do you greater honour, than by entituling you as Patronesse of that, which may benefit young Scholers, my countrimen, that would be learned: to giue knowledge unto the word, that all the profit or pleasure whatsoeuer, which shall grow unto them, from these endeavours of mine, are derived immediatly from you and for your sake bestowed upon them.

These motives, right Honorable, as well of my first enterprise, as of chusing your Patronage, if it please you to approue, (the onely thing that I humbly crave at your hand for this present) I shall not only thinke my pains well taken and choise as well made: prising your acceptance to the worth of a competent guerdon: but also continue my hearty prayers unto the Almightie for your perfect health, proceeding in a vertuous course of life, with increase of true Honour here upon earth, and after the revolution of many new yeares, for eternall happinesse in the highest Heaven.

Your Honours most readie at command,
Philemon Holland.

To the Readers.

THAT yee may with better contentment reade these Historicall reports of the twelve first CEASARS, which SVETONIVS hath delivered most truely, compiled as compendiously, and digested right methodically; I have thought it good with some few advertisments præmised, to commend the same unto you.

First therefore, whereas by the iudgement of the best learned, and the Analogie of other Histories, hee seemeth to affect nothing so much as uncorrupt & plaine trueth, (the principall vertue of an Historiographer) forbearing to meddle with those * Emperours in whose daies he flourished; because he would not thrust himselfe into danger by revealing, nor betray the libertie of a writer in concealing the faults; much lesse incurre the note of Flatterie, extolling above measure the good parts of Princes then living; and to that purpose penned their lives, who were lately deceased, as one said very well, *eadem libertate qua ipsi vixerunt*: if happlie in prosecuting of this point, he hath recorded ought that may be offensive to chast and modest mindes, yee shal do well to glaunce over with your eye such places lightly, as I with my pen touched vnwillingly.

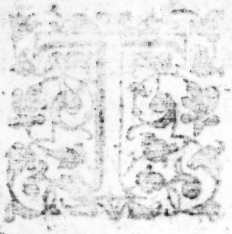
* Nerva, Traianus and Hadrianus whose secretarie he was.

Secondly, for asmuch as he continueth in generall the Narrations of the said Princes, from before their Nativitie unto their Death & Funerals: and in the severall discourses, of their ages, affaires, vertues, vices, feature & lineaments of bodie, first, after an uniform maner, proposeth throughout certain heads summarily, and then exemplyfieth the same in due order by perticulers (a most lightsome method and way of teaching) keeping him selfe still to the Subiect matter, without any digressions at all: my advise is, that for your more expedite course in reading the whole, yee direct your minde thereunto. Now, for that his IVLIVS CEASAR sorteth not with the rest, but appeareth ἀνεπίγραφος as whose auncestours, birth, childhoode, &c. be not set downe; (which maime I impute rather to the iniurie of time, than unto the purpose or oversight of the Authour) I have in some sort supplyed that defect, with the labours of LEVVIS VIVES, TORRENTIVS and others, which I finde præfixed in the last and best Editions.

Thirdly, considering that brevitie is many times the mother of Obscuritie, may it please those among you, who are not so conuersant in such concise writings, as admit not one word superfluous, to have recourse, for the clearing of some doubts unto the margin, as also to those briefe Annotations, which for their sakes, out of mine owne readings, together with the select observations of BEROALDVS, SABELLICVS, TORRENTIVS, and CASAVBONVS I have collected. Which also will ease them of many difficulties that his succinct style and termes, not elswhere obvious, interlaced, may otherwise breed.

Finally, if there happen to occur some Etrata, that might escape either my pen in writing, or the ordinarie diligẽce of meane Correctors in the printing, ye will of your iudicious candour, I hope, either passe them over with connivency, if they be literall, or else taxe with some easie censure in case they bee materiall: So long as for your full satisfaction, ye may with small paines before yee begin either to read or iudge, correct what is amisse, according to the Examen and Review annexed to the end of all.

Farewell.



A SVPPLEMENT TO THE BEGINN NG OF C. IVLIVS CEASAR DICTATOR.

THE Ivlian *linage, as moſt men are perſwaded, is deſcended from* Aſcanius Iülus, *the ſonne of* Aeneas *by* Creuſa: *which* Iülus, *after he had left* Lavinium, *built long* Alba: *wherein alſo he reigned. Others, grounding upon a more aſſured evidence, have thought it good to derive the ſame rather from* Iülus *the ſon of* Aſcanius. *For when after the death of (this)* Aſcanius, *the Kingdome of the Latines was devolved* againe upon* Sylvius *the ſonne of* Aeneas *and* Lavinia, *the charge of Religion & ſacred ceremonies of the Latin and Troian Nation both, remained yet ſtill in the race and progenie of* Iülus: *out of which are ſprung the Iulij. Theſe (Iulij) with certaine other moſt noble families of* Latium, Tüllus Hoſtilius *King of the Romanes, after he had raſed* Alba, *tranſlated to Rome, and raunged among the Nobilitie. Late it was, ere they roſe and mounted to high place of Magiſtracie; but were reckoned almoſt in the laſt ranke of the Patritians of auncient Nobilitie: & of them, the* Iüli *bare the principall name. For* C. Iulius, *(ſonne of* Lucius) *ſurnamed alſo* Iülus, *was Conſull together with* P. Pinarius Mamercinus Rufus, *in the yeare after the foundation of* Rome *citie* 264. And* ſeaven yeeres after,* his ſonne, with* Q. Fabius Vibulanus *(Conſull) the ſecond time. Againe, ſome ſpace of time comming betweene,* Vopiſcus Iulius, *ſonne of* Caius *and Nephew of* Lucius, *bare the Conſulſhippe with* L. Aemilius * Mamercinus *third time Conſull, in the yeere* 280. I finde likewiſe, that in the yeere* 302.* Caius Iulius, *ſonne of* Caius, *and nephew of* Lucius, *was a decemvir for the enacting and penning of Lawes, and that in the former Election of that Magiſtracie: as alſo, that* Caius Iulius *ſonne of* Caius *and Nephew of* Caius, *became Conſull with* Marcus Geganius Macerinus, *in the yeare* 306. and the ſelfe ſame man a ſecond time, with* Lucius Verginius Triroſtus *in the yeere* 318: and immediately in the * yeere next following, a third time, with the ſame* Verginius *now twice Conſull. And thus much for the* Iüli. *For to reherſe and collect all them of that familie, together with the honorable places of everie one, which were many in number, and of ſundry kindes; is not our purpoſe: and beſides, the thing it ſelfe is apparent and upon record in the publick Regiſters.*

Moreover, I have obſerved in the Iulian *line, a certaine houſe alſo of the* Mentones: *and among them, one* Caius Iulius, *colleague in the Conſulſhippe with* T. Quintus Pennus Cincinnatus, *in the 322. yeere after the foundation of the citie. I finde likewiſe,* Caius Iulius Denter *to be maſter of the Horſemen, when* Caius Claudius Craſſus Sabinus Regillenſis *was Dictator, for to hold their ſolemne aſſembly of Election, in the yeare 405. There were beſides of theſe Iulij, others going under the name of* Libones: *and of the ſame race one triumphed; to wit,* Lucius Iulius, *ſonne of* Lucius *and nephew of* Lucius; *companion in the Conſulate which* Marcus Attilius Regulus, *in the yeere* 486. But, as touching* Caius Iulius *ſonne of* Lucius, *and ſurnamed* Cæſar Strabo, *whom* Suetonius *alſo ment in the 55. chapter of* Iulius Cæſar, *and* Cicero *praiſeth in his* Brutus, *and in the ſecond booke of his Oratour, I doubt, whether this addition (Strabo,) ſhould not be taken as a by-name. For otherwiſe there is in our hands a peece of ſilver coine, with the inſcription of* Lucius Iulius, *ſonne of* Lucius, *and ſurnamed* Strabo. *The Epigramme of the former is extant among the Antiquities of* Rome *citie, in this maner.*

C. Iulius, L. F. Cæſar Strabo, AEd. Cur. Q. Trib. Mil. Bis
XVIR. AGR. Dand. AD TR. IVD. Pontif.

To conclude, I have met with writers, who reckoned alſo among the Iulij, certaine Annales: which, for mine owne part verily, I could never yet light upon, in ſearching the Records & Chronicles. But in the eight booke of the Familiar Epiſtles (of* Cicero) *and namely in the ſeaventh letter there, of* M. Cæliu s *unto* Cicero, *there is mention made among others, of one* L. Iulius, *ſonne of* Lucius, **Pomp. Annalis: where the writing (as I ſuppoſe) is not very certaine and*

* or returned unto

* or rather 265, according to the Chronologie annexed unto Titus Livius.

* By the computation of Dionyſius, T. Livius, Caſſiodorus & others.

* C. Iulius, or Iülus.

* al. Mamercus

* or 281, after the Chronologie and for eſaid of Dionyſius.

* more truly 303

* 307, by Livius accompt.

* 319.

320.

487

* So ſurnamed,

* Haply Pomptina, of the tribe Pomptina.

cleerely acknowledge. For beſides that the better corrected Copies call him Villius, (for Iulius) Liuie alſo hath expreſly & plainely written in his fortieth booke, that one Lucius Villius a Tribune of the Commons, made a Law which prouided and ordained, in what yeere of mens age they might ſue for everie kinde of Magiſtracie, and be capable thereof. Whereupon, unto that familie was giuen this ſurname, to be called Annales. Thus farre Liuius. Hereunto may be added this moreouer; that the Kinred Iulia, is reckoned in the Tribe Fabia (and not Pomptina), as we have noted in the fortieth chapter of Auguſtus. I am of opinion therefore, that ſafer it is to account the Annales among the Villii, and not the Iulii. But thus much hereof, by the way, and as it were paſſing by; Now proceede we to the reſt.

In the linage Iulia then, there was a familie alſo of the Cæſars. But what the reaſon ſhould be of that ſurname, it is not certainely knowne; no more, than who he was, that firſt bare the ſaide ſurname. For, before Cæſar the Dictator, and his father and grandfather, there were Iulii named Cæſares. As for example; He, who (as Liuie witneſſeth in his 27. booke) was in the ſecond Punick warre ſent from the Senate to Crispinus the Conſul, about the nomination of a Dictatour. As for the terme Cæſares, thoſe uſually the Romane tongue ſurnamed ſo, who were borne, either by ripping their mothers wombes, or with a * buſh of haire growing on their heads, or elſe grey-eied. Some adde moreouer the tale of an Elephant ſlaine in Africk, which the inhabitants there call Cæſar: and vpon that verie cauſe, this ſurname firſt befell unto Cæſar the Dictatours Grandſire. But Spartianus and Servius, the Authors hereof, are of the meaneſt credite and authoritie. For not his progeny alone, of all the Iulii, had this ſurname, but many others beſides of his houſe and kinred, both long before and alſo together with him.

* Cæſo matris utero.
* cum caſarie
* Oculis Cæſijs.

Conſuls before Iulius Cæſar the Dictator, there were, Sext. Iulius, ſonne of Caius, nephew of Lucius, together with Lucius Aurelius Oreſtes, in the yeere after the foundation of Rome * 596: Alſo Sext. Iulius ſonne of Caius, nephew of Sext, was colleague with L. Marcius Philippus in the beginning of the Sociall warre in the yeare after the cities foundation * 662. and in the next yeere after, Lucius Iulius ſonne of Lucius, and Nephew of Lucius, bare the Conſulate with Pub. Rutilius Lupus. Neither before theſe, were anie of the Cæſars renowmed or aduanced to the higheſt Office * of State. Many yeeres after, out of the ſame familie, Lucius Cæſar, ſon of Sextus and * coſin Germane to that C. Iulius Cæſar, who begat the Dictatour, and attained only to the Preturſhip, who alſo died at Piſæ without any evident ſickneſſe, euen as he did his ſhoes on in a morning, that L. Cæſar I ſay, came to be Conſull.

* 597. after the aboueſaid Chronologie.
* 663. • Conſulſhip.
Frater patruelis.

Well, Cæſar the Dictator was borne at Rome (when Caius Marcius and Lucius Valerius Flaccus were Conſuls) vpon the fourth day before the Ides of Quintilis, which moneth after his death, was by vertue of the Lawe Antonia called for that cauſe, Iulie. His bringing up hee had vvith his mother Aurelia, daughter of Caius Cotta, and his aunt by the fathers ſide Iulia, the vvife of Marius. Whereupon grevv the love that he tooke (a Patritian though he vvere) to the Plebeian Faction; and the hatred he bare to Sulla. The Greeke and Latine tongue, the precepts alſo and rules of Oratorie, he learned of M. Antonius Gnipho, a Frenchman borne. Who being of an excellent vvit and ſingular memorie, courteous beſides in his behauiour, and of a kinde & gentle nature, taught the Greek and Latine, Grammer, & Rhetorick vvithal. firſt in the houſe of Caius Cæſar his father; aftervvards in his ovvne; and got much thereby; ſuch vvas the bountie of his ſcholars; conſidering that hee never compounded vvith them for any vvages or revvard. Novv, vvas this Cæſar vvonderous docible and apt to learne, yea and framed naturally for eloquence.

His Latine ſpeech vvas trimly garniſhed, (th ough Domeſticall acquaintance) by his mother Aurelia, a vvoman that ſpake the Romane tongue purely and elegantly: like as the Muciæ, Læliæ, Corneliæ, and other right honorable Dames did, in vvhoſe families there aroſe Orateurs of great name.

THE HISTORIE OF Caius Iulius Ceſar Dictator,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



CHAP. I.

ÆSAR in the ſixteenth yeare of his age, loſt his (*a*) Father: and in the * yeare following, being elected (*b*) *Flamen Dialis*, he caſt off COSSVTIA (a Gentlewoman borne but very wealthie) affianced unto him during his childhood; and eſpouſed CORNELIA the daughter of CINNA foure times Conſul: who bare vnto him ſoone after, his daughter IVLIA: neither could he by any meanes be forced by SVLLA the Dictatour, to (*c*) put her away: Whereupon, deprived of his ſacerdotall dignitie, looſing the dowrie in the right of his wife, and forfeiting all his heritages (*d*) deſcended unto him from his linage and name, hee was reputed one of the * contrarie Faction: In ſo much as he was conſtrain'd to * hide his head; and (albeit the quartaine Ague hung ſore upon him) to change almoſt every night his ſtarting holes wherein hee lurked; yea, and to redeeme himſelfe with a (*e*) peece of money out of the Inquiſitours hands that made ſearch for him: untill ſuch time, as by the mediation of the religious

A.V.C. 670.

* *Sequentibus Conſſ.* For at *Rome* they reckoned the yeares according to their Conſuls: whoſe office ordinarily continued one yeare, and began with the yeare, upon the firſt day of Ianuarie.

* Or Diuorſe.

* Of *Marius*.

* To flie into the Sabines Countrie.

ligious (*f*) veſtall virgines, by the meanes alſo of MAMERCVS AEMILIVS and AVRELIVS COTTA, his neere * kinsfolke and allied vnto him, hee obtained pardon. Certaine it is, that SVLLA, when he had denied a good while the requeſt of thoſe right worſnipfull perſons, and his ſingular good friends intreating in his behalfe, and yet they perſiſted earneſt ſuiters ſtill for him, being thus importuned and at length overcome, brake forth aloud into theſe words, either in a Diuine preſcience, or ſome pregnant coniecture, Goe to (quoth hee) my Mrs: Take him to you, ſince yee will needes have it ſo: but know this withall, that he whoſe life and ſafety yee ſo much deſire, will one day be the overthrow of the Nobles, whoſe ſide yee have maintained with mee: For in this CÆSAR there be many MARII.

* For *Aurelia* was his mother.

2. THE firſt time that CÆSAR ſerved in the Warres, was in *Aſia*, and that in the (*a*) domeſticall retinue of * M. THERMVS the Pretour: By whom being ſent into *Bithynia* for to levie a Fleet, he made his aboade with K. NICOMEDES: not without a foule rumour raiſed, that he proſtituted his bodie to be abuſed by the King: which rumour he augmented himſelfe, by comming againe into *Bithynia* within fewe dayes, vnder a colour of calling for certaine money, which ſhould be due to a (*b*) Libertine and (*c*) Client of his. The reſt of his ſoulderie he caried with better fame and reputation: and at the winning of MITYLENÆ, THERMVS honored him with a (*d*) Civike guirland.

* *M. Minutius Thermus.*

3. HE was a Souldiour alſo, vnder SERVILIVS ISAVRICVS in *Cilicia*, but it was not long: For vpon certaine intelligence given of SVLLA his death, and the hope withall of the new diſſention that was ſtirred & ſet on foote by M. (*a*) LEPIDVS, he returned in all haſt to *Rome*. And notwithſtanding hee was mightily ſolicited by many large offers and faire promiſes, yet forbare he to ioyne in ſocietie with LEPIDVS, partly diſtruſting his * nature, and in part doubting the preſent oportunitie, which he found nothing anſwerable to his expectation.

A.V.C. 676.

* Surnamed ſo of the people in Cilicia named *Iſauri*, whom he ſubdued.

* So variable and indiſcreet.

4. HOVVBEIT when that ciuill diſcord and ſedition was (*a*) appeaſed, hee judicially accuſed for * extortion CORNELIVS DOLOBELLA, a man who had beene Conſull, and triumphed. But ſeeing that the Defendant was found vnguiltie and acquit, hee determined to retire himſelfe vnto the Citie of *Rhodes*, as well to decline the * hatred of the world, as by occaſion of that leaſure and repoſe to learne the Art of Oratorie vnder APOLLONIVS * MOLON a moſt renowmed Rhetorician in thoſe daies. As he croſſed the Seas thitherward * (being now Winter time) his fortune was about the Iſle *Pharmacuſa* to be taken by Rovers, and with them he remained in cuſtodie (not without * exceeding indignation) for the ſpace well neere of xl. dayes, accompanied with one * Phyſician and two Groomes of his chamber. For, * his * companions and the reſt of his ſervants belonging to his traine, he had ſent * away immediatly at the very firſt, to procure him money with all ſpeed for his ranſome. After this, upon the payment vnto them of L. talents being ſet a ſhoare, he delayed no time, but preſently put his Fleet to Sea againe, embarked, and never gave over purſuing the ſaid Pirates, vntill he had over-taken them: and no ſooner were they within his power, but as hee often times had threatned in mirth, hee put them all to death. Now whiles MITHRIDATES waſted the Countries next adjoyning, becauſe he would not be thought to ſit ſtill & doo nothing in this dangerous & doubtful ſtate of confederate Nations and Allies to the Romaines, he left *Rhodes* whether he

* Whiles hee gouerned his Prouince.

* For calling into queſtion ſo honorable a perſon.

* *Moloni*, not *Molonis*, as *Plutarch* taketh it, that is, the ſon of *Molon*.

* *Hibernis menſibus*, that is, In the Winter moneths which were Decemb; Ianuar. Febr:

* Some reade *dignatione* in a divers ſenſe.

* *Medico, vel amico*, that is, a friend.

* Or the reſt of his companions & ſeruants.

* To the Cities of Aſia, a Province adioyning.

he had directly bent his course, gathered a power of Auxiliarie Souldiers, expelled the Governour under the King out of the Province, and so kept the Cities and States in their alleageance, which were wavering and at the point to revolt.

5. In his Militarie (a) tribuneship, which was the first dignitie after his returne to *Rome*, that befell vnto him by the voyces and election of the people, hee assisted with all his might * those Patrones of the Commons, who stoode out for the restitution of their Tribunes authoritie; the force and strength whereof Svlla had abated. Hee effected moreouer thus much, by vertue of an Act proposed by * Plotivs, that L. Cinna his wiues brother, that they, who together with him in the time of the ciuill discord aboue-saide, tooke part with Lepidvs, and after the * Consuls death, fled vnto *Sertorius*, might returne safely into the Citie, and enjoy their freedome. As touching which matter, himselfe made an Oration before the body of the people.

* C. Cotta, M. Crassus, & Cn. Pompeius: who were the chiefe.
* A Tribune of the Commons.
* Lepidus.

6. Being * Questour hee made as the auncient manner was Funerall Orations out of the publique Pulpit called *Rostra*, in the praise of Ivlia his Aunt by the Fathers side, and of his wife Cornelia, both late deceased. And in the commendation verily of his said Aunt, speaking of the pedigree and descent by both sides, namely of her selfe, and also of her Father, hee maketh report in these termes: *Mine Aunt* Ivlia (quoth he) *by her Mother is lineally descended from Kings, and by her Father united with the race of the immortall Gods: For, from* Ancus Marcius *are derived the* Marcij *surnamed* Reges, id est. *Kings, which name my Mother was stiled with: and from* Venvs *the* Ivlii *draw their originall, of which house and name is our familie. So then, in this stock there concur and meete together, as well the sanctitie and sacred Maiestie of Kings, who among men are most powerfull, as the religious Ceremonies and seruice of the Gods, in whose power Kings themselues are.* In the place of Cornelia departed, hee wedded Pompeia, daughter of Q. Pompeivs, and Neece to L. Svlla. But her afterward hee divorced, suspecting that she had beene naught with P. Clodivs, of whom there went so constant a report abroade, how at the celebration of certaine publique Divine ceremonies, he being disguised in womans aparel had accesse secretly unto her, that the Senate by Decree directed a Commission to Iustices Inquisitours, for to sit upon the pollution of those sacred Rites and * Misteries.

* Treasurer.
* Of the Goddesse *Bona*: which were celebrated in Cæsars house, being the Pontifex.

7. During his Questureship, it fell unto him by lot to execute his Office in the * farther Province of *Spaine*: where, when as by the commaundement of the * Lord Prætour, he rode his circuit to keepe the * Assises, and came to *Gades*, beholding advisedly the Image or pourtracture of K. Alexander the Great in the Temple of Hercvles there: at the sight thereof hee fetched a deepe sigh, yea, and as one displeased and yrked with his owne sloathfulnes, in that hee had performed yet no memorable Act at those * yeeres, wherein Alexander had conquered the whole world, hee presently made earnest suite for his discharge and licence to depart, thereby to take the first oportunitie of all occasions to compasse greater enterprizes at home within the Citie: and being moreover much disquieted and dismayed with a dreame the night before (for he imagined in his sleepe that he had carnall company with his owne Mother) the Divinours and Wizards incited him to the hopes of most glorious atchievements, making this exposition of his dreame, that thereby was portended unto him the Sove-

A.V.C. 687.
* Called Bætica.
* *Antistius Vetus.*
* In head shire Townes which were called *Conventus. Plin.*
* That is, 33. C. *Philip.* 3.

raignty of the whole world, considering that his Mother whom hee saw under him betokened nought else but the subjection of the earth, which is counted the Mother of all things.

8. DEPARTING therefore thence before his time was fully expired, hee went unto the (a) Latine Colonies, which were now devising and in counsell to sue for the freedome of the Citie of *Rome*, and no doubt had solicited and excited them to attempt some tumult and trouble in the State, but that the Consuls for the avoiding of this very danger, kept back the Legions for a while which were enrolled for to be sent into *Cilicia*.

9. A.V.C. 688. AND yet for all that, soone after he projected greater designes within the Citie. For, not many daies before he entred upon his Aedileship, suspected he was to have conspired with M. CRASSVS (* a man of Consular degree) with P. SVLLA likewise and * P. ANTRONIVS, (who after they were Consuls elect stoode condemned for suing indirectly and by corruption for that place) to set upon the body of the Senate in the beginning of their yeare; and that after they had massacred whom it pleased them, M. CRASSVS should usurpe the Dictatourship; himselfe be chosen by him Maister of the Horsemen: and so when they had setled the State at their pleasure, SVLLA and ANTRONIVS should be restored againe unto their Consulship. Of this conspiracie, TANVSIVS GEMINVS maketh mention in his Storie, M. BIBVLVS in his Edicts, and C. CVRIO the Father in his Orations. CICERO likewise seemeth to signifie as much in a certaine Epistle unto AXIVS wherein hee reporteth that CÆSAR established in his Consulship that Kingdome and roiall government, which he plotted and thought upon when hee was Aedile. TANVSIVS writeth farther, that CRASSVS either repenting himselfe, or else upon feare, was not present nor kept the day appointed for the said massacre: and therefore CÆSAR neither gave that signall which by agreement hee should have given. Now agreed it was as CVRIO saith, that he should let his gowne fall from his shoulders. The same CVRIO yea and M. ARTORIVS NASO doo write, that he conspired also with CN. PISO a noble young Gentleman, who being in suspition for a conspiracie within the Citie, had the Province of *Spaine* extraordinarily and without his owne suite bestowed upon him: and complotted it was, that both hee in forraine parts abroade and himselfe also at *Rome* should at once make an insurrection for to alter the State; and that, by the occasion and meanes of the * Lambranes and inhabitants beyond the Po. That is, But the designement both of the one and the other was defeated and frustrate by reason of PISO his death.

* That had been Consul.
* Or L. rather.
* So called of a riuer, neere into which they dwelt beyond the Po.
* Who was slaine by Spanish Horsemen, of whom hee had the conduct.

10 A.V.C. 689. WHEN he was Aedile, besides the (a) *Comitium*, the Market-place, and statelie Halls of Iustice, hee beautified the Capitoll also with faire open Galleries built for the present occasion to stand onely during the publique shewes and plaies: wherein if the number of Images, Statues, and painted Tables fell out to be greater than was needefull, part of that furniture and provision might be set forth to the view of all men. As for the chasing and baiting of wilde beasts, the Stage plaies & solemne sights, he exhibited thē both jointly with his cōpanion in Office, and also severally by himselfe. Whereby it came to passe, that howsoever the charges of these Solemnities were borne in commune by them both, yet he alone went away with all the honour and thanke thereof: Neither did M. BIBVLVS his Colleague dissimule the matter, but utter as much, when

he

he ſaid that the ſame befell unto him which unto POLLVX: For like as (quoth he) the Temple erected in the Common Market place of *Rome* unto * both the Twin-brethren, beareth the name of CASTOR alone: even ſo my munificence in expence and CÆSARS together in ſetting out theſe games and plaies, goeth under the name of CÆSAR onely. CÆSAR over and above, did exhibite another ſhew of Sword-fight even at the ſharpe: but hee brought into the place * fewer couples of champions by a good many than he purpoſed: For, buying up (as he did) ſuch a ſort of Fencers from all parts out of every Schoole, and putting his adverſaries of the other faction in great affright thereby, hee gave occaſion unto the State to provide by a ſpeciall Act in that behalfe, For a certaine ſet number of Sworde-plaiers, above which no man might retaine anie at *Rome*.

* *Geminis fratribus*, that is, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, who commonly be called *Gemini fratres*.

* And yet hee exhibited 320. paire, as *Plutarch* writeth.

* That hee might governe it and place the King againe in his roiall Seate.

11 THUS when he had gained the harts & favour of the people, he gave the attempt by ſome of the * Tribunes, and ſued to have the Province of *Ægypt* by an Act of the Commons conferred upon him: taking occaſion to make ſuite for this extraordinarie Governement, For that the *Alexandrianes* had driven their * King out of his Roialme, whom the Senate had ſtyled with the title of Allie and Friend, An Act of theirs generally miſliked. Howbeit hee could not carie it, by reaſon that the faction of the Nobles croſſed him. Whoſe authoritie becauſe hee would by way of quittance infringe and impaire by all meanes poſſible; the Tropæes and victorious Monuments of C. MARIVS for ſubduing K. IVGVRTHA, the *Cimbrians* and the *Teutons*, which before time had beene demoliſhed * and caſt downe by SVLLA, he erected and ſet up againe: * Alſo in ſitting upon a Commiſſion for the examination of * murderers, hee reckoned thoſe in the number of them, who in the time of the Proſcription, had received money out of the publique Treaſurie for bringing in (*a*) the heads of Romaine Citizens, notwithſtanding they were excepted by vertue of the Lawes * CORNELIÆ.

* *Ptolomeus Auletes* the Father of *Cleopatra*, who many yeares after by *Gabinius* was reſtored to his Kingdome. A.V.C. 690.

* As *Torrentius* ſaith.

* This is by the figure *Prolepſis* to be underſtood of *Cæſar* when hee was Prætour of the Citie: as who favoured the Faction of *Marius* both then and before, howſoever it may ſeem that *Suetonius* ſpeaketh this of him being Ædile, or preſently after his Aedileſhip: which by *Torrentius* leave, may well ſtand with the truth.

12 MOREOVER, he ſuborned one (*a*) and ſet him on, to endite C. RABIRIVS of high treaſon, by whoſe helpe eſpecially ſome yeares before the Senate had repreſſed and reſtrained the ſeditious Tribuneſhip of L. SATVRNINVS: and being by lot choſen a * Iudge Delegate to paſſe ſentence of the priſoner, ſo willing he was to condemne him, that when RABIRIVS appealed unto the people, nothing did him ſo much good as the rigour of the * Iudge.

* In place of the Pretor.

13 HAVING laied a ſide all hope of the foreſaid * Province, he ſtood to be the Higheſt Prieſt, not without exceſſive and moſt laviſh largeſſe. Wherein, conſidering how deepely hee engaged himſelfe in debt, the ſame morning that hee was to goe unto the aſſemblie for the Election, when his Mother * kiſſed him he told her (by report) afore-hand, that he would never returne home but *Pontife*. And ſo farre overweighed he (*a*) two moſt mightie Competitours, who otherwiſe for age and dignitie much outwent him, that in their owne Tribes hee alone caried more voices, than both of them in all * throughout.

* *Cæſar*. A.V.C. 691.

* That is, *Egipt* and the reſtoring of the king afore ſaid.

* Which were 35.

14 BEING * created Pretour, when as the Conſpiracie of CATILINE was detected, and all the Senate generally awarded no lighter puniſhment than * death, for as many as were parties and acceſſarie in that Action; hee onely gave his ſentence, That their goods ſhould be confiſcate, and themſelves put into ſeverall

* But not entred yet into the Office.

* *Vltimum ſupplicium.*

verall free Cities and Burrowghes under the people of *Rome*, and there to bee kept in ward: and furthermore hee put them in so great a fright that gave sharper censure (intimating eft-soones and setting before their eyes the exceeding great hatred of the *Romaine* Communaltie, which in time to come they should incurre) that DECIMVS SILANVS Consul elect was not abashed nor unwilling to mollifie his owne * award, with a gentle exposition (because it had been a shame to alter it and eate his owne words) as if it had beene taken and construed in an harder sence, than hee meant it. And verily prevailed hee had, and gone cleare away with it (for many there were alreadie drawne to his side, and among the rest, * CICERO * the Consuls brother) but that a speech made by M. CATO emboldened the whole house, and confirmed all the Senatours in their former sentence, who now were at the point to yeeld unto him. And yet for all this, he ceased not to hinder their proceedings, untill such time as a troupe of *Romaine* Knights, who stood round about the place in Armes for * guard and defence, threatned to dispatch him out of the way, in case hee continued still in his obstinate contumacie, holding and shaking their drawne Swords so neere unto him, as that his next fellowes forsooke him as he sate with them, and very few taking him in their armes and putting their * Gownes betweene, hardly and with much a doo saved him from violence. Then was hee scared in deede, in so much as hee not onely condiscended unto them, but also for the rest of that * yeare forbare to come into the Senate house.

* As if he ment by *vltimum supplicium*, imprisonment or some lesse punishment then death.

* *Quintus Cicero*

* *M. Cicero.*

* Of Consul and Senate.

* *Plutarch* nameth *Curio* for one of them.

* Of *M. T.* Cicero the Consul his yeere which now drew to an end.

15 A.V.C. 692.

THE very first day of his Pretourship, he convented Q CATVLVS before the body of the people to receive their order upon (*a*) a matter to be discussed by them, as touching reedification of the Capitoll, having withall promulged a Lawe, by vertue whereof hee transferred the charge of that worke unto * another But not able to match the Nobles and better sort, nor to make his part good with them drawing in one line, as they did, whom hee sawe in great frequencie to runne by heapes together, so fully bent to make resistance, that presently they left their officious attendance upon the new Consuls, hee gave over this action.

* That is, to *Cn. Pompeius.*

16

BVT, whereas CAECILIVS METELLVS * a Tribune of the Commons, proposed most turbulent and seditious Lawes, malgre his Colleagues with all their opposition, he shewed himselfe a stout abbetter and maintainer of him: most stifly bearing him out in the cause, so long untill both of them were by an injunction and decree of the Senatours remooved from the administration of the Common-wealth. Howbeit presuming nevertheless to continue in his magistracie, and to execute his jurisdiction, when he understood once that some were ready to prohibite him by force and Armes, hee sent away his Serjeants, cast off his (*e*) embrodered purple Robe, and retired privily to his owne house, minding there to keepe himselfe quiet in regard of the troublesome time. And when two daies after, the multitude flocked unto him willingly and of their owne accord, promising after a very tumultuous manner their helpe and assistance in the recoverie of his former place and dignitie, he repressed them. Which thing happening thus beyond all expectation, The Senate which was hastily met together about that riot and uprore, gave him hartie thankes; and that by the principall and noblest personages among them, sent for him into the (*f*) *Curia*, and after

* Surnamed *Nepos* (as *Valerius* witnesseth) for his riotous life and behaviour.

after they had in moſt honourable termes commended him, they reſtored him fully to his Office, and reverſed their former Decree.

He fell againe into another newe trouble and daunger, being called into queſtion as one of Catilines conſpiracie, both before the Queſtor Novius Niger in his houſe, and that by L. Vettius* who appeached him; and alſo in the Senate, by P. Curius: unto whom for that he detected firſt, the plots & deſignments of the Conſpiratours, were rewards appointed by the State. Curius depoſed that he knew ſo much by Cattiline: and Vettius promiſed to bring forth even his owne hand-writing which he gave unto Catiline: But this was ſuch an indignitie as Cæsar in no wiſe thought tollerable; whereupon, craving the teſtimonie of Cicero by which he proved, that himſelfe merely of his owne accord had given ſome information unto him of the ſaid Conſpiracie, he prevailed ſo much that Curius went without thoſe rewards. As for Vettius, after his goods were arreſted and ſtreſſes taken, his houſhold-ſtuffe rifled, himſelfe evill entreated, beaten, and in the open aſſemblie of the multitude even before the Rostra wel-neere pulled in peeces, him he clapt up in priſon. After the ſame ſort he ſerved Novius the Queſtour, becauſe hee ſuffered him, (g) a ſuperiour Magiſtrate of State, to be accuſed and defamed in his houſe. 17.

* Indice, ſome reade Iudice, that is, as if Index were his ſurname.

*After this Pretourſhip of his, having the Government of the farther Province in *Spaine* allotted unto him, hee tooke order with his Creditours (that were in hand to ſtay him) by the meanes of certaine (a) ſureties who came in and undertooke for him: and before the Governours of the Provinces were diſpoſed-of by the State, with Commiſſions ſealed for their juriſdiction and other affaires, with allowance and furniture alſo ſet out for them accordingly, he contrarie to all right and cuſtome put himſelfe in his journey: were it for feare of ſome judiciall proceeding intended againſt him whiles he was a private perſon, or becauſe he might more ſpeedily ſuccour the Allies of the *Romaines*, who craved helpe, it is uncertaine. Well, when he had ſetled the Province in peace, he made as great haſt to be gone. and not expecting a Succeſſour hee departed, as well to ride in Triumph as to take upon him the Conſulſhip. But after the Writs and Proclamations were out for the great Aſſemblie to Election (of Conſuls) when he might not be pricked nor propounded (Conſull) unleſſe hee entred the Citie in qualitie of a private Citizen, and * many withſtoode him labouring as he did to be diſpenſed-with for the Lawes, forced he was for feare of being put by the Conſulſhip to forgoe (b) his triumph. 18. A.V.C. 695.

* Exprature whereby it appeareth he was Prator Vrbanus.

A.V.C. 695.

* Cato, and his followers.

Of the two Competitours with him for the Conſulſhip, to wit, L. Lucrius and M. Bibulus, hee made choiſe of Lucrius to be his Companion in Office; vpon this compact and condition, That ſince hee was a man not ſo gracious, but better monied than himſelfe, he ſhould of his owne purſe pronounce in the name of both, & promiſe to deale monies among the Centuries. Which deviſe being known, the * Nobles and great men who were afraide, that being once a ſoueraigne * Magiſtrate, & hauing a collegue ready at his beck to agree & conſent with him, he would both dare & do any thing; perſwaded with Bibulus to make promiſe of as great a Donation as the other did: and the moſt part of them contributed their monies thereunto: Yea, Cato himſelfe verily was not againſt it, but ſaide, This *Largeſſe ſtoode with the good of the weale* 19

* Optimates.

* Conſull.

publique. Heereupon created Consul hee was with BIBVLVS. For the same cause, the saide Nobles and principall persons of the Citie gaue order, that the Consuls for this yeere following, should haue (*b*) the Prouinces and Commissions of least affaire and importance, to wit, the looking vnto Forrests & Woods, vnto Lanes and Pathes. CÆSAR taking this wrong and disgrace most to the heart, made court all that euer he could vnto CN. POMPEIVS, who had taken offence against the Senatours, for that hauing vanquished K. MITHRIDATES, his Acts and Decrees were no sooner ratified and confirmed. He reconciled also vnto POMPEIVS, M. CRASSVS, an olde enemie ever since that Consulship, which they bare together with exceeding much jarring and disagreement: Hee entred likewise into a Societie with them both, vpon this contract, That nothing should be done or passe in the administration of the Common-weale, that displeased any of them three.

20 A.V.C. 695. WHEN he was entred into this Honourable place of Consulship; hee (first of all that ever were) ordained, That all Acts, as well of Senate as People should day by day as they (*a*) were concluded, bee recorded also and published. Hee brought-in likewise the ancient custome againe, that in what (*b*) moneth hee had not the Knitches of rods with Axes borne before him, a publique Officer called ACCENSVS should huisher him before, and the Serjeants or Lictours follow after behinde. Hauing promulged the Lawe *Agraria*, as touching the division of Lands among the Commons, when his fellowe Consull withstoode and resisted his proceedings, hee drave him out of the Common-place, by violence and force of Armes. The morrow after, when the saide BIBVLVS had made his complaint in the Senate of this outrage, and there would not one be found that durst move the house about so great a garboile and hurliburly as that was, nor give his censure thereof (as often times in lighter * tumults and stirres there had passed many Decrees) hee drave him to such a desperate feare, that untill hee went quite out of his magistracie, hee kept close within house and never prohibited * any proceedings else, but by way of * Edict. From that time forward, CÆSAR alone managed all the affaires of State, even as hee would himselfe: in so much as diuers Citizens pleasantly conceited, when so euer they signed, subscribed, or dated any writings to stand vpon record, would merily put it downe thus, *Such a thing was done, not when* CÆSAR *and* BIBVLVS, *but when* IVLIVS *and* CÆSAR *were Consuls*: setting downe one and the same man twice, by his name and surname: yea, and soone after, these verses were commonly currant abroad,

* *Turbis alias culpis*, that is, Trespasses or offences.

* *Obnunciaret*, by pronouncing out of the Augurs learning, that the day was *nefastus & non comitialis*, that is, no Law-day.

* *Per edicta*, some read, *per lictores*, that is, by his Serieants and Officers.

Non Bibulo, quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare, factum est:
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule, nil memini.
CÆSAR of late did many things, but BIBVLVS not one:
For nought by Consul BIBVLVS, can I remember done.

The Stellat champian fields held consecrated & religious by our Aunceſtors, together with the Campane territorie, reserued to yeeld rent and pay tribute for a Subsidie to the Common-weale, hee divided without casting * lots, among twentie

* At the discretion of xx. men deputed Commissioners for that purpose.

twentie thousand Citizens who could shew three children or more. The Publicanes making request for some * easement hee relieued, by striking of a third part of their rents, and warned them openly, that in the setting and letting of the new commodities and reuenues of the Citie, they should not bid and offer too much. All other things likewise he gaue and graunted, according as euery mans mind and desire stood thereto, and no man gaine-said him: but, went any about to thwart him, he was soone frighted away. M. CATO, when hee seemed to interrupt and stop his proceedings, hee caused to be haled violently out of the Senate house by an Officer, and committed to prison. As L. LVCVLLVS stoutly withstood his doings, he put him into so great a feare of sundry Actions and criminations, that hee was glad to come and fall downe before him at his knees. When CICERO pleading vpon a time in Court, had lamented the wofull state of those times: the very same day, at the * ninth houre thereof, hee brought P. CLODIVS his enemie to be adopted into the house and name of a Commoner; one who long before had laboured in vaine to goe from the Nobles, and be incorporate among the Commons. Last of all, it is credibly reported, that he induced by rewards, against all those in generall of the contrary faction, *an appeacher, to professe that he was sollicited by some for to murder POMPEIVS; who being produced forth by him before the body of the people, nominated (as he had instructions, and as it was agreed betweene them afore) those that set him a worke: but when one or two of them were named to no purpose, nor without pregnant suspition of some fraudulent practise; he despairing the good successe of so rash and inconsiderate a project, poysoned the * partie whom he had thus suborned, and made him away for telling any more tales.

* For that they had take things at too high a rate.

* Three a clock in the after-noone.

*Indicē, others read Iudicem id est Vettius Iudex.

*L. Vettius according to Dio and Appian.

*Id est Vettius Iudex aforesaid: For, dead hee was found in prison by night.

21. ABOVT the same time, hee tooke to wife CALPVRNIA the daughter of L. PISO, who was to succeede him in the Consulate; and affianced his owne daughter IVLIA vnto CN. POMPEIVS, rejecting and casting off her former spouse *SERVILIVS CÆPIO, by whose helpe especially a little before, he had impugned BIBVLVS. After this new contracted affinitie, hee began (in Counsell) to aske (a) POMPEIVS opinion first; whereas before, hee was wont to begin with CRASSVS: notwithstanding also the custome was, that the Consul should observe that order all the yeere following, in asking the Senatours sentences, which he began with, the first day of Ianuarie.

* Whom hee promised in mariage the daughter of *Cn. Pompeius.*

22. BEING backed therefore by the favour and assistance of his wives *Father and *Sonne in Law, out of all that choice of Provinces hee chose especially the Gaules, the wealth and commoditie whereof might fit his hand, and minister matter sufficient of (a) triumphs. And verily at the first by vertue of the Law (b) VATINIA he tooke vpon him the government of (c) GALLIA CISALPINA together with ILLYRICVM. Soone after by the meanes of the Senate, that also which was called (d) COMATA: For, the nobilitie feared, least if they had denied him it, the people would have bestowed the same also vpon him. With joy whereof he grew so haughtie and proud, that he could not hold and temper himselfe, but after some fewe daies make his boast in a frequent Senate house, that he had gotten now what he desired in despite of his aduersaries, and full sore against their wills; and therefore from that time forward, would (e) insult vpon all their heads: whereupon, when one by way of reproach denied that and said, That it was no easie matter for a woman so to doo: he answered againe, as

*Piso.

*Cn. Pompeius.

it

it were alluding merily to another ſence, That, euen in *Aſſyria* there ſome time raigned Queene SEMIRAMIS: and that the women named (*f*) *Amazones* held in times paſt a great part of *Aſia* in ſubjection.

23 A.V.C 696. WHEN hee had borne his Conſulſhip, C. MEMMIVS and L. DOMITIVS Pretours for the time being *, put to queſtion his Acts paſſed the former yeere: wherevpon hee referred the examination and cenſure thereof unto the body of the Senate but ſeeing they would not undertake the thing, after three daies ſpent to no purpoſe in vaine brables and altercacions, he departed into his Province. And immediatly his * Queſtour (*a*) for to prejudice him, was drawne into trouble & indited upon certaine crimes. Within a while himſelfe alſo was brought judicially to his triall, and accuſed by L. ANTISTIVS a Tribune of the COMMONS: but by appealing unto the Colledge of the Tribunes, hee prevailed through their favour thus much (in regard of his abſence about the affaires of Common-weale) that he ſhould not be liable to the accuſation. For his better ſecuritie therefore againſt future times, he travailed much to obligue and make beholden unto him the Magiſtrates every yeare: and of thoſe Competitours who ſued for any honourable Office, to helpe or ſuffer none other to come unto the place, but ſuch as covenanted with him, and undertooke to defend & maintaine * him in his abſence. For aſſurance of which their covenant, he ſtuck not to require of ſome an oath, yea, and a bill of their owne hands.

* vvhether they ſhould be repealed or ſtand in force.

* When he was Conſul.

* For that hee was extraordinarily abſent, longer than the Law *Sempronia* did permit.

24. A.V.C. 698. BVT when L. DOMITIVS a (*a*) Candidate for the Conſulſhip threatned openly, that were he once Conſul, he would effect that which he could not while he was Pretour, yea, and take from him his Armies, hee made meanes to draw CRASSVS and POMPEIVS unto *Luca* a Citie within his Province: with whom hee dealt effectually, that for to give DOMITIVS the repulſe, they ſhould both ſue for themſelues to be Conſuls the ſecond time, and alſo labour that his government might be prorogued or continued for five yeare longer; and he effected both. Vpon this confidence hee preſumed to aſſume unto thoſe Legions which hee had received from the State, others beſide, maintained partly at the Cities charges, and in part with his owne private purſe. And one Legion aboue the reſt, enrolled from out of the Countries beyond the Alpes, hee termed by a French word, For named it was * *Alauda*. Which, being trained in militarie diſcipline, armed alſo and ſet out after the Romaine faſnion, hee afterwards enfranchized throughout and made free of *Rome*. Neither from this time forward forbare he any occaſion of warre, were it never ſo unjuſt or dangerous: picking quarrels as well with confederate Nations, as thoſe that were enemies, ſavage and barbarous; whom he provoked to take Armes: in ſo much as the Senate one time decreed, to ſend certaine Embaſſadours for to ſurvay & viſite the ſtate of the Gaules: yea, and ſome * were of opinion, that he ſhovld be delivered unto the enemies hands. But by reaſon that his affaires ſped well and had good ſucceſſe, hee obtained in regard thereof ſolemne Supplications both oftner, and to hold more daies than ever any man did (before himſelfe.)

* The bird *Galerita* or *Caſſita*, ſo called of a creſt, upon the head. This Legion it ſhould ſeeme ware Plumes of feathers in their creſts of Helmets, whereupon it tooke that name.

* Namely *Cato*, *Plutarch*.

25. DVRING the time of his (provinciall) gouernment, which continued nine yeares ſpace, theſe, in manner, were the Acts which hee performed. All that part of Gaule, which from the Forreſt and Mountaine *Pyreneus*, the Alpes, and the hill *Gebena*, is encloſed within the Rivers *Rhene* and *Rhoſne*, containing in circuit 3200. miles, not accounting the aſſociate Cities and States who

well of the people of *Rome*, hee reduced into the forme of a Province, and imposed upon them a payment of tribute yeerely. The Germanes inhabiting beyond the Rhene, he of all the Romaines first assailed by meanes of a bridge which he built over the said River, and those he grievously plagued and gave them manie great overthrowes. He set upon the Britaines also, a people before time unknowne, whom hee vanquished and compelled both to pay money, and also to deliver hostages. In so many prosperous battailes and fortunate exploits, he tasted of adverse fortune thrice onely & no more: once in *Britaine*, when his Fleete had like to have beene lost and cast away in a violent tempest: a second time in *Gaule*, where a Legion of his was discomfited and put to flight, neare unto *Gergovia*: and last of all, in the marches of *Germanie*, when TITVRIVS and AVRVNCVLEIVS his Lievtenants were forlayed by an ambush and put to the sword.

WITHIN the compasse of which very same time, hee lost by death, first, his * Mother, then his daughter (IVLIA): and not long after his *Neece by the said daughter. And in this meane while, the Common-wealth being much troubled and astonied at the murder of CLODIVS, * when the Senate thought good there should be but one Consul created, namely CN. POMPEIVS, hee dealt with the Tribunes of the Commons (who intended that hee should be the Colleague in Office with POMPEIVS) to propose this rather unto the People, That they would grant leave unto him in his absence, whensoever the terme of his government drew toward an end, to sue for his second Consulship: because he might not be constrained upon that occasion, and whiles the warre was yet unfinished, to depart out of his Province. Which whē he had once obtained at their hands, reaching now at higher matters, and full of hopes, there was no kind of largesse, no manner of dutifull Office either in publique to the whole Citie, or privately unto any person that he omitted and left undone. His FORVM or stately Hall he began to build with the money raised of the spoiles gotten in warres: the very plot of ground whereon it should stand, cost him * *Millies sestertium* and above. He pronounced also a solemne Sword-fight and Feast unto the people, in the honour and memoriall of his Daughter, a thing that never any man did before him. And to cause an expectation of these solemnities in the highest degree, the viands & whatsoever pertained unto the feast, albeit he had agreed with Butchers and Victualers for the same at a certaine price, he provided nevertheless by his * household-servants. All the notable and well knowne sword players, when and wheresoever they fought so, as upon the mislike and displeasure of the beholders they were in danger to be killed in the place at their commaundement, he tooke order and charged they should be had away by force and reserved for himselfe. As for new-Fencers and young beginners, hee trained them neither in any publique Schoole, nor under professed Mrs: of that Facultie, but at home in private houses, by Gentlemen of *Rome*, yea, and Senatours also, such as were skilfull in their weapon and in feates of Armes praying and beseeching them earnestly (as appeareth in his Epistles unto them) to take the charge of every one severally, and to have a speciall care to instruct each one, and giue them rules in their exercises. The legionarie Souldiours pay in money he doubled for ever. And so often as there was plenty of corne, hee gave them their allowance of it without stint and measure and other-while he bestowed upon every one a slave or bond-servant, yea and possessions by the poll.

MORE-

26

A. V. C. 700.

* *Aurelia* a Dame of singular chastitie

* *neptem, aliȝ nepotem*, that is, Nephew.

* By *Milo*.

* That is, a hundred millians of Sesterces, and 20, as *Plinie* writeth, *lib 36 Cap. 15.* if *Glareanus* readeth truly, *Millies ducenties.*

* *Domesticam rim.*

27. Moreover, to retaine ſtill the bond of acquaintance, affinitie, and good will of Pompeivs, Octavia his ſiſters *Neece wedded unto C. Marcellvs, hee affianced and made ſure unto him: but withall, he craved his daughter to wife, promiſed in mariage before unto Faustus Sulla. Hauing thus obligued and brought to his devotion all thoſe about him, yea, & the greater number of Senatours, by crediting out his money unto them, either *gratis*, or vpon a ſlight cõſideration: thoſe alſo of other ſorts & degrees, either invited kindly by himſelfe, or reſorting unto him of their owne accord, hee gratified with a moſt magnificent and bounteous (*a*) congiarie. The freed men beſides, yea, and the Servants and Pages belonging to every one, according as any of them were in favour with their *Lord and Maiſter, taſted of his liberality. Moreover, there was not a man ſued in Court judicially and in danger of the Law; there was not any deepely engaged and endebted unto their Creditours; there were no prodigall young ſpend-thrifts, but he was their onely ſupporter, and moſt readie at all aſſaies to helpe them: unleſſe they were thoſe that either had committed ſuch grievous crimes, or were ſo low brought, or had been ſo exceſſiue in riot as that they could not poſſibly be relieved by him. *For ſuch as theſe*, hee would ſay in plaine termes and openly, *there was no other remedie but ciuill warre.*

*So, hee was great Vnkle unto her, like as he was to *Octauius Auguſtus*, the Emperour.

*Or Patrone.

28 No leſſe carefull and ſtudious was he to allure unto him the hearts of Kings, yea, and whole Provinces throughout the world: unto ſome, offering in free gift the deliverie of Captives and priſoners by thouſands at a time: unto others, ſending aide ſecretly and under-hand without authoritie or commiſſion of Senate and people, whether and as often as they would: and more than this, adorning with goodly building and excellent peeces of work the mightieſt Cities of *Italie*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, yea, and of *Aſia* and *Greece*. This he did ſo long, untill all men now were aſtonied thereat: and when they caſt with themſelves whereto this might tend, at laſt M. Clavdivs Marcellvs the Conſul, after a preface and preamble made to his Edict, namely, That he would ſpeake as touching the maine point of the Common-weale, propoſed unto the Senate, That for as much as the warre was now ended, and peace abroad eſtabliſhed, there might be one ſent to ſucceede him, before his time was fully expired; alſo, That the victorious Armie ought of right to bee diſmiſſed and have their diſcharge from warfare: Item, that in the High Court and aſſembly for the Conſuls election his name ſhould not bee propounded, conſidering Pompeivs afterward had anulled * that Act of the people (by vertue whereof it was graunted that he might be choſen Conſul in his abſence.) Now it had fallen out ſo, that hee making a Law as touching the right of Magiſtrates, in that Chapter and branch thereof, wherein he diſabled thoſe who were abſent for being capable of honours and dignities, forgat to except Cæsar: and ſoone after, when the ſaid Law was once engroſſed and engraven in braſſe, & ſo laid up in the Treaſurie, corrected his error and overſight. Neither was Marcellvs content to deprive Cæsar of his Provinces, and to put him by the priviledge of a former Act paſſed in eſpeciall favour of him, but he made a motion moreover, that thoſe inhabitants, whom by the Law *Vatinia* Cæsar had planted in the Colonie of *Nouocomum*, ſhould leeſe the freedome which they had, as Citizens of *Rome*: For that this prerogative of theirs had been graunted by ambitious meanes, and beyond that preſcript number which was appointed and warranted by the Decree in that behalfe.

A.V.C 703.

* *Ei plebiſcito.*

Cæsar

CÆSAR highly diſpleaſed and troubled at theſe proceedings, and judging it, (as he was heard by report many times to give out) an harder matter for him a principall man of the Citie, to be depoſed and thruſt downe from the higheſt and firſt place of degree into the ſecond, than from the ſecond into the loweſt and laſt of all) withſtood him with all his might and power, partly by the oppoſition and negatiue voice of the Tribunes, and in part by SERVIUS SULPITIUS the other Conſull. Alſo in the yeare following when C. MARCELLUS who ſucceeded his couſen GERMAIN by the fathers ſide MARCUS, in the cõſulſhip, aſſaied to bring the ſame about, he bribed & made ſure vnto him, with a mightie ſumme of mony, AEMILIUS PAULUS companion with him in office, and C. CURIO a moſt violent Tribune, to ſticke unto him, & defend his honor. But ſeeing all things carried ſtill againſt him more obſtinately than before, & the new Conſuls elect take the contrarie ſide & bent another way, he wrote unto the Senate, and by his letters humbly beſought them, not to ſuffer the benefit granted unto him by the people to be taken from him: or if they did, yet to giue order that other Generals likewiſe as well as hee, might leave their Armies: preſuming confidently, as men thinke, vpon this, himſelfe ſhould be able whẽſoeuer he pleaſed to aſſemble together his ſouldiers more eaſily thẽ POMPEIUS to levy new. But with his aduerſaries he wold haue treated by way of Capitulation in theſe termes, that after he had diſcharged and ſent away 8. Legions, and giuen over the prouince of *Gaule* beyond the Alpes, he might be allowed 2. legiõs with the prouince on this ſide the Alpes: or if not ſo, yet atleaſt wiſe one, together with ILLYRICUM, vntil ſuch time as he were created cõſul. But perceiuing that the Senate came not betweene nor interpoſed their authoritie to ſtop the courſe intended againſt him, & his aduerſaries denied flatly to admit all manner of capitulating & compoſition concerning the commonwealth, he paſſed into the hither part of *Gaule*, & having kept the Aſſizes there and executed his prouinciall juriſdiction ſtayed at *Rauenna*, with full reſolution to be reuenged by open warre, in caſe there had paſſed frõ the Senat, any ſharp and cruell decree, touching the Tribunes of the Commons oppoſing theſelues in his behalfe, & quarrell: And verily this was the colour and occaſion which he pretended of ciuill warre: yet men thinke there were ſome other cauſes & motiues thereto. Cn. POMPEIUS was wont to giue out that for as much as CÆSAR was not able of himſelfe and with his owne priuate wealth, either to conſummate and finiſh thoſe ſtately workes & ædifices which he had begun, or to ſatisfie the expectation of the people which he had raiſed & wrought of his comming, therefore he intended to trouble the ſtate and ſet all on a garboyle. Others ſay, that he feared leaſt he ſhould be compelled to giue an accoumpt of thoſe things which in his firſt Conſulſhip he had done againſt the ſacred Auſpices, the lawes, and prohibitions of the Tribunes (in the name of the people) conſidering that M. CATO had threatned and profeſſed eſtſoones, & not without an oath, that no ſooner ſhould he and his armie be parted, but he would judicially call his name in queſtion & bring him to his anſwere: Alſo for that it was commonly ſpoken abroad that if he returned ones in qualitie of a priuate perſon, he ſhould after the example of MILO plead before the iudges, with a guard of armed men about the Court and Tribunall. And this ſeemeth to bee more probable by that which ASINIUS POLLIO writeth, who reporteth, that in the battaile of Pharſalia, whẽ he beheld his aduerſaries before his face, ſlaine

29

A.V.C. 704

and put to flight, he vttered this ſpeech word for word. *Loe, this was their own doing: this would they needes haue,* And I CAIUS CEASAR *after ſo many worthie exploites atchieued ſhould haue beene a condemned man, had I not craued helpe of mine armie.* Some are of opinion, that being ſo long inured & acquainted with ſoueraigne command, & weighing his owne puiſſance & the power of his enemies, in ballāce one againſt the other, took the occaſion & opportunitie to uſurpe that abſolute dominion, which in the uerie prime of his years he aſpired unto; and of this mind, it ſeemeth CICERO was, who in his 3. book of duties writeth, that CEASAR had alwaies in his mouth, theſe verſes of EURIPIDES

Εἰπερ γὰ, δίκαιον χρὴ, τυραννίδος πέρι
Καὶ γὰρ δίκαιον, τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.

Which CICERO himſelfe tranſlated thus.

Nam ſi violandum eſt ius, imperij gratia
Violandum eſt, aliis rebus pietatem colas.
For if thou muſt do wrong by breach,
Of lawes, of right and equitie,
Tis beſt thereby a Crowne to reach,
In all things els keepe pietie.

When word therefore was brought unto him, that the Tribunes inhibition & negatiue voice was put down, and themſelues departed out of the Citie:
31 A:V:C:705, hauing immediatly ſent before certaine Cohorts priuily, becauſe no ſuſpition might ariſe, he diſſimuled the matter, & was preſent in perſon to behold a publike Game, viewed, and conſidered the plot forme according to which he was about to build a Schoole of ſwordfencers, and according to his uſuall manner gaue himſelfe to feaſt & banquet often. After this preſently vpon the Sun-ſetting, he tooke vp certaine *Mules* from the next Bakersmil-houſe, ſet thē in their geires to his wagon, and as cloſely as poſſibly he could with a ſmall retinewe and companie about him put himſelfe in his Iournie: and when by reaſon that the lights were gone out, he had loſt his way, after he had wandred a long time, at the length meeting with a guide by that time it was day, he paſſed on foote through moſt narrow croſſe lanes and by-pathes untill he recouered the right way againe. Now when he had ones ouertaken his Cohorts, at the riuer *Rubicon*, which was the utmoſt bound of his province, he reſted & ſtoode ſtill a little while: thē caſting in his mind, how great an enterpriſe he went in hand with, he turned vnto them that were next unto him and ſaid. As yet my maiſters wee may well returne backe; but paſſe we once ouer this little bridge, there will be no dealing but by force of armes and dint of ſword.

As he thus ſtaied, and ſtood doubtfull what to doe, a ſtrang ſight he chanced to ſee in this manner. All of a ſuddaine their appeared vnto him a certaine man of an extraordinary ſtature & ſhape withall, ſitting hard by, & piping with a reed. Now when beſids the ſhepheards & herdmen many ſoldiours alſo from their ſtanding wards ran for to heare him, & among them the Trumpetters likewiſe, he caught from on of thē a Trumpet, leapt forth to the riuer, & begining with a mightie blaſt to ſound the battaile, kept on his pace to the very bancke, on the other ſide. Then CEASAR, Let vs march on quoth he & goe whither the tokēs of the Gods & the iniurious dealings of our enemies call vs. The dice be throwne: I haue ſet vp my reſt. Come what will of it.

And thus hauing conueyed his armie ouer the riuer, he ioyned with the Tribunes of the commons, who vpō their expulſion out of the Citie were come vnto him, & in a ful
32 & frequēt aſſēblie, with ſhedding teares & rēting his garmēt down the breſt, beſought the faithfull helpe & aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers. It is ſuppoſed alſo that he promiſed unto every on of thē a knights liuing: which happened upō a vain & falſe perſwaſiō, for whē in his ſpeech & exhortatiō unto thē, he ſhewed euer & a non the (ring.a) finger of his left hand, & therwith auouched & promiſed for the ſatisfaction & contentmēt of al thoſe by whoſe meanes he ſhould maintaine his honour & dignitie, that he would willingly (b) plucke the ring from off his owne finger: thoſe that ſtood himmoſt in the aſſembly,

bly, who might better see than heare him speak, took that for spoken which they imagined by bare sight, and so the speech went for currant, That hee promised them the dignity of wearing the ring (of gold) together with 400000 (sesterces.)

THE order, proceeding a final complement of those Acts, which from thence forth he atchieved, summarily goeth in this maner. He seized into his hands and held PICENUM, VMBRIA, & HETRURIA. L. DOMITIVS, who in a factious tumult was nominated to be his successor, & kept CORFINIVM with a garison, he subdued & forced to yeeld: and when he had dismissed him, hee marched along the coast of the *Adriatick* * sea, to *Brundis*, whether the Consuls & POMPEIVS were fled, intending with all speed to crosse the narrow Seas: whose passage after he had assaied by all manner of lets to hinder & stop (but in vaine) he turned his journey and took the way directly to *Rome*. And when he had curteously moved the Senatours to give him meeting in the Senate house, there to treat & consult as touching the State of the Common-weale, he set upon the most puissant forces of POMPEIVS, which were in *Spaine* under the conduct of three Lieutenants, M. PETREIVS L. AFFRANIVS & M. VARRO: having given out before among his friends and openly professed, that he was going to an Armie without a (*a*) Captaine; and would returne from thence to a (*b*) Captaine without an Armie. And albeit the besieging of *Massilia*, which Citie in his journey forward, had shut the gates against him, & exceeding scarcity of corn & victuals was some impeachment & stay unto him, yet within a short time he overcame & subdued all. 34

* That is *Venus*-gulfe.

FROM hence having returned to the City (of *Rome*) againe, & passed over into *Macedonie*, after he had held POMPEIVS besieged for the space wel-neare of 4. moneths, & that within most mighty trenches & strong rampiers, he discomfited at the last in the *Pharsalian* battel & put him to flight: and following him hotly in chase as he fled to *Alexandria*, so soone as he understood that he was slaine, and perceived likewise that King PTOLOMÆVS laid wait for his owne person also, he warred upon him: which, to say a truth, was a most difficult & dangerous peece of worke, by reason that he managed it, neither in place indifferent, nor time convenient, but in the very Winter season, and within the walls of a most wealthy & politick enemie, being himselfe in distresse & want of all things, and unprovided besides to fight. Having atchieved the victory, he graunted the kingdome of *Ægypt* unto CLEOPATRA & her younger brother, fearing to reduce it into the forme of a Province, least at any time, beeing governed under some L. President of a more stirring spirit & violent nature than others, it might give occasion & yeeld matter of rebellion. From *Alexandria* he went over into *Syria*, & so from thence into *Pontus*, upon the urgent newes as touching PHARNACES; Whom, notwithstanding he was the sonne of that great MITHRIDATES, & taking the opportunitie of the troubles & civill warre among the Romanes, made warre, yea, and now bare himselfe presumptuous and overbold for his manifold victories & great successe, yet within 5 dayes after his arrivall thither, & 4. houres after he came into sight of the enemie, he vanquished and subdued in one onely battaile: oft-soones & oftentimes recounting the felicity of POMPEIVS, whose hap it was, to win his principall name for warfare, of so cowardly a kinde of enemies. After this, he defeited SCIPIO and IVBA, repairing the reliques of that side in *Africk*, and the children of POMPEIVS in *Spaine*. 35. A.V.C. 706. A.V.C. 707. 708. A.V.C. 709.

IN all the civill warres, hee sustained no losse or overthrow but by his owne Lieutenants: of whom, C. CVRIO was slaine in *Affrick*: C. ANTONIVS yeel- 36

ded himſelfe into the hands of his enemies in *Illyricum*: P. DOLABELLA in the ſame *Illyricum* loſt his fleete, and CN. DOMITIVS his armie in *Pontus*. Himſelfe fought his battailes alwaies moſt fortunatly, and never was ſo much as in any hazard, ſave only twice: once before *Dyrrachium*, where being diſcomfited and put to flight, when he ſaw that POMPEIVS followed not on in chaſe, he ſaid of him, *That hee knew not how to uſe a victorie*. A ſecond time, in *Spaine*, at the laſt battaile that ever he fought, what time, being in great deſpaire, hee was of mind even to have killed himſelfe.

37 A.V.C 708. 709. HAVING finiſhed all his warres, he rode in 5. triumphs: to wit, when he had vanquiſhed SCIPIO, 4. times in one and the ſame moneth, but certaine daies betweene: and once againe, after hee had overcome the children of POMPEIVS. The firſt and moſt excellent triumph that hee ſolemnized, was that over Gaule: then followed the *Alexandrine*; after it the *Pontick*; next thereunto the *Affrican*: and laſt of all the *Spaniſh*: every one ſet out diverſly, with variety of Ordinance, proviſion and furniture. On the day of his Gaules triumph, as he rode along the * *Velabrum*, he had like to have beene ſhaken out of his Chariot, by reaſon that the Axel-tree brake. Hee mounted up into the Capitoll by torch-light, having xl. Elephants on his right hand & left, bearing (*a*) branches and candleſticks. In his Pontick triumph, among the Pageants and ſhewes of that pomp, he cauſed to be caried before him the title & ſuperſcription of theſe three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I came, I ſaw, I conquered: ſignifying not the acts atchieved by warre, as other Conquerours, but noting his expedition in deſpatching the warre.

* A Streete in Rome.

* *Sicut ceteri.*

38 THROUGHOUT the Legions of old Souldiers, he gave in the name of pillage, unto every footman (over and above the (*a*) 2000. *ſeſtertij*, which he had paied at the beginning of the civill tumult) (*b*) * 4000. *ſeſtertij*: and to the horſe-men (*c*) * 24000. a piece. He aſſigned lands alſo unto thē, but not lying all together, becauſe none of the owners ſhould be thruſt out (of their livings.) Among the people (of *Rome*) beſide x. *modij* of corne, & as many pints of oyle, he diſtributed & dealt 300 Seſterces alſo by the poll, which hee had in times paſt promiſed, with an overdeale of 100. a peece to boote, * for time. Hee remitted moreover one yeeres houſe rent, unto all tenants in *Rome*, if it amounted to 2000. Seſtertij and not above: but to thoſe in *Italie*, if the ſaid rent exceeded not 500. Furthermore, hee made them a generall great feaſt, & diſtributed a dole of raw fleſh: yea, and after his victorie in *Spaine* hegave them 2. dinners: For, deeming the former of them to have beene made niggardly and not beſeeming his liberality, he beſtowed upon them 5. daies after, another, and in moſt large and plenteous manner.

* Or rather *vicena*, that is, 20000.

* Rather *quadragena*, that is 40000.

* By which reckoning the proportion ro horſemen was double.

* That is, for bearing ſo long.

* *Viſceratione*: which as ſome thinke *Perſius*, calleth ἀρτολιχας and is expounded ἐυφραξία whereupon the *Genius* of ſuch merriments, is named Εὐφραδής.

39 HE exhibited ſhewes of ſundry ſorts (as namely) a ſword-fight of Fencers at ſharpe: hee ſet forth Stage Plaies likewiſe in ſeverall quarters and (*a*) Regions of the Citie throughout, and thoſe verily acted by * Plaiers in all languages: Semblably, the ſolemne games (*b*) *Circenſes*, hee ſhewed; and brought foorth Champions alſo to performe their devoir, and repreſented a naval-fight. At the ſaide ſolemnity of ſword-plaiers, there fought to the uttrance in the Market place of *Rome*, FVRIVS LEPTINVS, deſcended from the race of Pretours, and A. CALPENVS, one who had beene ſometime a Senatour, and a pleader of cauſes at the barre. There daunced the (*c*) *Pyrrhick* warlike daunce, the children of the Princes and Potentates of *Aſia* and *Bithynia*. During the Stage plaies aforeſaid (*d*) D. LABERIVS a Gentleman of *Rome* acted his owne Poem or Enterlude: For which, being rewarded with 500. thouſand Seſterces, and a ring

A.V.C. 708. * To gratifie all ſtrangers that conflowed to Rome.

of

of gold, he passed directly frō the Stage by the (e) *Orchestra*, to take up his place among the Knights in the 14. foremost seates. At the Games *Circenses*, against which the Cirque was enlarged on both sides and moted round about, there drave the Steedes drawing Chariots foure and two together, yea and mounted the vaunting Horses from one to another, the greatest gallants & bravest young Gentlemen of the Nobilitie. The (f) warlike Trojan Game was performed by a two-fold troupe of greater boyes and lesse. The hunting or baiting of wilde beasts was presented five daies together. And the last day of all, there was a fight betweene two battailes of 500. footmen, 20. Elephants, and 30. horsemen on a side, put to skirmish one against the other. For, to the end that they might have more scope to bicker together, the (g) goales were taken up and removed: but in steed of them were pitched two * Campes confronting one another. As for the (h) Champions above-said, they having a place for to exercise their feats of Activitie set out and built for the present time, strove for the prize or best Game three daies together in the Region of *Mars* field. To set out the *Naumachie* or naval battaile, there was a place digged for a great poole, in the lesse (i) *Codeta*; wherein certaine gallies as well with two ranks of Oares as with three; the ships of *Tyros* also & of *Ægypt* encountred, being manned with a great number of fighting men. To behold these sights and shewes, such a number of people resorted from all parts, as most of the strangers either within the streetes of the Citie or in the high waies without, were faine to abide within booths pitched of purpose: yea, and often-times very many were in the presse crowded and crushed to death; among whom were two Senatours.

* Or Tents.

TVRNINO after this to set the State of the Common-weale in good order, he reformed the Kalender, which long since through the Prelates default, by their liberty of interlacing (moneths and daies) at their pleasure, was so confused, that neither the feastivall holidaies of harvest fell out in Sommer, nor those of the vintage in Autumne. And he framed the whole yeare just unto the course of the Sunne, that it should containe 365. daies; and by abolishing the leape moneth, one (a) day every fourth yeare might be inserted betweene. 40

Now to the end that the computation of the times to come, might from the * new Kalends of Ianvarie agree the better, betweene November and December, he put two other moneths. So as, that yeare wherein all this was ordained, had 15. moneths, reckoning the ordinarie interlaced moneth, which by course and custome fell just upon the said yeare.

* *Calendis Ianuarijs nouis.*

HE made up the full (a) number of the Senatours, and chose unto that place * new (b) *Patritij*. The number of Pretours, Ædiles, Questors, and of other (c) inferiour Magistrates hee augmented. Such as were displaced and put downe by vertue of the Censors Office, or otherwise by sentence of the Iudges condemned for unlawfull briberie, and suing indirectly for any Office, hee restored to their former roomes. In the election of Magistrates he parted with the people thus farre forth; as (excepting the Competitours of the Consulship) for all the number besides of Candidates, the one halfe should be declared those whom the People were disposed to propound, the other halfe, such as himselfe would nominate. Which nomination passed by certaine bills sent about unto the Tribes, in a briefe kind of Writ, after this manner: CÆSAR DICTATOVR unto this or that Tribe (greeting) I commend unto you, such an one 41

* According to the Law *Cassia*.

and ſuch an one, that by vertue of your voices and ſuffrages they may have and hold the dignitie they ſue for. He admitted unto honorable places the children* of thoſe who had been proſcript and outlawed. He reduced all Iudgements unto two ſorts of Iudges, namely of the Knights degree and the Senatours: As for the Tribunes of the Treaſurie or chamber of the Citie, which had been the third, he utterly* aboliſhed. The generall ſurvay and numbering of the people he held, neither after the accuſtomed (*d*) manner, nor in the uſuall place, but ſtreete by ſtreete, and that by the* Land-lords & owners of meſſuages and tenements ſtanding together: and whereas 3020000 Citizens (*e*) received allowance of corne from the State, he brought and reduced them to the number of one hundred & fiftie thouſand. And to the end that no new conventicles & riots at any time might ariſe about this review, he ordained, That every yeare, in the place of thoſe that were deceaſed, the Pretour ſhould make a new ſupply and choiſe by caſting lots, out of ſuch as had not beene reckoned and enrolled in the former ſurvey.

* Contrary to the Law *Cornelia.*

* Diſabled the for being Iudges.

* As who beſt knew the number of their tennants and inhabitants in their houſes.

42 MOREOVER, when as to the number of 80000. (Romaine) Citizens were beſtowed in ſundry Colonies beyond the Sea; hee made a Law for the more frequent inhabiting of the Citie (of *Rome*) thus exhauſted and diſpeopled; That no Citizen above 20. yeares of age, and under 40. (unleſſe he were a ſworne (*f*) ſouldiour to the State, and ſo bound by his oath) ſhould remaine out of *Italie* above 3. yeares together: Item, That no Senatours ſonne, except hee lodged within the houſe or Pavilion, or belonged to the (*g*) familiar triall of a chiefe Magiſtrate, ſhould travaile (forth of *Italie*.) Item, That no Graſiars ſhould keep and reteine fewer than a third part of free borne young men, among the keepers of their cattell. All profeſſours of phyſick at *Rome*, and teachers of the liberall Arts, he enfranchized Citizens: that both they themſelves might more willingly dwell in the Citie, & others beſide deſire there to inhabite. As touching money lent out; when he had quite put down the expectation of (*b*) cancelling debts, (a thing that was often* moved) hee decreed at length; That all debtours ſhould ſatisfie their Creditours in this manner: Namely by an eſtimate made of their poſſeſſions, according to the worth and value as they purchaſed them before the civill warre, deducting out of the principall whatſoever had beene paide or ſet downe in the Obligations for the uſe: by which condition, the third part wel-neare of the money credited forth, was loſt. All the Societies and Colledges, ſaving thoſe that were of auncient foundation, he diſſolved. The penalties of hainous crimes he augmented: And whereas the rich & wealthier ſort fell to wickednes ſo much the ſooner, becauſe they went* into baniſhment, and ſaved their whole patrimonies and eſtates: (*i*) patricides therefore and wilfull murderers (as CICERO writeth) hee deprived of all their goods; other manſlaiers beſides he fined with the loſſe of one halfe.

* Either by the Tribunes of the Cõmons, or the debters themſelves.

* In the free State before the Emperors, Citizens of Rome might depart before ſentence pronounced, & ſo avoid with cõdemnation and loſſe of goods.

43 HE miniſtred Iuſtice and decided matters in Law, moſt painfully and with paſſing great ſeveritie. Such as were attaint and convict of (*a*) extortion, hee removed even from their Senatours place and degree. He brake the mariage of a man that had beene Pretour, marying a wife preſently after two daies that ſhe was divorced and went from a former huſband, albeit there was no ſuſpition at all of adulterie and naughtineſſe. Hee ordained cuſtomes and impoſts of forraine merchandize. The uſe of Lictors, likewiſe the wearing of purple* cloathes and of pearle he tooke away, ſaving onely in certaine perſons and ages, and upon ſpecial daies. The Law *Sumptuaria*, (*b*) to repreſſe exceſſive coſt in fare, he executed moſt of any other: And for this purpoſe, he ſet certaine Watchmen and Warders in ſundry places about the ſhambles and markets where victuals were ſold, to lay hold upon all cates and viands contrarie to the preſcript rule of the Law in that behalfe, and to bring the ſame unto him. Otherwhiles alſo, he ſent ſecretly his owne Officers & Souldiours, to fetch away ſuch meates out of the very dining Parlors and banquetting roomes, even when they were ſet upon the bord, if happily they had any way eſcaped the hands of the foreſaid warders.

* Or ſcarlet in graine.

44 FOR, as concerning his purpoſe to adorne and beautifie the Citie of *Rome* with gallant works, as alſo to maintaine & amplifie the Empire, hee had more matters in his head and greater every day than other. Principally his intent and meaning was, to build ſo ſtately a temple in the honour of *Mars*, as the like was no where to be ſeene; having filled up and laid levell that huge pit, wherin he had exhibited the ſhew of a Naval battel: & alſo to erect

an

an exceeding great Theater, fast adjoyning to the Mount *Tarpeius*. Item, to reduce the whole corps of the civill Law to a certaine meane and mediocrity: and out of that huge and diffused number of Lawes, to choose out the best and necessarie points, and those to bring into as few volumes as possibly might be. Item, to erect publiquely the greatest Libraries that he could, as wel of Greeke as Latine Authors: committing unto (*a*) M. VARRO the charge, both to provide the said books, and also to digest & place them in order. Item to lay the Meeres & Fennie Plashes POMPTINÆ drie: to draw & let forth the lake *Fucinus*: to make a cawsie or high-way, from the Adriatick Sea, by the ridge or side of the Apennine hill, as farre as to the river *Tibris*, & to digge through the (*b*) *Isthmus*. Moreover, to bridle the Dakes who had invaded *Pontus* and *Thracia*: and soone after, to make warre upon the Parthians by the way of *Armenia* the lesse: but not to give them battell before he had made (*c*) triall of them. Amid these purposes and designes, death prevented him. Concerning which, before I enter into speech, it shall not be impertinent to deliver summarily those points which concerne the shape, feature, and proportion of his body: his habite & apparell: his fashions and behaviour: and withall, what may touch both his civill and also his martiall affaires.

OF stature he is reported to have beene tall; of complexion white & cleare; 45
with limbs well trussed and in good plight; somewhat full faced; his eies black, lively, and quick; also very healthfull, saving that in his latter daies he was given to faint and swoune sodainly; yea, and as he dreamed, to start and be affrighted: twice also in the midst of his martiall *affaires, he was surprized with the (*a*) falling sicknes. About the trimming of his body, he was * over-curious: so as he would not onely be notted & shaven very precisely, but also have his haire plucked, in so much as some caft it in his teeth, and twitted him therewith. Moreover, finding by experience, that the deformity of his bald head was oftentimes subject to the scoffes and scornes of back-biters and slaunderers, hee tooke the same exceedingly to the heart: and therefore he both had usually drawne downe his haire that grew but thin, from the crowne toward his forehead: and also of all honours decreed unto him from the Senate and People, he neither received nor used any more willingly, than the priviledge to weare continually the triumphant Lawrel guirland. Men say also, that in his apparel he was noted * for singularity, as who used to goe in his Senatours purple studded robe, trimmed with a jagge or frindge at the sleeve hand: and the same so, as hee never was but girt over it, and that very slack and loose: whereupon, arose (for certaine) that saying of SVLLA, who admonished the Nobles oftentimes, *To beware of the boy that went girded so dissolutely.*

* *Inter res gerendas vel agendas*, that is, *cum actum ordinarent*, Plutarch. While he was setting his Armie in battaile ray.

* Or fantasticall.

* His attire different from others, or of a new fashion which the Greekes call ἰσθῆτας ἑλκυστὰς καμπυλίας.

HE dwelt at first in the * *Suburra*; but after he was high priest, in the streete 46
Sacra, in an edifice of the Cities. Many have written, that he was exceedingly addicted to neatnesse in his house, and sumptuous fare at his Table. The Mannor house which he founded out of the very ground, & with great charges finished in the territorie *Nemorensis*, because it was not wholly answerable to his minde, he demolished and pulled quite downe: although as yet he was but of meane estate and deepely endebted. Finally, this speech goeth of him, That in his expeditions he caried about with him * pavements of checker worke made of quarels square cut, so as they might be taken asunder, and set againe together.

* A Streete in Rome much frequented.

* The paving tiles of marble &c, whereof such floores are made.

HE made a voyage (as they say) into *Britaine*, in hope of pearles: and 47

otherwhiles, in comparing their bigneſſe, would with his owne hand peiſe them to finde their weight. For to get and buy up pretious ſtones, engraved and chaſed peeces, Images, and painted Tables of antique worke, he was ever moſt eager and ſharp ſet. Slaves likewiſe, if they were any thing freſh and new come, trimly ſet out with all, and fine, he procured at an exceeding price, ſuch as himſelfe alſo was aſhamed of: ſo as he forbad expreſly the ſame ſhould be brought in any of his reckonings and accoumpts.

48 IT is reported of him, that in all the Provinces which he governed, hee feaſted continually, and furniſhed two Halls or dining chambers ordinarily; the one, wherein either * Gaules in their warlike habite, or Greeks in their cloakes; the other, in which the gown'd Romaines, together with the more noble and honourable perſonages of the Provinces ſat. The domeſticall Diſcipline of his houſe hee kept ſo duly, ſo preciſely, and with ſuch ſeverity, in ſmall matters as well as greater; that hee bound with fetters and yrons his Baker for ſerving up ſecretly unto his gueſts other bread than to himſelfe: And a freed man of his owne (whom otherwiſe he did ſet very great ſtore by) he put to death, for diſhonouring by adulterie a Romaine Gentlemans wife, albeit no man made complaint thereof.

* Thus *Turnebus* expoundeth it: But it may be meant of the meaner ſort of his *Cohors prætoria*, who were *Sagati* or *palliati*: to put a difference betweene them & the perſons of better quality, who were *Togati*.

49 HIS good name for continencie and cleane life, nothing verily blemiſhed, ſave onely the aboade and inward familiaritie with NICOMEDES: but a foule ſtaine that was, which followed him with ſhame for ever; yea, and miniſtred taunting and reproachfull matter unto every man. I omit the notorious verſes of CALVUS LICINIVS.

——————— *Bithynia quicquid,*
*Et * pædicator Cæſaris, unquam habuit,*
Looke what it was that *Bithyne* Land had ever more or leſſe;
And he that CÆSAR did abuſe, in filthie wantonneſſe.

* That is, K. Nicomedes.

I let paſſe the invectives and accuſatorie actions of DOLABELLA and CVRIO the Father: In which, DOLABELLA for his part, termeth him *the Kings Concubine in the Queenes place*, and the inner roome of his Licter: and CVRIO, nameth him NICOMEDES *his * filth and harlot*, yea and the *Bithynian Brothel houſe*. I overpaſſe likewiſe thoſe Edicts of BIBVLVS, wherein he publiſhed his colleague, and made him knowne, by the name of the *Bithynian Queene*: ſaying moreover, *That before, he had loved the King, and now caſt a fanſie to the Kingdom*. At which verie time, as M. BRVTVS makes report, there was one OCTAVIVS alſo, a man upon diſtemperature of his braine given to jeſt and ſcoffe over broadly, who in a moſt frequent aſſembly, after he had called POMPEIVS, King, ſaluted him by the name of Queene: C. MEMMIVS likewiſe layd in his diſh, that he ſtood with the reſt of the ſtale Catamites as Cup-bearer, to ſerve NICOMEDES with wine at a full feaſt, where ſate at the Table divers Merchants and Occupiers, Citizens of *Rome*, whoſe names he putteth downe. But CICERO, not contented herewith, that in certaine Epiſtles he had written, how by the Guard or Penſioners of the ſaid King being * conveied into his bed-chamber, hee lay downe upon a bed of gold, arraied in purple: and ſo the flower of youth and maidenhead of him, who was deſcended from (*a*) *Venus*, became defiled and deſteind in *Bithynia*. One time alſo, as CÆSAR in the Senate houſe pleaded to the cauſe and in the behalfe of NYSA, NICOMEDES his daughter, and therewith rehearſed

* Stabulum.

* *Deductum*, or *Eductum*, that is, brought out of his owne bed chamber into the kings.

ſed up the gracious favours that the King had done unto him, *Let be* (quoth he) *theſe matters I pray you, and away with them, ſince it is well knowne, both what hee beſtowed upon you, and alſo what you gave to him.* Finally, in the Triumph over *Gaule*, his Souldiers among other Sonnets (ſuch as they uſe to chaunt merily when they followe the (triumphant) Chariot) pronounced alſo theſe verſes ſo commonly divulged.

Gallias Cæſar ſubegit, Nicomedes Cæſarem,
Ecce Cæſar nunc triumphat, qui ſubegit Gallias;
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui (b) *ſubegit Cæſarem.*

CÆSAR did ſubdue the Gaules, and him hath NICOMEDE.
Behold, now CÆSAR doth triumph, who did the Gaules ſubdue:
But NICOMEDE triumpheth not who CÆSAR hath ſubdu'd.

AN opinion there is conſtantly received; That he was given to carnall pleaſures, and that way ſpent much: alſo, that he diſhonoured many Dames, and thoſe of noble houſes: by name among others, POSTUMIA the wife of SERVIVS SVLPITIVS; LOLLIA, wife to A. GABINIVS; TERTVLLA, M. CRASSVS his wife, and MVTIA the wife of CN. POMPEIVS. For, certaine it is, that not onely the *Curiones*, both Father and Sonne, but many others alſo reproached POMPEIVS; *That for whoſe cauſe, he had put away his owne wife after ſhe had borne him three children, and whom hee was wont with a deepe ſigh and groane to call* * ÆGISTHVS; *his daughter* (I ſay) *afterwards, hee eſpouſed; upon a deſire of power and greatnes by that mariage.* But above the reſt, he caſt affection to SERVILIA the mother of M. BRVTVS; for whom both in his * laſt Conſulſhip he had bought a pearle that coſt him * ſixe millions of Seſterces: and alſo unto whom during the civill warre, over and above other free gifts, hee ſold in open port ſale, faire Lands and moſt goodly Manors at a very low price: what time verily, when moſt men mervailed that they went ſo cheape, CICERO moſt pleaſantly and conceitedly, *That yee may know* (quoth hee) *ſhee hath the better pennyworth in the purchaſe,* (a) *Tertia deducta eſt.* For it was thought that SERVILIA was bawd alſo to her owne daughter TERTIA, and brought her to CÆSAR his bed. 50

* That is, Adulterer: For that *Ægiſthus* committed adultery with *Clytemneſtra* the wife of *Agamemnon.*

* *Proximo, alij legunt primo,* that is, firſt, cum *Bibulo.*

* 46875. pound ſterling, or 150000. French crowns, according to *Budæus.*

NEITHER forbare he ſo much as mens wives in the Provinces where he was governour, as appeareth even by this his *Diſtichon*, taken up likewiſe by his Souldiours at the Gaule Triumph. (a) 51.

* *Vrbani, ſervate uxores; mœchum calvum ad ducimus,*
Auro in Gallia ſtuprum emiſti, hic ſumpſiſti mutuum.

HE was enamoured alſo upon Queenes, and among them he loved EVNOE, the Moore, wife of BOGVDES (King of *Mauritania*) upon whō, as alſo upon her husband, he beſtowed very many gifts and of infinite value, as NASO hath left in writing: but moſt eſpecially hee fancied CLEOPATRA: For, with her, hee both ſate up many times and feaſted all night long even untill the breake of day; and alſo in the ſame Barge or Galley called *Thalamegos*, had paſſed into *Ægypt*, almoſt as farre as to *Æthiopia*, but that his Armie refuſed to followe: and in the end having trained her into the Citie of *Rome*, he ſent her back againe, not without exceeding great honours, and enriched with many rewards: yea, and ſuffered her to call the ſonne ſhe bare, after his owne * name. Whom verily, ſome Greek writers have recorded, to have been very like unto CÆSAR both in ſhape and 52.

* Of which the Ægyptians Kings had alwaie ready rigged 800 as *Appian* writeth.

* That is *Ptolomæus Cæſarion.*

and also in * gate: And M. ANTONIVS avouched unto the Senate, that by the same resemblance he knew him to be his sonne: averring withall, That C. MATIVS, CAIVS OPPIVS, & the rest of CÆSARS friends knew as much. Of whō, C. OPPIVS (as if the thing were so pregnant, that it required some Apologie & defence) put forth a book entituled thus: TAAT HE WAS NOT CÆSARS SONNE, WHOM CLEOPATRA FATHERED VPON HIM. HELVIUS CINNA, a Tribune of the Com. confessed unto many persons, That hee had a Law drawne out in writing & in readines, which CÆSAR being absent himselfe cō. maunded him to propose, to this effect, *That it might be lawfull for him to marrie* * *what wives and as* * *many as he would, for to get children upon.* And that no man need at all to doubt how infamous he was, both for (*b*) uncleanesse of body against kinde, and also for adulteries, CVRIO the Father in a certaine Oration calleth him *a woman for all men, and a man for all women.*

* *Incessu*, in his gang or manner of going.

* *Quas et quot, ducere vellet*, even an Alien.

* For otherwise, πολυγαμία was unlawfull. And *Antonius* was the first Romaine that had two wives at once.

53. THAT he was a most sparie drinker of wine, his very enemies would never denie. Whereupon arose this Apophthegm of M. CATO, *That of all that ever were,* CÆSAR *alone came sober to the overthrow of the State.* For, about his foode and diet C. OPPIVS sheweth hee was so indifferent & without curiosity, that when upon a time his Host set before him upon the bord olde ranke oile in steed of greene, sweet, & fresh, so that other guests refused it, he onely (by his saying) fell to it & eate therof the more liberally; because he would not be thought to blame his * Host either for negligence or rusticitie.

* *Conditum oleum penult. cor.* or *conditum* producti. *id est unguentum*, an ointment.

* Or friend.

54 FROM other mens goods he held not his hands, neither when he had the cō. mand of Armies abroad, nor when he was in place of magistracie at home: For, in *Spaine* (as some have recorded) he took money of the * Proconsul, & the Allies there, and that by way of begging, to help him out of debt: and certaine townes of the * *Lusitanes*, he sacked in hostile manner, albeit they denied not to do whatsoever he commanded them; and besides, did set open their gates for him against his comming: In *Gaule* he robbed & spoiled the Chappels & * Temples of the Gods, full of rich gifts & oblations. As for Cities, he put them to the sack, more often for bootie sake and pillage, than for any trespasse committed. Whereupon it came to passe, that he got abundance of gold, so as of it which he had to spare and did set to sale, * he sold throughout *Italy* and in the Provinces after (*a*) 3000 sesterces of silver the pound weight. In his first Consulship, when he had stollen out of the Capitoll three thousand pound waight of gold, hee bestowed in the place thereof as much brasse guilt. The priviledges of Societie and alliance with the Romanes, as also Kings Titles he gave for summes of money: as who (for example) from * PTOLOMEVS that was but one, tooke away wel-neere 6000 * talents, in the name of himselfe & POMPEIVS: But afterwards by most open pilling, poling, and sacriledges, he maintained the charges both of civill warres, and also of his triumphes and * solemne shewes exhibited to the people.

* *Tubero.*

* That is, in Portugale.

* *Templaq; deorū, &c.* or *templaq; dearum, &c.* the temples, ful of rich gifts and oblations to the Gods.

* *Divenderet*, some reade *divideret*, hee distributed and dealt away.

* *Auletes.*

Sc: of silver after 80 pound weight the talent.

* *Munerum*

* *Eloquentia, militarique re*, after *Lipsius.*

55 IN eloquence and warlike feates together, he either equalled or excelled the glory of the very best. After his accusation of DOLOBELLA, he was no doubt ranged in the ranke of the principall Advocates at Law. Certes, CICERO in his Catalogue of Oratours to BRVTVS, sayeth; *He cannot see any one, unto whom* CÆSAR *might give place*; affirming withall, *That hee holdeth an elegant and gay, a stately also, and in some sort a generous and Gentlemanlike kind of pleading*: And unto CORNELIVS NEPOS, thus wrote he of the same CÆSAR. *What should a man*

say

say more? which of all there Oratours that practised nothing else but Oratorie, will you preferre before this CÆSAR? *who is there in sentences either quicker or comming thicker? who for words, yeelded more gallant or more elegant?* Hee seemeth whiles he was yet but young, to haue followed that forme of eloquence onely, which STRABO CÆSAR professed: out of whose Oration also intituled, *Pro Sardis*; he transferred some sentences, worde for word, into his owne, called *Diuinatio*. It is said, that in his * *Pronunciation*, he used an high and shrill voyce; an ardent motion; and earnest gesture, not without a lovely grace. Some Orations he left behind him (in writing.) Among which certaine goe under his name, but vntruely as namely that *pro* Q. METELLO: which AVGVSTVS deemeth (and not without good cause) to to haue beene written rather by Notaries, who either tooke not his words aright, or wrote not so fast, as he deliuered them, than penned by himselfe. For in certaine copies I find that it had not so much as this Inscription, Pro METELLO: but * *quam scripsit* METELLO: being (as it is indeede) a speech comming from the person of CÆSAR, cleering METELLVS and himselfe, against the criminations and slaunders of common backebiters to them both. The Oration likewise,* *Ad* MILITES, in *Spaine*, the same AVGVSTVS hardly thinketh to be his: And yet there be 2. of them extant: the one, was pronounced at the former battaile: the other, at the latter: when, by the report of ASINIVS POLLIO, he had not so much as any time to make a speech; the enemies ran upon him & charged so suddainly.

* Take it generally for the whole Action.

* Which he wrote for, or to Metellus.

* Orat. apud Milites.

He left Commentaries also *of his owne Acts*, to wit, as touching *the Gaule-warre, and the Ciuill warre with* POMPEIVS. For, of the ALEXANDRINE, AFRICAN, and *Spanish warres*, who was the writer it is uncertaine: Whilest some thinke it was OPPIVS; others, HIRTIVS; who also made up and finished the last of the *Gaule-war*, which was unperfect. As concerning those Commentaries aforesaid of CÆSAR, CICERO in the* same booke, writeth thus: *Hee wrote Commentaries exceeding well, I assure you, to be liked: (naked they be, straight and vpright, yea and louely too, being deuested, as it were, of all ornaments & trimme attire of Style) but while his mind was; that other disposed to write a complet historie, should furnish and serue themselues with matter there ready to their hands, happilie to some foolish folke he did some pleasure, who are willing to curle and frizle the same with their crisping pins, but surely the wiser sort he skared altogither from writing.* Of the same Commentaries, HIRTIVS giueth this report, They are quoth he, in the iudgement of all men so approued, that it seemes he hath prevented writers, and not given them any helpe. And yet, our admiration of this matter is more than all mens beside. For, whereas others doe know onely how well and purely they were penned, wee note also with what facilitie & expedition he wrote them. POLLIO ASINIVS thinketh they were compiled with smal care & diligence: with as little regard also of sound truth: seeing that CÆSAR receiued hand ouer head, & beleeued most things lightly: namely such as were by others atchieued; and euen those Actes which himselfe exploited either of purpose or for default of memorie hee put downe wrong: He supposeth also that he meant to haue writtē the same a new & corrected thē. He left moreouer ij. books, *de Analogia*: & as many * *Anticatones* besides

* *Ad Brutum.*

* *Asinius Pollio.*

* Against *Cicero* in the dispraise of *Cato Vticensis* in whose commendation *Cicero* had written before.

beſids a *Poeme*, entituled *Iter*; of which bookes the *formoſt he made in his paſſage ouer the Alpes, what time as hauing ridde his *Circuits* and finiſhed the *Aſſiſes*, he returned out of the hither prouince of *Gaule* to his armie: Thoſe next *following, about the time of the battaile at *Munda*. And the laſt * of all, whiles he trauailed from the Citie of Rome into the farther prouince of Spaine, and performed that iourney within * 24. dayes. Extant, there bee alſo Epiſtles of his written unto the Senate: which (as it ſeemeth) he was the firſt that turned into pages and leaues, euen to a forme of a * *Memoriall*: whereas before time, the Conſuls and generalles, never ſent any letters but writtē overthwart the paper. MISSIVES likewiſe there be of his written to CICERO, and to familiar friends as touching home-affaires. In which, if any matters of ſecrecie were to be carried, he wrote them by priuie * markes: that is to ſay, placing the letters in ſuch order, as there could not one word be made of them. Which if a man would deſcypher and find out, he muſt of *Neceſsitie* exchaunge euerie fourth letter of the Alphabet; to wit, d. for a. and the reſt * likewiſe. Furthermore there be certaine workes of his abroad in mens hands written when he was a boy & a very youth: as namely, *The Praiſes of* HERCULES, *the Tragedie of* OEDIPUS: *as alſo, Collects of Sayings and* APOPHTHEGMES: All which pamphlets, AUGUSTUS forbad to be publiſhed, in a certaine Epiſtle of his; which beeing verie briefe and plaine; he ſent to POMPEIUS MACER whome hee had appointed for the diſpoſing and ordering of his *Libraries*.

57 In * handling his weapon moſt skilfull he was, and in horſemanſhip as cunning: But what paines he would take, it is incredible. In the marching of his armie, his manner was to be formoſt: ſometime on horſebacke, moreoften on foote: bare headed, whether the Sunne ſhone, or the Clouds poured raine. He made exceeding long Iournies with incredible ſpeede: euen an hundred miles a day riding in ſome hired * wagon, if he were lightly appointed otherwiſe and without cariages. Were riuers in his way to hinder his paſſage? croſſe ouer them he would; either ſwimming, or els bearing himſelfe upon blowed leather * bottles: ſo that, verie often he preuented the letter-cariers, and meſſengers of his comming.

58 In performing his expeditions & martialexploites doubtful it is, whether he were more warie or adventurous? He neither ledde his armie at any time through wayes dangerous for ambuſhments, before he had throughly vewed and deſcried the ſituation of the quarters. nor put ouer his fleete into *Britaine*, vntill he had beforehand in * proper perſon ſounded the hauens, and tryed the manner of ſayling, and arriuall to the Iland. Howbeit, the ſame man, (as circumſpect as he was) upon newes brought unto him, that his Campe was beleagured in Germaine; paſſed through his enemies *Corps de guard* in French habite, and ſo came unto his owne men. From *Brindis* to *Dirrhachium*, he ſayled ouer Sea in * winter, betweene ij. Fleetes of the enemies riding oppoſite one to the other: and whiles his own forces which he had commanded to follow ſtreight after him, lingered ſtill behinde; hauing ſent meſſengers oftentimes to call them away but all in vaine, at laſt himſelfe ſecretly in the night went abourd into a verie ſmall botume, with his head hooded: and neither diſcovered who he was, nor ſuffered the pillot to giue way vnto the Tempeſt that came

*De Analogia

*Anti-Catones

*Iter.

*Or rather 27.

*A Booke of remembrance.

*In manner of Cyphres.

* e for b &c.

* Or bearing armes.

* Or riding an horſe.

* Or carroch with fowre wheeles, τετρακυκλον, or τετρασυρον, Græcè. In imitatiō here of the Romains deuiſed *Aſcogephroi, quaſi ἀσκο. γεφύρας*, bridges founded upon ſuch leather bottles blowne with wind. or lightly ſtuffed with ſtraw.

*Yet himſelfe writeth that he ſent C. *Voſſenus* before.

*Hiems, or in a tempeſtuous and ſtormie ſeaſon, as *Virgil* and others, vſe the word,

came full affront the vesseil, before hee was well nere overwhelmed with the waves.

No religious feare of diuine prodigies could ever fray him from any enterprise, or stay him if it were once in hand. As he sacrificed vpon a time, the beast made an escape & ran away: yet for all that differred not he his journey against SCIPIO and IVBA He fortuned also to take a fall then, even as hee went forth of the ship to land: but turning this foretoken to the better presage, *I take possession* quoth hee, *of thee, O Afrike*. Moreouer, in verie skorne, and to make but a mockerie of those propheſies, whereby the name of *Scipions* was fatall to that province, and held luckie and invincible there, he had with him in his Campe the most base and abiect fellow of all the *Cornelian* family, & who in reproch of his life was surnamed *SALVITO.

59

*Or *Salutio*. Read *Plinie Natur.* Hist. lib. 7. cap. 12.

He fought* not often set fields appointed before hand, but uppon the present occasion offred; Many times he struck a battaile immediatly after his iourny, otherwhiles in most foule & stormie wether, when no man ever thought he would once sturre. Neither held he off, and detracted fight, but in his latter dayes: being then of this opinion that the oftener he had gotten victorie, the lesse he was to venture and make tryall of fortune; Also, *That a victorie could gaine him nothing so much, as some disasterous calamitie might take from him*. No enemie put he ever to flight, but he discamped him and draue him out of the field. By this meanes he gave them whom hee had once discomfited, no time to be thinke themselues. In any doubtfull and dangerous service, his manner was to send away the horses, and his owne with the first: to the ende, that when all meanes of flight were gone, they might of necessitie be forced the rather to stand to it and abide to the last.

60

**Non sæpe*. Some read, *non tantum*, not onely &c. but also.

The horse he used to ride upon was strangly marked, with feete resembling verie neere a mans, and the houes cloven like toes, which horse was foaled about home: and when the Soothsayers of their learning had pronounced; that he presaged unto his owner the Empire of the whole world, verie carefull hee was to reare him and nourish him. Now when as the beast would abide no man els to ride him, himselfe was he that backed him first. The full pourtraict and proportion of which horse, he dedicated also afterwards before the Temple of *Venus (a) Genitrix*.

61

Many a time himselfe alone renued the battaile when it was discomfited, stading in their way that fled & holding thē one by one backe: yea & by wreathing their throats he turned them againe vpō the enemies, Thus dealt he I say with his own soldiers, whē they were many times verily so fearefully maskared, that a* Standerdbearer threatned as he staied him, to smite him with the* foote-poinct of the speare that carried the (b) Aegle: and another left behinde him the Ensigne in CÆSAR shand as he deteined it.

62

**Aquilifer*. Some read *Aquilifero*, as if *Cæsar* threatned the Standerdbearer. *See Valer. Max. lib. 3 cap 2.*

*Wherewith it was pitched into the ground.

63. Of his constant resolution these be no lesse tokens, if not greater (which I shall now reherse). After the battaile af PHARSALIA, when he had sent his forces before into *Africke*, and himselfe crossed the seas through the streight of *Hellespont* in a small * passengers barke, where he met with L. CASSIUS one of the adverse part, with x. strong war-ships armed with brasen beakeheads; he avoided him not, nor, gave way: but affronting him, began to exhort him for to yeld: and so upon his humble supplication receiued him abourd.

**Victoria navicula*. a ferrie boate If you read *victor*, i. being conqueror, distinguish there.

64 At *Alexandria* being buſie about the aſſault and winning of a bridge where by a ſodaine ſallie of the enemies he was driven, to take a boat, & many beſides made haſt to get into the ſame, he lept into the ſea, and by ſwimming almoſt a quarter of a mile recouered cleare the next ſhip: bearing up his left hand all the while, for feare the writings which he held therein ſhould take wet, and drawing his rich coate (*a*) armour after him by the teeth, becauſe the enemie ſhould not haue it as a ſpoyle.

65 His ſoldiers hee allowed for good, in regard neither of * manners and behauiour, nor of * welth and outward eſtate, but onely of bodily ſtrength: & he uſed them all with like ſeueritie: with like indulgence alſo and ſufferance. For he awed and chaſtiſed them not in all places nor at all times: but only when the enemie was very neere at hand: and then eſpecially was he moſt ſeuere, and preciſe in exacting and executing of diſcipline: in ſo much, as hee would not giue thē warning of the time; either of journey or of battaile, but kept thē readie, intentiue & preſt to be led forth vpō a ſuddaine, euerie minute of an houre, whether ſoeuer he wold; this did he alſo many times without any cauſe, eſpecially upō rainie daies & feſtivals. And admoniſhing his ſoldiers ever & among, to obſerue and haue an ey unto him, he would ſuddainely in the day-time or by night, withdraw himſelfe out of the way: yea & ſtretch out his iourny more thē ordinarie; even to tyre them out who were late in following after:

This ſeemeth ſtrang and contrary to the Romane diſcipline.

* *a fortuna, ἀπὸ τύχης*, others read, *a forma*, i. beauty, fauour, and feature of body

66 As for his ſoldiers that were terrified with the rumor of their enemies, his manner was to animate and encourage them, not by denying or * diminiſhing, but by augmenting the ſame to the higheſt degree, even above the truth. And thus upon a time, when the expectation of IVBA his comming was terrible, he called his ſoldiers togither: and in a publike ſpeech unto them. Be it knowne unto you all, quoth he, *That within theſe very fewe dayes the King will bee here with a power of * Legions of* 30000. men of armes: an hundred thowſand light * armours and three hundred *Elephants. Forbeare therefore ſome of you to enquire or imagine further of the matter: but giue credite unto me, that know this for a truth: Or elſe verely I will embarque you in the Oldeſt ſhip*, I can get, *& cauſe you to be carried away with any winde, into what Landes and Countries it ſhall be your fortunes to fall upon.*

* *Minuendo*, or *inhibendo*. i. Suppreſſing. which might ſeeme good pollicie.

* Fotemen heauily armed.

* Footemen lightly armed.

As touching his ſoldiers treſpaſſes and delinquencies, he neither obſerued and tooke knowledge of them all, nor yet puniſhed them fully to the * proportion. But as he made ſtreight inquiſition after thoſe who trayterouſly forſooke their colours, and were mutinous, and proceeded againſt them with rigour: ſo, at others he would winke. Sometimes alſo, after a great battaile and victorie obtained, he releaſed them all of militarie duties; permitting them in all licentiouſneſſe to roiſt and royot wantonly here and there: beeing wont to giue it out, *That his ſouldiers (perfumed though they were with Odours*: and beſmeered with ſweete oyles) *could fight valiantly*. Neither called he them in his publike oration, plaine ſoldiours, but by a more pleaſing name, *Fellow-ſoldiers*. Furthermore he maintained them ſo trim and braue, that he ſtucke not to ſet them out in poliſhed armour, damasked with ſiluer and gold: as well for goodly ſhewe, as becauſe they ſhould in battaile take better hold and keepe the ſame more ſurely for feare of damage and loſſe. Moreouer he loued them ſo affectionatley, that when he heard of * TITVRIVS his ouerthrow, he ſuffered

67

* *Pro modo*, or, *pro more*. i. after the manner of militarie diſcipline.

* And the Legions with him

A. V. C. 700.

ſuffred the haire of his head and beard to growe long, and would not cut the ſame before he had reuenged their death. By which meanes, he both had his ſoldiers moſt devoted unto him, and alſo made them right valorous.

When he was entred into the Ciuill warre, the Centurions of euerie Legion preſented vnto him one horſeman a peece, provided out of their owne (*a*) priuate ſtocke; and generally all his ſoldiers offred their ſeruice freely, without allowance of corne or wages out of his purſe: conſidering that the welthier ſort had taken uppon them the finding and maintenance of the poorer. Neither all that long time of ſolderie, was their any of them that once revolted from him; and verie many being taken priſoners (by the enemies) & hauing life granted vnto them upon cõdition, they would ſerve as ſoldiers againſt him, refuſed it. Hunger and other extremities which neceſſarily follow warre, not onely whilſt they were beſeeged, but alſo when themſelues beleagured others; they indured ſo reſolutely, that during their ſtrong ſiedge and fortification againſt Dyrrachium, POMPEY, when he ſaw what kinde of bread made of a certaine (*b*) Herbe they liued upon, ſaid, *He had to deale with wild beaſts.* commanding withall, the ſame quickly to be had away, and not ſhewed to any one: For feare, leaſt his owne ſoldiers hearts ſhould be utterly daunted, ſeeing once the patience and conſtancie of their enemies. And how valiantly they bare themſelues in fight, this on thing may teſtifie: that hauing taken one foyle in a battaile before *Dyrrachium*, they volũtarily offered to be (*c*) executed therfore; in ſo much as their Generall was more troubled about comforting then puniſhing thẽ. In all other battailes, they fewer in number by many parts, eaſily vanquiſhed, infinit forces of their enemies. To conclude, one (*d*) cohort & no more of the 6. Legion, which had the keeping of a *skonce, made good the place & held out for certaine houres againſt foure of POMPEIS Legions: and were in manner all of thẽ throughout ſhot into their bodies with a multitude of their arrows: of which were found one hũdred & thirtie thouſand within their trẽch and rampires. And no mervaile, if a man cõſider their ſeueral facts ſingly by thẽ ſelues, either of CASSIUS SCÆVA a Centurion, or of C. ACILIVS a cõmon ſoldier: to ſay nothing of many more. SCÆVA, when his eie was ſmittẽ out, his thigh & ſhoulder ſhot through, and his buckler pereed likewiſe with the ſhot of *120. arrowes yet defended the gate of the porte cõmitted to his charge, & kept it ſtill. ACILIVS in a fight at ſea before MASSILIA, after his right hand was quite cut off, wherwith he had caught the Poope of his enemies ſhip, following herein that memorable example of CYNECIRVS among the *Greekes*, leapt notwithſtanding into the ſaide ſhippe, ſhouing and driuing before him with the boſſe and pike of his buckler thoſe that he met in his way:

68

* Or fort, at the Siege of *Dyrrachium.*

* *Plutarch.* 130.

In ten yeeres ſpace during the *Gaule-warre*, they neuer ſo much as once mutined: In the Ciuill warres ſome times they did: yet ſo, as they were ſoone reclaimed and came againe into order: not ſo much by the remiſſe indulgence as the authoritie of their Captaine: For, neuer would he yeeld one jot unto them in theſe their ſeditious tumults: nay, hee alwaies withſtood and croſſed them: And verily the 9. Legion at *Placentia*, notwithſtanding POMPEIUS yet was in armes with his power in the field) he caſherde ful and wholy, & ſent away with ſhame: yea & after many humble prayers & ſupplicatiõs with much a do reſtored he thẽ to their places again, & not before executiõ done vpõ the offenders.

69

70 As for the ſoldiers of the tenth Legion, when as in *Rome* they earneſtly called for their diſcharge from warfare,& required their rewards euen with mightie threats,& that to the exceeding dãger of the whole Citie: at what time alſo,the war was verie hote in *Afrike*, he neither would admit thẽ into his preſence,nor yet diſmiſſe thẽ albeit his friends ſeemed to ſcare him frõ taking that courſe:but with one onely word,wherby he named them (*a*) *Quirites*, inſteed of *Milites*,he did ſo gently turne and winde, yea and bring them to his bent ,that forthwith they made anſwere. *They would be his ſouldiers ſtill*: and ſo of their owne accord followed him into *Africk*, notwithſtanding he refuſed their ſeruice, And yet for all this,he ammerced and fined the moſt mutinous ſort of them with the loſſe of a third part, both of the pillage and alſo of the Lands appointed for them.

71 In affectionate love and faithfull protection of his dependants, he was not wanting in his verie youth. When he had upon a time defended MASINTHA a noble young Gentleman againſt King *HIEMPSAL, ſo earneſtly,that in the debate &altercatiõ between them he flew upon IVBA the Kings ſonne & caught him by the(*a*)beard: after that the ſaid MASINTHA was pronounced definitively the Kings* Tributarie: he forthwith both reſcued him out of their hands that would have haled him away: and alſo kept him cloſe a long time in his owne Lodging;& ſoone after his Pretorſhip there expired,when he went into *Spaine*, tooke the young gentleman away with him in his own litter among others his followers; and fauorites, and thoſe officers that attended upon him with their knitches of rods.

*Who laid claime unto *Maſintha* as his Tributarie.

**Stipendiarium quoque pronunciarunt*: how euer ſome read *pronunciavit*: as if Cæſar had auerred openly that he was his waged ſoldiour.

72 His friends he uſed at all times with ſo great curteſie and tender reſpect,that when C. OPPIUS who accõpanied him in his iourney through a wild foreſt fell ſuddainely ſicke,he gaue him rowme in the onely Inne,that was,while him ſelfe lay all night*upon the ground*without doores.Moreouer, being now become Emperour & Lord of all· ſome of them he aduanced euen frõ the loweſt degree unto the higheſt place of honour.And when he was blamed & reproved therefore,he profeſſed openly. *That if he had vſed the helpe of robbers by the highway ſide of cutters and ſwaſhbuckelers in maintaining of his owne dignitie,he would not faile but requite them and be thankefull euen to ſuch.*

*In a pallet or mattrice upon the ground.

*Vnder the Ietty of the houſe.

73 He never entertained malice & hatred againſt any man ſo deepely but willing he was to lay downe the ſame upon occaſion offered. Notwithſtanding, C. MEMMIVS had made moſt bitter inuectives againſt him, and hee againe written unto him as bitterly,yet ſoone after,when the ſaid MEMMIVS ſtoode for the Conſulſhip, hee friended him all that he could with his good word and procured him voyces. When C. CALVUS after certaine Libels and defamatorie Epigrams againſt him, dealt by the mediation of friendes for a reconciliation,he of his owne accord wrote firſt unto him. As for VALERIVS CATVLLVS (by whoſe verſes concerning MAMVRRA he could not chuſe but take knowledge that he was noted and branded with perpetuall infamie when he excuſed himſelfe unto him and was readie to make * ſatisfaction, he bad him to ſupper that verie day: & as he uſed before time, ſo he continued ſtill to make his fathers houſe his lodging.

*by ſaying *Nollem factum &c.* I am ſorrie for it:and I would I had not ſo done.

Moreouer, in his reuengements hee was by nature moſt milde. Thoſe rouers by whome he was taken priſoner, after he had forced to yeeld, becauſe

74 hee

he had ſworne before that he would hang them vpon a croſſe, he commanded that their throats ſhould be firſt cut, and then to be *crucified. CORNELIUS PHAGITA, whoſe for-laying him by night, he lying ſicke; & LATITANT hardly had eſcaped (although he gaue him a good reward*) but had like to haue beene brought unto SVLLA, he neuer could find in his heart to hurt. PHILEMON a ſeruant and ſecretarie of his, who had promiſed his enemies to take his life away by poyſon, he puniſhed onely by ſimple death, without any other torment. Being cited and called much upon to beare witneſſe againſt P. CLODIVS, for being naught with his wife POMPEIA, who was accuſed beſides for the ſame cauſe to haue polluted the ſacred* Ceremonies, he denied that he euer knew any thing of the matter, or was able to bring in euidẽce albeit both his mother AVRELIA, & IVLIA his ſiſter, had ſimply related all upon their credites euen before the ſame Iurie and Iudges. And being demanded thereupon, *wherefore then he had put away his wife? Becauſe I deeme, quoth he, that thoſe of my houſe ought to be cleere as well of ſuſpition as of crime:*

*Where note, that cruſying was a painefull death.

*2. Talents; Plutarch.

*Of *Bona Dea*: in whoſe chappell it was thought he did the deede diſguiſed in womans apparell.

The moderatiõ & clemencie which he ſhewed as well in the menaging of the ciuil war, as in his victorie, was admirable: Whẽ POMPEIVS denounced in minatory terms, that he would reckẽ *him for an enenemie, whoſoeuer he was, that failed to maintaine the Cõmon-wealth:* He for his part pronounced openly, *That he wold make ſure account of them to be his, who ſtoode indifferent betweene and were Neuters.* And ſo many, as upon the commendation of POMPEIVS before time, he had giuẽ any charg or place of cõmand unto, in his armie under him, he granted thẽ all free leave and libertie to depart unto him. Vpon Articles and conditions of yeelding moved and propounded to POMPEIVS at *Herda*, whiles between both parts there paſſed reciprocall dealing & commerce continually: when AFRANIVS and PETREIVS had taken within their Campe certaine of CEASARS ſoldiers, & (which they repented ſoone after) put them to the ſword, he would in no wiſe imitate the ſame perfidious treachery of theirs practiſed againſt him. At the battaile of *Pharſalia*, he cryed out, ſpare all Citizens; & afterwards granted unto everie one of his owne ſoldiers (none excepted) this fauour to ſaue each of thẽ one of the aduerſe part, whom he would: neither were any found or knowne ſlaine, but in the uerie medly, except AFRANIVS, FAVSTVS, & L. CEASAR the younger: and even theſe uerely, men thinke, were not with his good will put to death. Of whom notwithſtanding: both the former, to wit, AFRANIVS & FAVSTVS, after pardõ obtained had rebelled and entred into armes againe: & L. CEASR for his part, when in cruell manner by fire & ſword he had made hauock of his freed men & bondſeruants, ſpitefully ſlew the verie wild-beaſts alſo which CEASAR had prouided againſt the ſolemnitie of a publike ſhew to be exhibited before the people. To cõclude, in his very latter daies he permitted al thoſe alſo whom beforetime he had not pardoned to return into *Italy*, to gouern as magiſtrates in the Citie, & to cõmand as generals in the field. Yea the very Statues of L. SVLLA & POMPEIVS which the cõmons had ouerthrown & caſt up & down, he erected again in their due places. And if after this, there was any plot intended or word ſpoken againſt him by his aduerſaries to his hurt, he choſe rather to repreſſe than to revenge the ſame. And ſo, diuerſe conſpiraces detected and night conuenticles; hee found fault with no farther then thus, by giuing notice in ſome edict and proclamation.

75

That he had inteiligence therof. And as for ſuch as gaue out bitter ſpeeches of him, he thought it ſufficient in an open aſſemblie to give them an Admonition, not to perſiſt therein. Finally, when in a moſt ſlaunderous booke written by A. CÆCINA, and certaine verſes as rayling and reprochfull as it; deviſed by PITHOLAUS, his credite and reputation was much cracked and empaired he tooke the matter no more to the heart, than * one Citizen would haue done at an others hand:

*Ciuili animo tulit.

76

Howbeit, the reſt of his deedes and words ouerweigh and depreſſe his good parts downe: ſo as he might be thought both to haue abuſed his ſoueraintie, and worthily to haue beene murthered. For, he not only tooke upon him exceſſiue honours, to wit, continued Conſulſhip, perpetuall Dictature, &* *Preſidency* of *Manners*; and more than ſo, *the forename of* * *Emperour*, the Surname *Father of his Countrie: His ſtatue among the Kings*, an eminent *ſeate of Eſtate raiſed aboue the reſt in the Orcheſtra, among the Senatours*: but hee ſuffered alſo more ſtately dignities than beſeeming the condition of a mortall wight to bee decreed and ordained for him: namely, a golden Throne in the Curia, and before the * *Tribunal*: a ſacred (*a*) Chariot & therein a frame carying an * Image, at the ſolemne pomp of his Games *Circenſes*: Temples, Altars, his owne Images placed neere unto the Gods: a ſacred Bed-loft for ſuch Images to be beſtowed upon: a flamin, (*c*) certaine * *Luperci* (*d*): and the denomination of one (*e*) moneth after his owne name. Beſides, no honourable offices there were but he tooke and gaue at his owne pleaſure. His third and fourth Conſulſhip in name onely and title he bare: cõtenting himſelfe with the abſolute power of Dictatourſhip decreed unto him with his Cõſulares all at one time: & in both yeeres, he ſubſtituted two Conſuls under him for the three laſt moneths: ſo as, in the meane time, he held no Election but of *Tribunes* and *Aediles* of the Commons. In ſteed of Pretours he ordained Provoſts, who ſhould adminiſter the affaires of the Citie even * whiles he was preſent. And upon the very laſt day of the yeare to wit next before * the Kalends of Ianuarie, the place of a Conſulſhip being vacant by the ſuddaine death of a Conſull he conferred uppon one (*f*) that made ſuite to enioy the ſame but a few houres. With ſemblable licentiouſneſſe deſpiſing the cuſtome of his Countrie, he ordained maieſtrates to continue in office many yeares together. To. x. men of Pretours degree he graunted the Conſulate Ornaments. Such as were but enfranchized Citizens, and diuers mungrell *Gaules* no better then halfe *Barbarians*, he admitted *Senatours*. Furthermore, ouer the Mint and receipt of the City-revenewes, he ſet certaine peculiar ſeruants of his owne to be rulers. The charge and commaund of three Legions which he left in ALEXANDRIA, he committed wholly to a ſonne of RVFINUS his freed man, a ſtale youth and Catanite of his owne.

* v. *Cenſorſhip* indeed though not in name:

*Imperatoria.: Soueraine and abſolute commander,

* In the forme * Of himſelfe, as a God, *Iuliani.

*Etiam præſente ſe: ſome read *abſente te:* cleane contrarie:

* The laſt of December; A.V.C. 709.

*Made free Citizens of Rome.

77

Neither did ſome words of his which he openly deliuered, bewraie leſſe preſumptuous Lordlines, as T. AMPIUS, writeth. For example, *That the Commonwealth was now no more any* (*a*) *reall thing, but a name onely, without forme & ſhape: That* SVLLA *was altogether unlettered and no* (*b*) * *Grammarian: in giving over his Dictature. That men ought now to ſpeake with him more conſideratly, and to holde every word that he ſaith for a Law.* Nay he proceeded to this point of Arrogancie, that when upon a time in a certaine Sacrifice, the South-ſayer brought him word

*Nam Grammatici eſt dictare.

word of unlucky Inwards in the beast; and such as had no heart at all, he made answere and said, *That those which were to follow afterwards should proue more ioyfull and fortunate if it pleased him: neither was it to be taken for a prodigious and strange token, if a beast wanted an heart.* *Should signifie better fortune.

But the greatest envie and inexpiable hatred he drew upon himselfe by this occasion most of all. What time as al the Senatours in generall came unto him with many and those most honourable decrees, he receiued them sitting * still before the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*. Some thinke, that when he was about to rise up, CORNELIVS BALBVS stayed and held him backe: others are of the mind, that he never went about it. But when C: TREBATIVS aduertised him to arise unto them, he looked backe upon him with a strang kind of looke: Which deede of his was thought so much the more intollerable, for that himselfe, when PONTIVS AQVILA on of the (a) Colledge of Tribunes; stood not up nor did reuerence to him as he rode in *Tryumph* and passed by *the Trybunes Pues*, tooke such snuffe and indignation therat, that he brake out alowd into these words: *well done Tribune Aquila, Recouer thou then, the common-welth out of my hands*: and for certaine dayes togither, neuer promised ought vnto any man without this *Prouiso* and *Exception*, (b) *If* PONTIVS AQVILA *will giue me leave*: 78 *In expiabilem or exitiabilem. A deadly, & that which brought him to mischeife. *Not so much as rising vp vnto them. *Saying with all, what Sir. Remember you are *Cæsar*;

To this CONTVMELIOVS and notorious * behauiour of his toward the Senate thus despised, he adioyned a deede much more arrogant: For when as in his returne from the solemne Sacrifice of the Latine Holie dayes, among other immoderate and new acclamations of the people, one out of the multitude had set upon his Statue; a Coronet of Laurell tied about with a white * band; and EPIDIVS MARVLLVS; a *Tribune* of the Cõmons together with his colleagues CRASETIVS FLAVVS cõmanded the said band to be plucked of, & the man to be had away to prison, he takjng it to heart, either that this overture to a kingdome sped no better, or, (as he made semblance & pretended himselfe) that he was put by the glorie of refusing it, sharpely rebuked the Tribunes, & deprined them both of their authoritie. Neither for all this, was he willing afterwards to put away the infamous note of affecting and seeking after the title of a King: albeit he both made answere unto a (a) Commoner saluting him by the name of a King, *That he was* CÆSAR *and no King*: and also at the Lupercalia, when ANTONIVS the Consul impose the *Diademe* oftentimes vpon his head before the ROSTRA, did put it backe againe, and send it into the Capitoll to (b) *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*. Moreouer sundrie rumours ran rise abroad, that he would depart (for euer) to ALEXANDRIA or to (d) *Ilium*, hauing at once traslated and remooued thither the puissance and wealth of the Empire: dispeopeld *Italie* with mustring of soldiers; and withall betaken the administration of Rome-Citie unto his friends: As also, that in the next Session of the Senate, L COTTA on of the (e) *Quindecimvirs* would move the house to this effect, That for as much as it was contained in the Fatall bookes of SYBILLA, that the *Parthians* could not possiblie be vanquished but by a King, *therfore* CÆSAR *should be stiled King*. 79 *Or gesture. *Resembling a *Diadema*.

This gave occasion to the Conspiratours for to haste the execution of their designe, least of necessitie they should be driuen to assent thereto. Their counsels therefore and conferences about this matter, which before time they 80

held disperſed here and there, and proiected oftentimes by two & three in a companie, they now complotted al togither, for that by this time the very people joyned not in the preſent ſtate, ſeeing how things went; but both in ſecret and openly alſo diſtaſted ſuch ſoueraintie, and called earneſtly for protectors and maintainers of their liberties. Vpon the admiſſion of Aliens into the order of Senatours, there was * a Libell propoſed in this form (a) *Bonum Factum &c. That no man would ſhew the Senate-houſe to any new Senatours*. And theſe verſes were commonly chaunted.

*Or Bill,

Galles CEASAR *in Triumphum ducit,* * *Idem in Curia*
Galli * *Bracas depoſuerunt, latum clauum ſumpſerunt.*
The French in triumph CEASAR leads, In Senate they anon
No ſooner laid their * Breeches of, but purpled robes put on.

*Or rather, *Idem in curiam.* for the ſame *Ceſar* brought them into the Senate.

*Braces, or trouſſes, or *Bracha*, ſome take them for mantels.

As Q. *Maximus* ſubſtituted (by CEASAR) to be a Conſul for 3. Moneths entred the Theater, and the * Sergant commanded (as the manner was) that the people ſhould obſerue and (c) regard him according to his place, they all with one accord cryed out. *That he was no Conſul:* After that CÆSETIVS and MARULLUS the *Tribunes* aforeſaid, were removed out of their office, at the next Solemne aſſembly, held for *Election*, verie many voices were found declaring them ij. Conſuls Some there were who ſubſcribed under the Statue of L. BRUTUS theſe words, (d) *Would God thou were a liue*. Likewiſe under the Statue of CÆSAR himſelfe.

*Hiſter.

(e) BRUTUS for expelling the Kings, was created Conſul the firſt.
This man for expelling the Conſuls is become King, * the laſt.

*Poſtremus or *Poſtremo* at laſt *M. *Brutus*.

There conſpired againſt him more than three-ſcore the heads of which conſpiracie were C. CASSIVS, * MARCVS and DECIVS BRUTVS; who hauing made doubt at firſt whether by * diuiding themſelues into partes, they ſhould caſt him downe the (f) bridge, as he called the Tribes to giue their voices at the *Election* in *Mars* fielde, and ſo take him when hee was downe and kill him right out: or ſet uppon him in the high ſtreete called * *Sacra via*: or elſe in the very entrance to the Theater? after that the Senate had ſummons to meete in Counſell within the Court of POMPEIVS upon the * Ides of March, they ſoone agreed of this time and place before all others.

*Some vpon the bridge others under it.

*In which *Ceſar* dwelt after he had beene high Prieſt, *15. of March in honor of *Anna Perenna*. And becauſe the plaies were exibited in *Pompeis* Theatre. Therfore the Senate met alſo in his Curia.

81 But CÆSAR ſurely had faire warning of his death before it came, by many euident prodigies and ſtrang foretokens. Some few moneths before, when certaine new inhabitants, brought by vertue of the Law * IVLIA to dwell in the Colonie *Capua*, ouerthew moſt auncient Sepulchers for to builde them houſes to their landes; and did the ſame ſo much the more diligently and with better will, for that in ſearching they light vpon manufactures and veſſels good ſtore of Antique worke: there was found in that verie monument, wherein by report, CAPYS the founder of *Capua* lay buried, a braſen Table with a writing vpon it in Greeke words and Greeke letters to this effect: *When the bones and reliques of* CAPYS *happen to be diſcouered, it ſhall come to paſſe, that one deſcended from* IVLVS *ſhall be murdered by the hands of his neere kinſfolke, and his death ſoone after reuenged with the great calamities and miſeries of all* Italie: And leaſt any man ſhould thinke this to be a fabulous tale and forged matter, know he that CORNELIUS BALBVS a verie inward and familiar friend of CÆSAR

*Which him ſelfe promulged.

is

is the author thereof: And the verie day next preceeding his death, thoſe troupes of horſes which in his paſſage ouer the Riuer *Rubicon* hee had conſecrate and let go looſe ranging here and there without a keeper, (as he underſtood for certaine) forbare their meat and would not to die for it, touch any, yea, and ſhed teares aboundantly. Alſo, as he offered ſacrifice, the Soothſayer SPVRINA warned him to take heede of danger toward him, and which would not be differred after the Ides of *March*. Now, the verie day before the ſaid Ides, it fortuned that as the birde (*a*) * *Regaliolus*, was flying with a little branch of Lawrell, into the Court of POMPEIVS, a ſort of other birdes of diuerſe kindes from out of the grove hard by, purſued after and there pulled it in peeces: But that night next before the day of his murder, both himſelfe dreamed as he lay aſleepe, one while, that he was flying aboue the clouds: another while, that Iupiter and he ſhooke hands: and alſo his wife CALPVRINA, imagined, that the Finiall of his houſe fell downe, and that her husband was ſtabbed in her verie boſome: and ſodainely withall the chamber doore of it ſelfe flew open. Hereupon, as alſo by reaſon of ſickelineſſe, he doubted a good while whether he ſhould keepe at home and put off thoſe matters which he had purpoſed to debate before the Senate, or no? At the laſt, being counſelled and perſwaded by DECIVS BRVTVS, not to diſappoint the Senatours who were now in frequencie aſſembled and ſtayed for his comming long ſince; he went forth when it was well neere eleuen of the clocke. And when *one met him by the way, & offered him a written pamphlet, which layd open the conſpiracie, and who they were that ſought his life, he ſhuffled the ſame among other skroes and writings which he held in his left hand as if he would haue red it anone. After this when he had killed many beaſts for ſacrifices & could ſpeede of the Gods fauour in none, he entred the * *Curia* in contempt of all Religion; and therewith laughed SPVRINA to ſcorne: charging him to bee a falſe Prophet, for that the Ides of *March* were come: and yet noe harme befell vnto him; albeit hee aunſwered, *That come indeede they were, but not yet paſt.*

* Or *Regulus quaſi rex auium.*

* *Al Obuio quidam, vel Ouio*, i. one *Ouius.*

* Of *Pompeius*

A.V.C. 710.

82 When they *ſaw once that he had taken his place, and was ſet, they ſtood round about him as ſerviceable attendants readie to do him honor: and then immediatly *CIMBER TVLLVS who had undertaken to begin firſt, ſtepped neerer unto him, as though he would have made ſome requeſt. When CÆSAR ſeemed to miſlike and put him backe, yea and by his geſture to poſt him of vnto another time, he caught hold of his gowne at both ſhoulders: whereupon as he cried out, *This is violence*, *CASSIVS came in 2. full a front & wounded him a litle beneth the *throat. Then CÆSAR catching CASSIVS by the arme thruſt it through with his ſtile or writing punches; and with that being about to leape *forward he was met with another wound and ſtayed. Now when he perceiued himſelfe beſet on everie ſide and aſſailed with drawne daggers he wrapped and couered his head with his gowne: but withall let downe the large * lap with his left hand to his legges beneath, hiding thereby the inferiour part alſo of his bodie, that he might fall (*d*) more decently: and ſo, with 3. and 20. wounds he was ſtabbed: during which time he gaue but one grone, without any worde uttered, and that was at the firſt thruſt; although ſome have written, that as M: BRVTVS came running upon him he ſaid, Καὶ σὺ τέκνον; I: (*e*) *And thou my ſonne.*

* *Conſpicati*, or *conſpirati*: the conſpiratours ſtood round about him.

* Who before had beene his great friend & ſided with him

* *Alter Caſſius* or *alter e Caſſiis* one of the *Caſſi*, *vel alter Caſca.*

* *Iugulum*, or the chanell bone.

* Out of his chaire.

* Which they were wont to caſt ouer their ſhoulders. *Senec. de benefico.* Or tucke up ſlack above the waſt.

Some read: Καὶ σὺ εἰ ἐκεῖνον.

When

When all others fled ſundrie waies, there lay he a good while dead, untill three of his owne pages beſtowed him in a licter: and ſo with one * arme hanging downe, carried him home. Neither in ſo many wounds, was there, as ANTISTIVS his Phyſitian deemed, any one found mortall, but that which he receiued * ſecond, in his breaſt. The conſpiratours were minded to haue dragged his Corps, after hee was thus ſlaine, into the Riuer *Tiberis*; confiſcated his goods, and repealed all his acts: but for feare of M. ANTONIUS the Conſul and LEPIDVS. Maiſter of the *Horſemen*, they held their hands and gaue ouer thoſe courſes.

83 At the demand therefore of L. PISO whoſe daughter he married, his laſt will and Teſtament was opened and red in the houſe of ANTONIUS: which will, upon the * Ides of September next before, he had made in his own houſe at *Lauicum* & cõmitted to the keeping of the chiefe (*a*) veſtal Virgin. Q. *Tubero* writeth, that from his firſt Conſulſhip unto the beginning of the Ciuil war, he was euer wont to write downe for his heire, Cn. POMPEIVS, and to reade the ſaide will unto his ſoldiers in their publike aſſemblie. But in this laſt Teſtament of his, he ordained three Coheires, the nephewes all * of his ſiſters. To wit * C. OCTAVIVS, of three fouth parts, L. PINARIVS, and Q. PEDIVS of on fourth part remaining. In the latter end and bottome of this Teſtamentarie Inſtrument, he adopted alſo: C. OCTAVIVS into his houſe & name; and many of thoſe that afterwards murdered him, he nominated for guardiers to his * ſonne, if it fortuned he had any borne. Yea and DECIMVS BRVTVS to be one of his ſecond heires in remainder. Hee bequeathed in his legacies unto the * people his hortyards about *Tiberis* to ly common; & three * hundred Seſterces to them by the *Poll*.

84 The ſolemnitie of his Buriall being proclaimed, there was a pile of wood for his funerall fire reared in *Mars* field, neere unto the Tombe of * IVLIA. Before the *Roſtra* was placed a * chappell all guilt reſembling the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*: and within it * a Bedſteed of *Iuorie*, richly ſpred with cloth of gold and purple, and at the head thereof a * *Tropie* ſupporting the Robe wherein he was ſlaine: Now becauſe it was thought, that thoſe ſhould not have day enough who came to his offerings and brought their oblations, commandement was giuen, that without obſeruing the * ſtrict order, euery man might bring which way & by what ſtreete of the Cittie he would, his gift into *Mars* field above ſaid. During the Games and playes then exhibited there were chaunted certaine verſes fitly applyed as well to moove pittie as hatred withall of his death, and namely out of the Tragedie of *Pacuvius*, entituled, (*a*) The iudgement of Armour, *Men' Men' ſervaſſe, ut eſſent qui me perderent*? Alas the while, that I theſe men ſhould ſaue: By bloudy death, to bring me to my grave; As alſo another out of that of ACCIVS to the ſame ſence. Inſteed of a laudatorie oration, ANTONIVS the Conſul pronounced by the publike Crier that Act of the Senate, wherein they decreede for him *all honour, both diuine and humaine*: likewiſe the ſolemne oth wherewith they all obliged themſelues to defend the life and perſon of him and none but him: whereunto he added ſome few words of his owne. The fore ſaide * Bed, the Magiſtrates for the time being, and ſuch as had borne office of State alreadie, had *conveied into the forum before the ROSTRA; which when ſome intended to

*Someexpoũd this of the licter as if one corner thereof hung downe, carried as it was by three.
*Whereby it ſeemeth he had one giuen him in his neck before: which the Author hath omitted.
*13. of September.
*So hee was there great Vncle.
*Afterwards *Auguſtus*, ſonne of *Atia Iulius Cæſars* ſiſters daughter.
*As *Poſthumus* is borne after his death.
*Of *Rome*.
*46. l. 10. d. ob. ſtarling.
*His owne daughter, wife to *Pompey* who died of childe birth, and by ſpeciall priuiledge, was entered in *Mars* field.
*Or Herſe.
*Or Bierre. *Appion*, a pole.
*Which was, That the magiſtrates and Senatours ſhold go before without their badges & robes of dignitie: the knights and gentlemen follow in murning weed: then the ſoldiers, carrying the heads or points of their weapons downeward: laſt of all, the common people marſhalled according to their Tribes.
*or *Atius*, who wrote a Tragedie bearing the ſame title:
*Or *Bierre*.
*Deſulerant.

to burn within the cell of IVPITER CAPITOLINVS, others in the *Court of POMPEIUS: all of a ſodaine there were ij. fellowes with ſwords girt to their ſides: and carrying ij. Iavelins, who with light burning Tapers, ſet it on fire: and with that immediatly the multitude that ſtood round about gat drie ſticks together and heaped them thereupon, with the Tribunall ſeats and other pues, *of inferiour Magiſtrats, & whatſoeuer beſide was readie &(c) next at hand. After them, the Minſtrels and ſtage players diſrobed themſelues of thoſe veſtiments which out of the furniture of his Tryumphs they had put on for the preſent uſe and occaſion, rent the ſame in peeces and flung all into the flaming fire. The olde Legionarie ſoldiers alſo did the like by their armour, wherein they brauely went to ſolemnize his funerall, Yea and moſt of the Cittie Dames did no leſſe by their Iewels and Ornaments which they had about them: Their childrens pendant brooches alſo and rich coats embrodred and bordred with purple. In this exceeding ſorrow and publike mourning, a number there were beſides from forraine Nations: who euerie one after their Countrie manner, lamented round one after another, by companies in their turnes: but above all other the *Iewes: who alſo for many nights together frequented the place of his ſepulture and where his bodie was burnt.

*Where he was murdered.

*Or Benches.

*They affected Cæſar (it ſhould ſeem) in regard of many benefits, and namely for bringing Pompeie to confuſion who had forced their cheife Cittie.

The common people ſtreight after his funerall obſequies went with burning fire-brands and torches to the dwelling houſes of BRVTVS and CASSIVS: From whence being hardly repelled, they meeting with HELVIUS CINNA by the way, and miſtaking his name, as if he had beene CORNELIVS CINNA (one who the the day before had made a bitter invective as touching CÆSAR and whom they ſought for) him they ſlew: ſet his head vpon a ſpeare, and ſo carried it about with them. After this they erected in the Forum a ſolide *Columne almoſt 20. foote high, of Numidian Marble: with this title graven thereupon; PARENTI PATRIÆ. *To the father of his Countrie.* At which piller for a long time they uſed ſtill to ſacrifice, to make vowes and prayers, to determine and end certaine controverſies interpoſing alwaies their oth by the name of CÆSAR. 85

*Or Piller.

CÆSAR left behind him in the minds of certaine friends about him, a ſuſpition, that he was neither willing to have lived any longer, nor cared at all for life: becauſe he ſtood not well to health, but was euermore craſie: & thereupon neglected as well all religious warnings from the Gods, as alſo what reports ſoeuer his friends preſented unto him. There be that thinke, howe truſting upon that laſt Act of the Senate, and there oth aforeſaid, he diſcharged the Guard of Spaniards from about him, who armed with ſwordes, gaue attendance *upon his perſon. Others contrariwiſe are of opinion; that ſeeing as he did how he was forelaied on euerie ſide, and confeſſing, it were better once for all to undergoe thoſe imminent daungers, than alwaies to ſtand in feare thereof, he was wont to ſay: *It concerned not himſelfe ſo much as it did the ſtate, that hee ſhould liue and bee ſafe: As for him, he had gotten long ſince power and glorie enough: marie the Common-wealth (if ought but well came to him) ſhould not bee at quiet, but incurre the troubles of Ciuill warre, the iſſue whereof would be farre worſe then euer it had beene.* 86

*Inſectantium.

This one thing verily, all men well neere are agreed upon, *That ſuch a death* 87

death befell unto him as himselfe in manner wished. For not onely uppon a
*Cyripadiæ, 8 time when he had read in *Xenophon, how Cyrus beeing at the point of death gaue some order for his funerall, hee setting light by so lingering and slow a kind of death, had wished to die quickely and of a suddaine; but also the verie daie before he was killed, in a certaine discourse mooved at supper in Marcus Lepidus house uppon this point, What was the best ende of a mans life? preferred that which was sodaine and unlooked for.

88 He died in the * 56. yeare of his age and was canonized among the
*In the 8, Septimane. Gods, not onely by their voice who decreed such honour unto him, but also by the perswasion of the common people. For at those Games and playes which were the first that Augvstvs his heire exhibited for him thus *deified, there shone a blazing starre for seuen dayes together, arising
*Consecrate. about the eleuenth houre of the day; and beleeved it was to be the soule of Cæsar received up into heaven. For this cause also uppon his Image there is a starre set to the uerie Crowne of his head. Thought good it was to damme vp (*b*) the Court where in hee was murdred: to name the *Ides* of *March* (*c*) *Parricidium*, and that the Senate should neuer meete in Counsell upon that day.

89 Of these murderers, there was not one in manner that either survived
**Cassius*: as *Plutarch* reporteth, and *Brutus* according to *Dion*, and the ij. *Cascaes*. A notable iudgement of Almightie God upon the unnatural murderers of their Soueraine. him aboue three yeares, or died of his naturall death. All stood condemned: and by one mishap or other perished: some by ship-wracke, others in battaile: and * and some againe, shortened their own daies, with the verie same dagger, wherewith they had wounded

Cæsar.

THE HISTORIE OF Octauius Cæsar Augustus,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



THat the principall name & linage of the Octavii, dwelt in times past at *Velitræ*, there be many evidences to shewe: For, both a street in the most frequented place of the said towne long since carried the name Octavius, and also there was to be seene an Altar there consecrated* by one Octavius, who being Generall of the field in a warre againstthe borderers, whē he happened to be sacrificing to *Mars*, upon newes brought that the enemie gave a suddaine charge, caught the Inwards of the beast sacrificed halfe raw as they were, out of the * fire; cut and offered them accordingly: & so entred into battaile and returned with victorie. There is beside, a publike Act extant upon record, wherein decreed and provided it was, that everie yeare after, the inwards in like manner should bee

* Or to Octauium: Octauio Consecratæ

* where they were a boyling or rosting.

presented unto *Mars*, and the rest of the sacrifice remaining, carried backe unto the *Octauij*.

2 *Regem inter Romanos allecta

*These *Octauij*, being by *K.* TARQVINIVS PRISCVS naturalized Romaines soone after translated and admitted by SERVIVS TVLLVS, into the Senate among the Patritians, & Nobles, in processe of time ranged themselues with the commons, and with much adoe at length, by the meanes of IVLIVS of sacred *Memrie* returned to the Patritian degree again: The first of these that by the peoples election bare any *Magistracie*, was C. RVFVS: who having beene *Questor* begat Cn. and C. From thē descended two families of the OCTAVII, and those for their estate of life farre different. For Cn. and all the rest from him one after another, attained to places of highest honour: but CAIVS and his posteritie everie one evē unto the father of AVGVSTVS, (such was either their fortune or their will,) staied in the order aud degree of gentlemen, and rose no higher. *The great Grandfather of* AAGVSTVS, in the second* *Punike* war, serued in qualitie of a Militar* *Tribune*, in Sicilie, under ÆMILIVS PAPVS *Lord generall*. His father contenting himselfe with bearing office like another Burgesse in his owne Bourrough, being left welthie by his father, grew to a good estate, and lived to be an olde man, in much peace and tranquilitie. But of these matters let others make report. AVGVSTVS himselfe writeth noe more but thus. That the house from whence he came, was of *Romaine Gentlemen*, welthie and ancient withall, wherein the first that ever came to be Senatour was his father. M. ANTONIVS hitteth him in the teeth with his great Grandfather: saying he was but a *Libertine* borne, and by occupation a* roper, & come out of a Village of the *Thurines*: also that his Grandfather was no better then a verie* banquer. Neither have I founde any more, as touching the Auncestours of AVGVSTVS by the Fathers side:

*Against *Anniball* and the *Carthaginians*: *Colonel of 3000 footmen

*A seller of ropes: *restionē*, not *Restionem* with a Capitall *R.* as if it were a proper name.

*Argentarium an exchanger of monie for gaine.

OCTAVIVS his father, from the verie beginning of his age, was of great welth and reputation; so that I cannot but mervaile, that hee also hath beene reported by some a banquer or monie changer: yea and one of the (*a*) dealers of monie and servitours employed in CAMPVS MARTIVS, by those that stand for offices: For having beene from his verie cradle brought vppe in wealth highly and plentifully; hē both attained unto honorable dignities with facilitie, and administred the same with credite and reputation. Presently uppon his Pretourshippe, the province of *Macedonie* fell unto his lot. And in his iourney thither, the fugitives, to wit the reliques of SPARTACVS and CATILINES forces, who then helde the *Thurine* teritorie hee defaited; having commission extraordinarily given unto him in the senate so to doe: This province hee governed with noe lesse iustice then fortitude. For having discomfited in a great battaile the *Bessi* and the *Thracians*, he dealt so well with the *Allies* and confederats of that Kingdome: that there be certaine letters of M. TVLLIVS CICERO extant, wherein he exhorteth and admonisheth his brother QVINTVS, (who at the same time, little to his credite & good name, administred the procōsulship of *Asia*) for to imitate his neigbour OCTAVIVS, in doing well by the *Allies*, and winning their love thereby.

3

4 As he departed out of *Macedonie* before that he could professe himselfe to be a suiter for the Consulship, he died a suddaine death: leaving these children behind

behind him alive, namely two daughters OCTAVIA the elder, which hee had by ANCHARIA: OCTAVIA the younger, and AVGVSTVS likewise, by ATIA. This ATIA was the daughter of M. ATIVS BALBVS, and IVLIA the sister of C. CÆSAR. BALBVS by his fathers side was an ARICINE, a man that shewed Senatours Images and armes in his house: by his mother linked to MAGNVS POMPEIVS in the neerest degree of consanguinitie. And having borne the office of Pretorship he among the xx. Commissioners devided by vertue of the Law IVLIA, the lands in the territory of CAPVA among the Commons. But M. ANTONIVS, despising the parentage and petegree of AVGVSTVS by the mother side also, twitteth him and layeth in his dish, that his great Grandsire was an *African* borne. saying on while; that he kept a shop of sweete oyles, Ointments and perfumes; another while, that he was a baker in *Aricia*. CASSIVS verily of PARMA, in a certaine Epistle: taxeth AVGVSTVS as being the Nephew not of a Baker onely, but also of a banker, in these termes. *Thou hast meale for thy mother. And then comes a banker of Nerulone, who out of a most painefull backehouse in Aricia kneadeth and moldeth it with his hands sullied by telling & exchanging monie.* * All this is spoken allegorically of his base parentage.

5 AVGVSTVS was borne, when M. TVLLIVS CICERO and ANTONIE were Consuls, the *ninth day before the Calends of October, a little before the Sun rising, in the (*a*) palatine quarter of the Citie, at a place: called *CAPITA BVBVLA: where now it hath a sacred Chappel, built and erected a little after he departed out of this world: For, as it is found in the records of the Senate, when C. LECTORIVS a yong gentleman of the Patritian order, pleaded to have some easier punishment for the adulterie, & alledged, over and besides his yong yeares & parentage. this also in his plea, before the Senatours, that he was the possessor and as it were; the warden & Sextaine of that ground or soyle, which AVGVSTVS *of happy memorie* touched (*b*) first, & requested that it might be given & granted unto the said AVGVSTVS as to his domestical and peculiar god: decreed it was that the same part of the house should be consecrated to that holy use. A.V.C. 691. *23. Of September. *Oxe or Bulls heads.

There is yet to be seene the place of his nourcery, within a suburbian house belonging to his Auncesters, neere unto *Velitræ*: a very little *Cabin*, about the bignes of a *Larder* or *Pantry*: the neighbours are possessed with a certaine conceit, as if he had been there also borne. To enter into this rowme unlesse it be of necessitie & with devout chastitie, men make it scrupulous & are affraide: upon an old conceived opinion, as if unto as many as came thether rashly and inconsiderately, a certaine horror and fearefulnes were presented. And verily, this was soone after confirmed by this occasion: For when the new Land lord & possessor of that farme house, either by chance & at unwares, or els to try some experimēt, went into it, there to take up his lodging, it happened that in the night within verie fewe houres after, being driven out from thence by some sodaine violence, (he knoweth not how,) he was found in manner halfe dead, together with bed and all, before the dore, 6

Being yet an infant, surnamed he was THVRINVS, in memorial of the beginning of his Auncestours: or else because in the countrie about *Thurij*, when hee was newly borne, his father OCTAVIVS fought a battaile against the *Fugitives*. That he was surnamed THVRINVS, my selfe am able to report by a god and sufficient evidence, as having gotten an olde little counterfeit in 7

brasse representing him being a child: which had in yron letters and those almost worne out, this name engraven. This said counterfeit, being given by me unto the * Prince, is now devoutely kept and worshipped among other his bed chamber Images. Moreover called he is oftentimes in taunting wise by M. ANTONIVS in his Epistles; THVRINVS: and himselfe writeth unto him backe againe as touching that point, nothing but this: That he marvaileth why that former name of his should be obiected unto him as a reproach. Afterwardes, he assumed the surname of C. CÆSAR: and after it of AVGVSTVS: the one by the last will of his great Vncle, by the mother side, the other by the uertue of MVNATIVS PLANCVS his sentence: For when some gave their opinion, that he ought to be stiled ROMVLVS, as if he also had beene *A Founder* of the Cittie, PLANCVS preuailed, that he should be called rather AVGVSTVS: not onely for that it was a new Surname, but also greater and more honourable, because Religious and holy places, wherein also any thing is consecrated by bird flight, and feeding of them be called AVGVSTA, *ab auctu. i.* of growing, or else *ab avium gestu gustuve: i. Of birds gesture and feeding.* Like as ENNIVS also teacheth writing in this manner.

Augusto Augurio postquam inclyta condita Roma est.

After that Noble *Rome* was built by sacred flight of Birds.

*Hadrian the Emperour.

8 He was 4. yeares old when his father died: and in the xij. yeare of his age he praised in a publike assemblie, his Grand-mother IVLIA deceased. Foure yeeres after hauing put on his virill robe, he had (*a*) militarie (*b*) gifts bestowed upon him at the African tryumph of CÆSAR, albeit by reason of his yong yeares he had not once serued in the warres: Soone after, when his Vnkle (CÆSAR) was gone into Spaine against Cn. POMPEIVS children, he followed with in a while, (being as yet not well recovered out of a greevous sickenesse,) euen through waies infested by enemies, with verie few in his traine to accompany him, and hauing suffred shipwracke besides: whereby he mightily won his Vncles love, who quickely approved his towardly behauiour and disposition, over and above his diligence in travaile. Whē CÆSAR, after he had recovered *Spaine* and brought it to his subiection, intended a voiage against the * *Daci*, and from thence against the *Parthians*, he being sent afore to *Apollonia*, became a Student there and followed his booke. And so soone as he had certaine intelligēce that CÆSAR was slaine, and himselfe made his heire: standing in doubt and suspense a long time, whether he should implore the helpe of the Legions or no: at length he gave over that course verily, as too hastie & untimely, but whē he was returned againe to *Rome*, he entred upon his inheritance, not withstanding his mother made some doubt thereof & his father in law MARTIVS * PHILIPPVS a man of Consular degree much disswaded him there fro. And from that time having levied & assembled his forces, he governed the cōmon welth first ioint ly with (*c*) M. ANTONIVS and M: LEPIDVS for the space almost of 12: yeres, and at the last for xliiij: yeares by himselfe alone:

*otherwise called Getæ,

*His mothers husband.

9 Having thus laid open the very sum as it were, of his life, I will goe through the parts thereof in particular: not by the times but by the seuerall kinds thereof, to the end the same may be shewed and knowne more distinctly: Five civill warres he made to wit, at *Mutine*, *Philippi*, *Perusium* in *Sicilie*, and at *Actium*. Of which the first & last were against M: ANTONIVS: the secōd against BRVTVS

and

and Cassius the third against L. Antonius brother to the *Triumvir*, the 4 against Sex. Pompeius, Cn. Pompeius his sonne. Of all these warres he tooke the occasion and quarrell from hence, namely, reputing and iudging in his mind nothing more meet and conuenient than the revenge of his unkles death and the maintenance of his acts and proceedinges.

No sooner was he returned from *Apollonia*, but he purposed to set upon Brutus and Cassius at unwares: and (because upon foresight of daunger they were fled secretly out of the way) to take the course of law, and in their absence to endite them of murder. As for the Plaies and games for Cæsars victory because they durst not exhibit them, whose lot and office it was so to do, himselfe set them forth. And to the end that he might go through all other matters also more resolutely; he professed himselfe to labour for the *Tribuneship in the rowme of one who fortuned to die: albeit he was one of the Nobility, though not of the Senate. But seeing that M. Antonius the Consul withstood his attempts, where as he hoped he would have beene his principall friend in that suit: and vouchsafed not unto him so much as the assistance of his owne publike authority, or helpe procured from others in any thing, without he agreed and covenanted to yeeld unto him some exceeding consideration: he betooke himselfe unto the protection of those Nobles & chiefe Senatours unto whom he perceiued that Antonius was odious: in this regard especially, that * he endevored all that he cou'd by force of armes to expell Decimus Brutus besieged at *Mutina*, out of that province which by Cæsar was granted and by the Senate confirmed unto him. And thereupon by the aduice and perswasion of some he set certaine persons priuily in hand to murder Antonius; which perilous practise of his being detected and fearing still the like danger to himselfe; he waged the old soldiers with as beautiful a larges as possiblie he could, for the defence as well of his owne person as of the state. And being appointed to lead this armie thus levied, in qualitie of propretour & together with Hirtius and Pansa, who had entred upon the Consulship, to aide D. Brutus, he made an end of this warre committed unto him within three moneths, in two fought fieldes. In the former of which, Antonie writeth that he fled, and without coat-armour or horse appeared at lenght after two dayes and shewed himselfe. But in the battaile next following, well knowne it is, that he performed the part not onely of a Captaine but also of a soldier: and in the very heat and midst of the medly, by occasion that the Standerd bearer of his owne Legion was grievously hurt, he supported the Aegle with his owne shoulders* and so carried it a good while.

10 A.V.C.710.

* Of the commons.

* i Antonius.

A.V.C.711.

* As massie & heavie as it was.

During this warre, when Hirtius had lost his life in the conflict, and Pansa soone after of his wound, it was bruited rifely abroad, that both of them were by his meanes slaine: to the ende that having defaited Antonius, and the Common-wealth beeing bereift of both Consuls, he alone might seize uppon the victorious armies. And verily the death of Pansa was so deepely suspected that Glyco the Physitian was committed to ward and durance, as if he had put poyson into his wound. A. Qvillius Niger addeth moreover and saith, that the one of the Consuls, to wit, Hirtius, was in the verie confused medly of the battaile killed by Augustus himselfe.

11

But so soone as he understood that ANTONIE after his flight was intertained by M. LEPIDVS: that other Captaines also and armies consented to take part with* the side: he forsooke without all delaies the cause of the Nobles and principall Senatours: and for the better pretence of this change and alteration of his minde, craftily and uniustly alleadged the words and deedes of certaine of them: as if (a) some had given it out of him: *That he was a boy*, (b) *Others, that he was to be* adorned, and *honoured: That neither himselfe nor the olde beaten soldiers might be rewarded according to their deserts.* And the better to approove his repentance of the former side and faction that he tooke: He fined the *Nursines*, in a great summe of monie, and more than they were able to pay; For that upon the Monuments or Tombe of those Citizens that were slaine in the battaile at *Mutina* (which at their common charges was reared) they wrote this Title, *That they died for the Libertie and Free-dome of their Cittie.*

12 **Propartibus*: of *Pompeius* and the common wealth. if you read *propatribus i.* with the Nobilitie **Et tollendum.*

Being entred into Societie with ANTONIE and LEPIDVS, hee finished the Philippian warre also, (although he was but weake and sickely,) and that with two battailes: in the former being discamped and driven out of the field, hardly hee escaped by flight and recovered the *Regiment* or wing of ANTONIUS. Neither used he moderately the successe of his victorie, but when hee had sent the head of BRVTVS to *Rome* for to bee bestowed under the Statue of CÆSAR, he dealt cruelly with the Noblest and most honourable prisoners, and not without reproachfull words: so farre forth verily, that to one of them, making humble suite and prayer for his Sepulture, he answered, (by report) in this wise. *That it would be anone, at the dispose of the foules of the Aire*: and when others, to wit, the (a) Father, and sonne together intreated for their lives; he commanded them either to cast lots or trie by combate whether of them should have life granted: and so beheld them both as they dyed, whilest the father who offred himselfe to die was slaine, and the sonne voluntarily take his death. Whereuppon the rest, & amongst them M FAVONIUS that worthie follower of CATO, when they were brought forth with their yrons and chaynes to execution, after they had in honorable termes saluted ANTONIUS by the name of *Emperour, openly reviled and let flie at him most foule and rayling words. Having parted betweene them their charges & offices after this victorie, whē ANTONIUS undertook to settle the *East* in good order, and himselfe to bring the olde Soldiers backe into *Italie*, & to place them there, in the lands & teritories belonging to the free *Townes* and *Burowghes*, he kept himselfe in favour neither with the said old soldiers, nor the former possessors of those lands: whilest the one sort complained, that they were disseized: and the other, that they were not well entreated according to their hope, for so good deserts.

13 A.V.C 712.

*Soveraine commander

At which verie time, he forced L. ANTONIUS (who confidently presuming upon the Consulship which he then bare, & his brothers power withall, went about to make an insurrection and alteration in the state) to flie unto PERVSIA, and there for verie hunger compelled him to yeeld: but yet not without great jeopardie of his owne person, both before and after the warre: for whē at a certaine solemne sight of stage plaies; he had commanded an ordinarie and cōmon soldier who was set within the (a) 14. rank, sto be raised by an officer, & thereupon

14 A.V.C. 713.

thereupon a rumor was carried and ſpred by his malicious ill willers and backbiters, as if preſently after torture he had put the ſame ſoldier to death. There lacked verie little, but that in the concourſe and indignation of the militarre multitude, he had come to a miſchiefe and beene murdered. This onely ſaued his life: that the man for a while miſſed, ſodainely was to be ſeene againe alive and ſafe without any harme done unto him. About the walls of *Peruſia*, as hee ſacrificed, he had like to haue been intercepted by a ſtrong companie of ſword fencers that ſallied out of the Towne.

After he had forced PERVSIA; he proceeded to the execution of verie many, & euer as any went about either to crave pardon or to excuſe themſelues, with this on word he ſtopped their mouthes, *Die yee muſt*. Some write, that iij: hundred of both degrees (to wit Senatours and Knights) choſen out of them who had yeelded, were killed * as ſacrifices upon the * Ides of *March*, at the Alter built in the honor of IVLIVS (CÆSAR) of famous memorie. There have been others who wrote, that of verie purpoſe he tooke armes and made this warre to the end that his cloſe aduerſaries and thoſe who rather for feare, then of good will held in, upon occaſion given and opportunitie by L. ANTONIUS there leader, might be detected: that having once vanquiſhed them and confiſcated their goods, the rewards promiſed unto the olde ſoldiers he might the better performe. 15 A.V.C. 714.

*Brained with an axe: and not beheaded

*On which day *Iulius Cæſar* was murdred.

The warre in SICILE he began betimes and with the firſt, but drewe it out a long time; as being often intermitted: one while, for the repairing and rigging of his fleete which by two ſhip-wrackes in tempeſt, (and that * in ſummer time) he had loſt: another while by occaſion of peace made at the earneſt cry of the people, for the proviſion of their victuales cut off and kept from them: and the famine thereby dayly growing: untill ſuch time as having built newe ſhips, manumiſed and ſet free xx. thowſand ſlaues, and thoſe put to the ore for to learne to row gallies, he made the Hauen *Iulius* at *Baiæ* by letting the ſea into the Lakes, LVCRINVS and ALVERNVS. In which when he had trained and exerciſed his ſea forces whole winters, he overcame POMPEIUS betweene * *Milæ* and * *Naulochus*: at the verie houre and inſtant time of which Naual battaile, he was ſuddenly ſurprized with ſuch a ſound ſleepe, that his friends were faine to waken him and raiſe him out of bed for to give the ſignall. Wherupon occaſion and matter was miniſtred (as I thinke) to * ANTONIUS, for to caſt this in his teeth, that he could not ſo much as with his eyes open ſeee directly before him the battaile ſet in ray, but lay like a ſenceleſſe blocke on his backe, looking onely into the * skie aloft: nor once aroſe and came in ſight of his ſoldiours, before that M. AGRIPPA had put his enemies 12 ſhips to flight. Others blame and charge him both for a ſpeech and deede alſo of his: as if he ſhould crie out and ſay, *That ſeeing his owne regiment of ſhips were caſt away by tempeſts, he would even againſt the will of* NEPTVNE *obtaine victorie.* And verily the next day of the (*a*) *Circenſian Games*, he tooke out of the ſolemne pompe there ſhewed, the *Image* of the ſaid *God*: Neither in any other warre lightly was hee in more and greater dangers For hauing tranſported one armie into *Sicilie*, when he ſailed backe againe for to waft ouer the reſt of his forces from the continent and firme * land, he was at unwares overtaken and ſurpriſed by DEMOCHARES and APOLLOPHANES the Lievetenants and Admirals of 16 A.V.C. 717.

*When commonly it is calme in thoſe Seas.

*A port town in *Sicilie*,

* An haven bour neere Meſſanah. A.V.C. 718.

**Marcus*, the Triumvir.

*For Gods helpe.

*Of *Italie*.

POMPEIVS, but at the length with uerie much ado, he eſcaped with one onely barke In like manner as he trauailed by land vnto (b) *Rhegium* neere *Locrie*, kenning a farre of * POMPEIS gallies ſayling along the coaſts, and weening them to he his owne, he went downe to the ſhore, and had like to haue been caught and taken by them. And euen then as he made ſhift to flie and eſcape through by-waies aud blind-lanes: a bond-ſeruant of AEMILIVS PAVLVS a companion of his, taking it to the heart that his Maiſters father PAVLVS, was in times paſt by him proſcribed and outlawed, and imbracing, as it were, the good occaſion and opportunitie of reuenge now offered, gaue the attempt to kill him. After the flight of * POMPEIVS, when M. LEPIDVS one of his * Collegues, whome hee had called forth of *Afrike* to his aide, bare himſelfe proude uppon the confidence of xx. Legions, challenged a ſouerainetie over the * reſt, and that, with terrour and menaces: hee ſtript him of all his armie, and uppon his humble ſubmiſſion and ſupplication, pardoned his life, but confined him for ever to *Circeij*. * The Societie of M. ANTONIVS wauering alwaies in doubtfull tearmes and uncertaine, and notwithſtanding many and ſundrie reconciliations, not well knit and confirmed, he brake of quite in the ende: and the better to proove and make good that he (c) had degenerated from the ciuill behauiour and modeſtie of a (*Romaine*) Citizen, he cauſed the laſt will and teſtament of the ſaid ANTONIE, which he had left at (d) *Rome*, and therein nominated euen the Children of CLEOPATRA among his heires to be opened and red in a publike aſſemblie. Howbeit when hee was judged by the State an enemie, hee ſent backe unto him thoſe of his neereſt acquaintance and inward friendes and among other C. SOSIVS, (e) and T. * DOMITIVS, being Conſuls at that time ſtill. The *Bononians* alſo, for that of olde they were dependantes of the *Antonij* and in there retinue and protection, hee by a publicke Act acquit and pardoned for not entring into a confederace with all *Italie*, (f) on his ſide. Not long after, he vanquiſhed him in a Nauall battaile before (g) *Actium*, what time by reaſon that the fight continued untill it was late in the euening hee was forced to lodge all night conqueror as he was, on ſhip board.

*Sext.

*Sext, A.V.C, 718.

*In the Triumvirate.

*M. *Antonius* and *Octauius Auguſtus*.

*Some Critickes begin here a newe Chapter.

*Cn, *Domitius* A.V.C. 722.

A.V.C. 723:

17 When he had retired himſelfe from *Actium* into the Iland *Samos* for his winter harbour, being diſquieted with the newes of his ſoldiers mutinie demanding rewardes and diſcharge from ſervice; thoſe I meane, whom after the victorie atcheived hee had from out of the whole number ſent before to *Brindis*, he went againe into *Italie*: but in croſſing the Seas thither; twice was he toſſed and troubled with Tempeſts: firſt betweene the promontories or *Capes* of *Peloponenſus* and *Aetolia*: againe, about the Mountaines or Cliffes *Ceraunij*. In both which places, part of his pinnaces were caſt away and drowned: and with all, the verie takling of that ſhippe wherein he embarked was rent and torne aſunder: yea, and the rudder thereof quite broken. Neither ſtaied he at *Brindis* above 27, daies, that is to ſay untill hee had ſetled his ſoldiers and contented them in their deſires and requeſts: but fetching a compaſſe about *Aſia*, and *Siria*, ſailed into *Aegypt* where after hee had laied ſeige unto ALEXANDRIA, whether ANTONIE and CLEOPATRA were togethet fled. He ſoone became Maiſ. of that Cittie. And as for ANTONIE, who

A.V.C. 724

who now (all to late) made meanes for conditions of peace hee enforced to make himselfe away, and *saw him dead. And to CLEOPATRA whom most gladly he would have saved alive for to beautifie his tryumph hee set the (a) PSYLLI to sucke out the venime & poyson within her bodie: for that supposed it was she died with the sting of the Serpent (b) Aspis: This honour he did unto them both, namely to burie them in one sepulcher: and the Tombe by them begun, he commanded to be finished. Young ANTONIE the elder of those twaine whom he had by FVLVIA, he caused to be violently haled from the Statue of IVLIVS CÆSAR of famous memorie, unto which, after many prayers but all in vaine; he was fled as to sanctuarie, and so killed him. Likewise CÆSARIO, whom CLEOPATRA gave out openly that she had conceived by his *father CÆSAR, he fetched backe againe from the place whether he was fled, and put him to death. The rest of the Children of ANTONIE and the Queene togither, he both saued (no lesse than if they had beene linked in neere Alliance unto himselfe,) and also according to the state of euerie one of them, he maintained and cherished respectively.

*Viditque mortuum: In some copies we read thus: *Viditque mortuam Cleopatram*, i. And he saw *Cleopatra* dead: For he heard onely of *Antonies* death and saw the sworde wherewith hee wounded himselfe.

*His great Vnkle indeede but father by adoption.

18

About the same time, when he beheld the *Tombe* together with the corps of ALEXANDER the great, taken newly foorth of the vaute or secret Chappell where it was bestowed; he set upon it a coronet of gold: and strewing flowers thereupon worshipped it: And being asked the question, whither hee would looke upō the PTOLOMES also? he answered that he was desirous indeed to see a King but not the (a) dead. When he had reduced Ægypt in the forme of a province, to the end that he might make it more fruitfull and fit to yeeld corne and victuals for the Cittie of *Rome*, he skowred and cleansed by helpe of soldiers, all those ditches where into *Nilus* overfloweth, which by long time had been choaked with mud. And that the memorie of his Actiake victorie might be more renowmed among posteritie, he built the Cittie *Nicopolis* over against *Actium*, and ordained certaine games and plaies there, everie 5. yeeres: and having enlarged the old * Temple of *Apollo*: and the place werein he had encamped; he beautified with *Navall* spoiles and then consecrated it to *Neptune* and *Mars*.

*Or *Ptolemais*, the bodies or Tombes of the *Ptolemæes*, If you read *Ptolemæum*, it is ment of *Lagus*.

*Which stood upon the saide promontarie Actium.

19

After this, sundry tumults and the verie beginnings of commotions and insurrections, many conspiracies also detected before they grew to any head, he suppressed: and those, some at one time and some at an other: Namely first one of LEPIDVS the younger: then, another of VARRO MVRÆNA, and FANNIVS CAPIO: soone after that, of M. *GENATIVS: and so forward of PLAVTIVS RVFVS and L. PAVLVS, his neeces husband: and besides all these, that of L. AVDASIVS accused of forgerie, and counterfeit seales; a man neither for yeares able nor bodie sound: Likewise of ASIMIVS EPICADVS descended from the *Parthyne* Nations a (a) **Mungrell*: and last of all, of TELEPHVS, a base **Nomenclator*, seruant to a woman: For free was not AVGVSTVS from the conspiracie and daunger, no not of the most abiect sort of people. As for AVDASIVS and EPICADVS, they had entended to carrie away IVLIA his daughter and AGRYPPA, his Nephew (out of those Ilands wherin they abode confined) unto the armies: and TELEPHVS purposed upon a deepe conceite that the soveraintie of dominion was by the *Destinies* and will of *God* due unto him, even to lay upon him and the Senate violent hands. And more then that, one

*Or *Egnatius*.

*Begotten betweene a bond slaue and a mungrel.

*Or *Prompter* of names, employed in telling of their names who came to salute and bid good morrow, and placing also of guests at the Table, and in no better service.

one time there was taken neere vnto his bed-chamber by night, a camp-slave belonging to the ILLYRIAN armie, who had deceiued the porters and gotten thither with a wood knife at his side, but whether he were out of his wits, or feigned himselfe mad, it was uncertaine: for nothing could bee wrung out of him by examination upon the racke and torture.

20 A.V.C. 721. 727. Foraine warres he made in his owne person ij in all and no more: that is to say, the (a) Dalmatian, when he was yet a verie youth: and the Cantabrian, after he had defaited ANTONIE. In the Dalmatian warre, he was wounded also: for in one battaile he gat a blow upon his right knee with a stone; and in another, not his leg onely, but also both his armes were hurt with the fall from a (b) bridge, The rest of his warres he managed by his Lieftennants: yet so as that in some of them namely the *Pannonian* and the *Germaine*; hee would either come betweene times, or else remaine not farre of: making his progresse from the Cittie of *Rome*, as farre as to *Rauenna*, or *Millaine* or to *Aquileia*.

*Or turret of woode.

21 He subdued partly by his owne conduct in proper person, and in part by his Lieftenants hauing cõmission immediatly from him & directed by his auspicies *Cantabria*, *Aquitaine*, *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* together with all *Illyricum*, *Rhætia* likewise, the *Vindelicis*, the *Salassians* and the Nations inhabiting the *Alpes*. He represt also the *Incursions* of the *Dakes*, having slaine three of their Generals with a great number of them besides. And the *Germaines* he remooved and set further of; even beyond the riuer *Albis*. Howbeit, of these the *Suevians* and the *Sicambrians*, because they yeelded themselues, he brought over into *Gaule*, and placed them in the lands next unto *Rhene*. Other Nations being mal-content, he reduced unto his obedience. Neither made hee warre upon any people without iust and necessarie causes: and so farre was he from desire of enlarging his Empire, or aduancing his martiall glorie, that he compelled certaine princes and potentates of the *Barbarians*, to take an oath in the Temple of *Mars* (a) the Revenger for to continue in their allegiance, & in the protection and peace which they sued for: yea and from some of them he assaied to exact anew kind of Hostages, even *women, for that he peceived, that they neglected the pledges of the males. And yet he gave thẽ libertie, as oftẽ as they would, to receiue their hostages againe. Neither proceeded he at any time against those, who either usually or trecherously above the rest tooke armes & rebelled, to any punishmẽt more greivous then this, euen to sell thẽ as captives: with this conditon, that they shold not serve in any neighbour Country, nor be manumised and made free within the space of * 30. yeares. By which fame of vertue and moderation that went of him, he induced and drew the very *Indians* and *Scythians*, Nations knowen by report and heere say onely, to make suite of their owne accord by Embassadours, for amitie of him and the people of *Rome*. The *Parthians* also, when as he laied claime unto *Armenia*, yeelded soone unto him: and those militarie Ensignes which they had taken from M. CRASSVS & M ANTONIVS, they delivered unto him againe at his demaund: and moreover, offred hostages unto him. And finally when there were many Competitours together at one time claiming a title to the *Kingdome*, they would not allow of any, but one by him elected.

*Vnusuall in those daies.

*Or 20, rather

22 The temple of *Ianus Quirinus*, which from the foundation of the City before his daies had once and twice beene shut, he in a farre shorter space of time hauing

(having peace both by ſea and land) ſhut a third time. Twice he rod on horſe-backe (*b*) ovant into the City: once preſently upon the *Philippian* warre; and againe, after the *Sicilian*. He kept three Triumphes riding in his chariot: to wit, the *Dalmatian*, the *Actiak*, and the *Alexandrian*, and theſe continued all for three dayes together. *Tertio, or ter. i. thrice.

23 Of ſhamefull foiles and grievous overthrowes, he received but two in all: and thoſe in no place elſe but in *Germanie*; namely when LOLLIVS and *VARVS were defaited. That of LOLLIVS, was a matter of diſhonour more than loſſe and domage; but the other of VARVS, drew with it in manner utter deſtruction: as wherein three Legions with their *Generall*; the Lieutenants and (*a*) Auxiliaries, all were ſlaine. Vpon the newes of this Infortunity, he proclaimed a ſet watch both day and night through the City of *Rome*; for feare of ſome tumult and uprore: and the commiſſions of Preſidents and Deputies over Provinces, he renewed and enlarged their time of government: to the end, that the Allies of the people of *Rome* might bee kept in alleageance by governours, ſuch as were both skilfull and alſo acquainted with them. Hee vowed alſo the *Great* (*Romaine*) *Games*, and *Playes* to the honour of IVPITER OPT. MAX. If* the Commonwealth turned to better State. This happened, during the time of the *Cimbrian* and * Marſian warre. For, therewith (by report) hee was ſo troubled and aſtonied, that for certaine moneths together hee let the haire of beard and head grow ſtill and wore it long, yea and other whiles would runne his * head againſt the dores, crying out, QVINTILLVS VARVS, *Deliver up thy Legions againe*. And the very (*b*) day of this infortunate calamity he kept every yeere mournfull, with ſorow and lamentation. *Quintilius Varus. A.V.C. 738 762. *Si Reſpublica immolitorem ſtatum vertiſſet. *Which alſo was called *Bellum ſociale*, wherein the Aſſociate nations in Italy rebelled: of which Rebellion the Authors were the *Marſi*.

24 In warfare & feates of armes, he both altered and alſo inſtituted many points: yea and ſome he reduced to the auncient manner. (*a*) Militarie diſcipline he exerciſed moſt ſeverely. He permitted not ſo much as any of his Lieutenants, but with much adoe and diſcontentment, to viſite other-whiles their wives; and never but in the (*b*) winter moneths. A *Romaine* Knight, for cutting off the (*c*) thombs of two young men his ſonnes, to avoid the militarie oath and warre ſervice, he ſet in open port ſale, himſelfe (I ſay) and all his goods. Whom notwithſtanding, becauſe he ſaw the (*d*) Publicanes about to buy, and bid very well for him, he appointed and delivered to his owne Freed man; that being confined and ſent away unto his living & lands in the Country, he might permit him to live as Free. The tenth Legion, for being ſtubborne and unwilling to obey, he diſmiſſed all and whole with ignominie. Other legions likewiſe, requiring malapertly their diſcharge he caſſed without allowance of rewards due for their ſervice. Whole bands or cohorts, if any of them gave ground and reculed, he tithed, that is to ſay, executed every tenth man of them: and the reſt, he allowed barly in ſteed of wheat to feede upon. Thoſe centurions who forſooke their Stations, he puniſhed with death, even as well as the common ſoldiors of their bands: and for other kinds of Delinquencie he put them to ſhame ſundry waies, as cõmanding them to ſtand all the day long before the *Prætorium* ſometimes in their ſingle * coates and ungirt; other-whiles with ten *foote perches in their hands; or elſe carying turfes of earth. *Vpon an opinion of the Painims, that if they did injurie to their owne bodies they ſhould ſooner pacifie the Gods. *The Generals Pavilions. * Or waſtcoates, without their Sage: * Or meeting poles, in token of Degradation or putting downe to a lower place.

After the civile warres, he called none of his ſoldiours either in any publike ſpeech, or by way of edict or proclamation, by the name of (*a*) *Fellow-ſoldiours*, 25

but

but plaine *Souldiours*. Nay hee would not suffer them otherwise to be termed so much as by his sonnes, or his wives sonnes: thinking it was a more affected manner of Appellation than stoode either with martial Law, or the (*a*) quietnes of those times, or the maiestie of himselfe and his house: (*b*) Libertines he emploied in soulderie unlesse it were at *Rome* about skarfires by night; (not withstanding there was feared some tumult and uprore by occasion of great dearth and scarcity) but twice onely: once in garizon for defence of those *Colonies* which bounded fast upon *Illyricum*; a second time for keeping the banks of the riuer of *Rhene*. And those, being as yet bond, imposed upon men and women of the wealthier sort for to set out, but without delay manumised, he kept with him to serve under one of the formost *banners in the vantguard; neither intermingled with such as were Free borne, nor in the same manner armed. As for militarie gifts hee gave unto his souldiours trappers collars and * whatsoever stoode upon gold or silver, much sooner than (*c*) *Vallar* or *Mural* coronets which were more honourable. These he bestowed most sparily; and when he did, it was without suit made therefore: and many times upon the cõmon (*d*) and base souldiers. He gave unto M. AGRIPPA after a nauale victory in *Cilicia* a blew streamer. Those Captaines onely who had triumphed, albeit they were both companions with him in his expeditions, and also partakers of his victories, he thought not meete to be rewarded with any gifts at all: because they also had power to bestow the same upon whom they would. Moreover he deemed nothing lesse beseeming a perfit and accomplished Captaine, than hast-making and rashnesse. And therefore, these mots and sentences were rife in his mouth. Σπεῦδε βραδέως,

Ασφαλὴς γὰρ ἐς ἀμείνων, ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης:

As also, *Sat celeriter fieri, quicquid fiat satis bene.*

His saying was, *That neither battaile nor warre was once to be under taken, unlesse there might be evidently seene more hope of gaine than feare of domage: for such as sought after the smallest commodities, not with a little daunger, he likened unto those, that angle or fish with a golden hooke: for the losse whereof, if it happened to be knapt or broken off, no draught of fish whatsoever, was able to make amends.*

26 He managed magistracies and honorable places of government before due * time; some of them also of a * new kinde; and others in * perpetuity. The Consulship hee usurped and entred upon in the twentieth (*a*) yeere of his age, presenting forcibly and in hostile manner his legions before the City, sending some of purpose to demaund it, euen in the name of the Armie for him. What time verily, when the *Senate* made some doubt and stay of the matter, CORNELIUS a Centurion and the chiefe man of that message, casting * of his souldiours Iacket and shewing his swords haft, stucke not to say thus openly in the *Senate* house, *This here shall doe the deede, if yee will not*. His second Consulship hee bare nine yeares after: the third, but one yeare betweene: the rest ensuing hee continued one after an other unto the eleuenth. Afterwardes hauing refused many Consulships when they were offered unto him; his twelfth Consulship a greater while after, even 17 yeares, himselfe made suite for: so did hee againe, two yeares after it, for his thirteenth: to the ende that being himselfe in place of the Soueraine and highest Maiestrate, hee might bring honorably into the Common Hall. C. and L. his (adopted)

* *Sub primore vexillo* or *sub proprio vexillo i.* under his owne banner.

* *Quicquid auro argentoq; constaret*: or rather, *quanquã aut auro argentoq; cõstarent.* Albeit they were made of gold and silver.

* By the lawes *Annuarie*, or *Annales*.

* As the Triumwirate.

* As the Tribunes authoritie and Censuresship.

* Or casting it behind him *retrò sagulo*.

adopted) * ſonnes; each of them to Commence and performe their firſt pleadings at their * due time in virile gownes. The five middle Conſulſhips betweene, to wit from the ſixth to the eleventh he helde the whole yeeres thorough: the other, for the ſpace of ſixe, or nine, foure, or three moneths: but the ſecond, very fewe howers: for uppon the very Calends * of Ianuarie, when hee had ſitten a while upon his curule chaire of eſtate before the temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*; hee reſigned up the Office, and ſubſtituted another in his place. Neither entred hee upon all his Conſulſhips at *Rome*: but the fourth in *Aſia*; the fifth, in the Iland *Samos*; the eigth and ninth at *Tarracon*.

* The naturall ſonnes of his daughter *Iulia* and *C. Agrippa*.
* The elder in his twelfth, the younger in his thirteenth Cõſulate.
* The firſt of Ianuarie or Newyeeres day.

27

The Triumvirate for * ſetling of the Common-wealth, hee adminiſtred for the ſpace of tenne yeeres: Wherein verily, hee ſtoode againſt his colleagues proceedings for a good while, That there might be no proſcription: but when it was once on foote, hee executed it more ſharply than they both. For, whereas they were exorable and would bee oftentimes intreated by favour and prayer, to reſpect the perſons of many; hee alone was very earneſt, that none might bee ſpared: among the reſt, hee proſcribed C. TORANIVS alſo, his owne *Tutour* and guardian, yea and the companion in the Office of Ædileſhip with his father OCTAVIVS. IVNIVS SATVRNINVS writeth moreover, that after the proſcription was ended, when M. LEPIDVS had in the Senate-houſe excuſed all that was paſt and given good hope of clemencie for the time to come, becauſe there had beene execution enough done alreadie: he on the contrarie ſide profeſſed openly, That hee had determined no other end of the ſaide proſcription, but that hee might have liberty ſtill to proceede in all things as he would. Howbeit, in teſtimonie of repentance for this rigour and obſtinacie of his, hee honoured afterward with the dignitie of Knighthood * T. IVNIVS PHILOPÆMEN, for that hee was reputed to have in times paſt hid his owne Patron, that was proſcribed. In the ſame *Triumvirate*, hee incurred many waies the ill will and heart-burning of the people: for he commaunded that PINARIVS a Gentleman of *Rome*, (what time as he himſelfe made a publike ſpeech in an aſſembly whereunto hee had admitted a multitude of Paganes, that is to ſay, ſuch as were no ſouldiours, and eſpied him there to take notes of ſomething that he delivered before the ſouldiours, ſuppoſing him to be over buſie and a ſpie,) ſhould be ſtabbed to death even in his ſight: yea, and hee terrified TEDIVS AFER, Conſull elect, (becauſe hee had maliciouſly in ſome ſpitefull termes depraved ſomething that he had done) with ſo great manaces, that in a melancholy hee caſt himſelfe headlong and brake his owne necke. Likewiſe, as Q. GALLIVS the Pretour held under his robe a paire of duple writing tables, when hee came of courſe to doe his duty and ſalute him; he ſuſpecting, that he had a (ſhort) ſword hidden underneath, and not daring ſtraight-waies to ſearch him farther, for feare ſomething elſe than a ſworde ſhould bee found about him; within a little while after cauſed him to be haled out of the Tribunall ſeate of Iudgement, by the handes of certaine Centurions of Souldiours, and put to torture like a bondſlave; yea & ſeeing he would confeſſe nothing, commanded him to be killed; having firſt

* That was the colour & pretence of it.

* Or *Plaius*. for ſo was his Patrone named.

with his owne hands plucked his eies out of his head. Howbeit AVGVSTVS writeth, that the said GALLVS by pretending to parle secretly with him, laid waite for his life; whereupon hee committed him to prison, and afterwards dismissed and enlarged him onely to dwell in *Rome*: and that in the end hee perished either by shipwracke, or else by the hands of theeves who forlayed him. Hee received and held the *Tribunate* in perpetuity. Therein, once or twice, he chose and assumed unto him a colleague, for severall * *Lustra*. Hee tooke upon him likewise the government of manners and Lawes as a perpetuall Censour: In full right whereof, although hee had not the honourable title of Censureship, yet hee helde a survey and nombring of the people thrice: the first and third with a companion in office; the middle by himselfe alone.

A.V.C. 732

* The space of 5. yeeres.

28

Twice hee was in minde, to have resigned up his absolute government: First, immediatly uppon the suppressing of ANTHONIE, mindfull of that which oftentimes * hee had objected against him, namely, as if it had beene long of * him, that it was not resigned, and the Common-wealth brought to a free state againe: and secondly, by reason that hee was weary of a long and lingering sicklinesse; what time he sent also for all the Magistrates * and the Senate, home to his house; and delivered up an Account-booke or Register of the * whole Empire. But considering better with himselfe, that were he once a private person, he could not live without daunger; and withall, that it would greatly hazard the Common-wealth, to be put into the hands and dispose of many; he continued in the holding thereof still. And whether the event ensuing, or his will heerein were better, it is hard to say. VVhich will of his, as hee pretented oftentimes when he sate in place, so hee testified also by a certaine edict in these wordes: *O that I might establish the Common wealth safe and sound in her owne * proper seate, and thereof reape that fruite which I desire: even that I may be reported the Author of an excellent estate, and carie with mee when I die this hope, that the ground-worke and the foundations of the Common-wealth which I shall lay, may continue and abide stedfast in their place.* And verily what hee wished, * himselfe effected and brought to passe, having endevoured and done his best every way, that no man might repent of this newe estate. For the Citie beeing not adourned according to the maiestie of such an Empire and Subiect to the casualties of Deluges and fires, hee beautified and set out so, as iustly he made his boast, that where he found it built of bricke, hee left it all of marble. And for the safety therereof, hee performed as much for future posterity as could be fore-seene and provided for by mans wit and reason.

* The saide Antonie.

* i. *Augustus.*

* *Ac Senatu*: or, *Senatu.* i. out of the Senate.

* Or of his acts & proceedings in the government.

* Base or Pied-stall.

* As if he had been a God indeede: according to the saying of Sapiens *Dominabitur astris.*

29

Publike works he built very many whereof the chiefe and principal was his *Forum or stately Hall of Iustice*, together with the temple of MARS the *Revenger*: *The temple of* APOLLO *in* Palatinus; *The tẽple likewise of* IVPITER *the Thunderer*, in the Capitol. The reason why he built the said *Forũ*, was the multitude of men & their suites: which because, (*a*) ij. would not suffice, seemed to have need of a third also. And therfore with great speed erected it was for that publike use, even before the temple of MARS was finished. And expressly provided it was by

by law, that in it publike causes should be determined apart, and choosing of Iudges (or Iuries) by it selfe. The temple of *Mars* hee had vowed unto him, in the Philippian warre which hee tooke in hand for the revenge of his fathers death. He ordained therefore by an Act, that heere the Senate should be consulted with, as touching warres & triumphs: that from hence those Pretours or Governours who were to goe into their provinces should be honorably attended & brought onward on their way: and that hither they should bring the ensignes and ornaments of triumph, who returned with victorie. The temple of *Apollo* he reared in that part of the *Palatine house*, which being smitten with lightning was by that *God* required, as the Soothsayers out of their learning had pronounced: hereto was adioyned a gallerie, with a librarie of Latine and Greeke bookes. In which temple, he was wont in his old age both to sit oftentimes in counsaile with the Senate, and also to over-see & review the *Decuries* of the Iudges. He consecrated the temple unto IVPITER the *Thunderer*, upon occasion that he escaped a daunger, what time as in his *Cantabrian* expedition, as he travailed by night, a flash of lightning glaunced upon his licter, & *strucke his seruant stone dead*, that went with a light before. Some works also he made under other folkes names, to wit his nephew, his wife and sister; as the *Gallerie* and stately Pallace of *LVCIVS and CAIVS: likewise the *Gallerie* or *Porches* of LIVIA and OCTAVIA: the *Theatre* also of MARCELLVS. Moreover divers other principall persons hee oftentimes exhorted to adorne and beautifie the City, every man according to his ability either by erecting new monuments, or else by repairing and furnishing the old. By which meanes many an Ædifice was by many a man built: as namely the temple of *Hercules* and the *Muses* by MARCVS PHILIPPVS: the temple of *Diana* by L. CORNIFICIVS. The *Court* of Liberty by ASINIVS POLLIO: A temple of *Saturne* by MVNATIVS PLANCVS: a Theatre by CORNELIVS BALBVS; and an (*b*) Amphitheatre by *Statilius Taurus*: but many and those very goodly monuments by M. AGRIPPA.

*His daughters children by *Agrippa*.

Atriũ libertatis. Atrium, quasi athriũ. A place where learned men were wont to meete and conferre, as our Merchants doe in the *Royall Exchange*, built not unlike unto it with arched walks on every side standing upon pillers: & as this cloisture was called *Peristylum*, so, the open yard within, *Atrium* or *Subdiual*.

30 The whole space of the City he devided into (*a*) wards and streetes. He ordained, that as Magistrates or Aldermen yeerely by lot should keepe and governe the former: so their should be Maisters or Constables elected out of the Commons of every streete, to looke unto the other. Against skarefires he devised night-watches and watchmen. To keepe downe Inundations and Deluges, he enlarged and cleansed the channell of the River *Tiberis*, which in times past was full of rammell and the ruines of houses, and so by that meanes narrow and choaked. And that the Avenues on every side to the City might be more passable, he tooke in hand himselfe to repaire the high way or Cawsie *Flaminia*, so farre as to ARIMINNVM: and the rest he committed to sundry men who had triumphed, for to pave; and the charges thereof to be befraied out of the money raised of spoiles and sackage. The sacred Churches and Chappels decayed and ruinate by continuance of time, or consumed by fire he reedified: and those together with the rest hee adorned with most rich oblations; as who brought into the Cell, or Tabernacle of *Iupiter Capitolinus* at one Donation, 16000. pound weight of gold, besides pretious stones valued at 50 millions of Sesterces.

But after that hee entred now at length upon the High priesthood when 31
LEPIDVS A.V.C.741.

LEPIDVS was once dead, which he never could finde in his heart to take from him whiles he lived: what bookes soever of propheſies & deſtinies went commonly abroad in Greeke and Latine, either without authors, or ſuch as were not authenticall and of credite, he cauſed to be called in from all places, to the number of 2000 & aboue: and when he had burnt them, he reteined thoſe only of *Sibyls* propheſies. And even of thoſe alſo he made ſome ſpecial choice: and beſtowed them cloſe in two litle Desks or coffers under the baſe & piedſtoole of APOLLO PALATINVS. The yeeres revolution reduced as it was into order by IVLIVS of ſacred memory, but afterwards through negligence troubled and confuſed, he brought againe to the former calculation. In the diſpoſe whereof, he called the moneth Sextilis (rather than September wherin he was borne,) by his owne name, becauſe in it there befell unto him both his firſt Conſulſhip & alſo notable victories. Of all the Religious & prieſts, but eſpecially of the veſtall virgins he augmented the number, the dignity and the commodities alſo. And whereas in the rowme of any veſtall Nun deceaſed, there muſt another of neceſſity be choſen & take, he perceiving many to make ſuite that they might not put their daughters to the lottery; proteſted and bound it with an oath, that if any one of his owne Nieces or daughters daughters were of competent age he would preſent her to the place. Divers auncient ceremonies alſo which by little & little were diſuſed and aboliſhed, he reſtored againe, as namely the (*a*) *Augurie* of SALVS, the *Flaminſhip* of IVPITER, the *Sacred Lupercal*, the (*b*) *Secular* playes and the *Compitalitij*. At the *Lupercall* Solemnities, he commanded that no beardleſſe boyes ſhould runne. Likewiſe, at the Secular playes, he forbad young folke of both ſexes, to frequent any ſhew exhibited by night; unleſſe it were in the company of ſome auncient perſon of their kindred. The *Tutelare* Images of croſſe-wayes called *Lares Compitales* he was the firſt that ordained to adorne twice in the yeere with flowers of the ſpring & ſommer ſeaſõs. The principal honour next unto the immortall gods, he performed to the memoriall of thoſe worthy Captaines, who had raiſed the *Romaine* onpire from a ſmall thing to ſo high and glorious a ſtate. And therefore both the works & monuments of every of them he repaired & made againe, reſerving their titles and inſcriptions ſtill; and all their Statues alſo in triumphant forme and ſhape he dedicated in both the Porches or galleries of his *Hall* of *Iuſtice*. And in a publick edict he profeſſed thus much, That he deviſed it to this end, That *both himſelfe whiles he lived, and the Princes or Emperours his ſucceſſors for the ages to come, might be called upon and urged by their ſubiects and Citizens to conforme themſelues as it were to their patron and example.* The Statue likewiſe of POMPEIVS, tranſlated out of the *Court* wherein C. CÆSAR was murdered, he placed over againſt the princely Pallace of his *Theater* under an Arch of marble in manner of a Through-fare.

* *Suppoſuit*: ſome reade, *ſuperpoſuit. i.* upon ſuch an arched Ianus or Through-fare.

Many moſt daungerous enormities and offenſive abuſes, which either had continued by cuſtome and licentious liberty during the civill warres, or elſe crept in and began in the time of peace to the utter ruine of the Commonwealth, he reformed. For a number of bold roiſters & profeſſed *Robbers* ietted openly with ſhort ſwords & skaines by their ſides, under colour of their owne defence: Paſſengers & waifaring men, as they travailed through the Country, were caught up (by them) as well Free borne as ſlaves without reſpect; & kept

hard to worke in the *Prisons* of landed men: many factious crewes also, under the title of a *New Colledge* had their meetings & joyned in *fellowship to the perpetrating of mischiefe whatsoeuer. Whereupon, he disposed strong guards, and set watches in conuenient places: he represſed those Robbers and Hacksters, he visited and surveyed the foresaid Prisons: and all Colledges or Guilds saue onely those of auncient foundation and by law erected, he dissolved and put downe.* The * bills of old debts due to the Chamber of the City, he * burnt, as being the chiefe matter and occasion of malitious accusations. The publike places & houses in the City, whereof the tenure & hold was doubtfull, he adiudged unto those who were in present possession. The debts & actions commenced against such as had been troubled and sued a long time in the Law, by whose mournfull habite & distressed estate their aduersaries sought for nothing but pleasure and the fulfilling of their wils he anulled & denounced this condition withall, that if any one would needes bring them into new trouble againe, he should be liable to the like daunger of punishment or penalty as the molested party was. And to the end that no lewd Act might escape with impunity; nor * businesse in Court be shuffled over by delaies, he added unto the * *Terme* time 30. (*a*) daies over & above: which daies the *Honorarie* * *Games* & playes took up (before.) To three Decuries of Iudges he added a fourth out of a lower & meaner degree, which went under the name of * *Ducenarij*, and were to iudge of smaller summes. As for those Iudges hee enrolled & elected them into the Decuries after they were once * 30 yeeres of age: that is to say, five yeeres sooner then they were wont. But seeing that most of them refused & were loth to execute this burdensome office of iudging, he hardly granted that each Decurie should have their yeeres * vacation by turnes; and that the law matters which were wont to be pleaded and tried, in the * moneths of November & December should be let passe & omitted quite.

33 Himselfe sat daily in Iudgement, yea and other whiles untill it was darke night, lying if he had not his health, in a licter which was of purpose set before the tribunall seate, or else in his owne house: and he ministred iustice not onely with exceeding severity, but also with as great lenity. For when upon a time there was one accused for a manifest parricidy, because he should not be sowed up in a leather (*a*) male or budget (a punishment that none suffred but such as had cõfessed the Fact) he examined (by report) upon interrogatiues in this maner, Certes thou never murderedst thy father, diddest thou? Againe, when as a matter was handled before him as touching a forged will, & all the witnesses that set their hands & seales thereto, were attaint by the (*b*) Law *Cornelia*, he delivered unto the Commissioners who had the hearing & deciding together, of the cause, not onely the two (ordinarie) tables of condemnation and acquitall, but a third also; whereby they might have their pardon, who were certainly knowne to have beene seduced & brought to be witnesses as is before said, either by fraudulent practise or error & over-sight. As for the appeales in Court, he yeerely assigned those which were for the City-Suiters unto Pretours of the City; but if they were for Prouinciall persons unto certaine men of the Consuls degree, such as he had ordained, in every province one, for to be in commission and to determine prouinciall affaires.

34 The lawes made before time he reuised & corrected: some also hee ordained & established a-new: as namely (*a*) *Sumptuaria*, as touching expenses

* In manner of Bridewels or houses of correction.

* Or, obligations.

* *Erasit* or *excussit*. i. cancled.

* Or cause.

* Law daies, or pleading time.

* *Liberalia, Bacchanalia, Prosseria*, or others in the honour of men liuing which might be well spared.

* For that they were valewed at 200 Sesterties: where as the other were worth 400.

* Or 20 rather for the ordinarie age was 25. yeares, at which they were eligible.

* *Quarto quoq; anno*: everie 4. yeare.

* Vppon certaine dayes. of those moneths, during which, there were Sports & Reuels and the licentious feast Saturnalia.

at the bord: Of (b) *Adulteries* & * unnaturall filthineſſe cõmitted with the male kind: *Of* (c) *indirect ſuite for offices. Of the* (d) mutall mariages of *Senatours* and Gentlemen with Commoners. This act laſt named, when he had amended and reformed ſomewhat more preciſely and with greater ſeveritie then the reſt, he could not carie cleerely and go through with, for the tumult of thoſe that refuſed ſo to do, but that part of the penalties at length was quite taken away or els mitigated; an * immunity alſo & toleration (of widow-head) graunted for * 3 yeeres, & the rewards beſides augmented. And notwithſtanding all that, when the order of Gentlemen ſtood out ſtifly & ſtoutly calling in open ſight, & publikely for the repealing of the ſaid Statute; he ſent for GERMANICUS his children, and taking ſome of them himſelfe, & beſtowing the others in their fathers armes, ſhewed & preſented them unto their view ſignifying as well by the geſture of his hand, as by countenance, *That they ſhould not be loath nor think much, to imitate the example of that young Gentleman*. Moreover perceiving that the force and vigor of that Law was dallied with, & avoided by the * immaturity of young eſpouſed wives, as alſo by often * changing of mariages: he brought into a narrower compaſſe the time of wedding and having ſuch ſpaces, and alſo limited divorcements.

35

The number of Senatours growing ſtill to a ſhameful & confuſed company (for there were not of them ſo few as a 1000, and ſome moſt unworthy: as who after CÆSARS death were taken into the houſe for favour or bribes; whõ the common people termed * abortive, (as it were untimely births or born before their time): he reduced to the auncient * ſtent & honorable reputation: and that in two elections: the former, at their own choiſe, wil, & pleaſure, whereby one man chooſeth his fellow. The ſecond, according to his owne & AGRIPPAES mind: at which time he is thought to have ſitten as preſident, armed with a ſhirt of maile or privie coate under his gowne, & a ſhort ſword or skeine by his ſide; having a gard alſo ſtanding about his chaire of eſtate, to wit, ten of the ſtouteſt & talleſt men that were of Senatours degree, & all his friends: CORDUS CREMUTIUS writeth, that there was not ſo much as admitted then into the Senate-houſe any Senatour but ſingly one alone by himſelfe, & not before his clothes were well ſerched & felt, for having any weapon under them. Some of them he brought to this modeſtie, as to excuſe * themſelves: and yet for ſuch as thus made excuſe he reſerved ſtill the liberty to weare a Senatours (a) habite: the honor alſo to ſit & behold the *Games* & plaies in the * *Orcheſtra*; together with priviledge to keepe their place at the ſolemne publique feaſts. Now, to the end that being thus choſen & allowed (as is above ſaid) they might with more religious reverence & leſſe trouble execute the functions belonging to Senatours: he ordained, That before any one ſat him downe in his chaire, he ſhould make devout ſupplication & ſacrifice with frankincenſe & wine, at the * altar of that *God*, in whoſe temple they aſſembled for the time: and that ordinarily the Senate ſhould not be holden oftner then twice in a moneth, to wit upon the (e) *Calends* & (d) *Ides* of the ſame: and that in the moneths * September & October, none els ſhould be bound to give attendance, ſave thoſe that were drawne by lot: by whoſe number, Decrees might paſſe. Furthermore, he deviſed to inſtitute for himſelfe, & that by caſting lots, a privie Counſell for 6 moneths: with whom he might treat before-hand of buſineſſes and affaires to be moved unto a frequent Senate-houſe fully aſſembled. As touching matter of greater importance

* *De pudicitia, or impudicitia.*

* Of living unmarried.
* After the deceaſe of a former wife or husband.

* Vnripe age. i. under 12 yeres
* By meanes of divorſes.

* *Abortivos:* Some reade *orcivos* or *orcinos, velut Orco ſeu terra natos*. i. obſcure & baſe.
* 300.

* For taking upon them that dignity.
* Among os ther Senators.

* And that they ſhould not need to come and ſalute him, but ſave that labour.
* Haply, by reaſon of vintage that was not to be neglected.

tance put to queſtion, he demanded the opinion of the Senatours, not after the uſuall manner & in order, but as it pleaſed himſelfe: to the end that everie man ſhould bend his mind ſo intentively thereto, as if he were to deliver his owne adviſe, rather then give aſſent unto another.

36 Other things there were beſides, wherof he was the author and beginner: and among the reſt: *That the* Acts of the Senate ſhould not be publiſhed nor appeare upon record: Item that no magiſtrates after that they had left or given up their honorable places, ſhould eftſoones preſently, be ſent as governours into any provinces. That for proconſuls or preſidents, their ſhould be a certaine rate in monie ſet downe and allowed. For their ſumpter-mules, for their tentes and hales: which were wont really before time to be ſet out and allowed for them, at the publike coſt of the Citie. Item, that the charge of the Cities Treaſure, ſhould be tranſlated from the Queſtours or treaſurers of the Citie, unto thoſe that had been pretours, or to the pretours for the time being: laſtly that certaine* Decemvirs ſhould ſummon and aſſemble the (a) Centumviri a court, and call the Centumvirs to the ſpeare, which they onely were wont to do, that had borne the office of Queſtourſhippe.*

* Acta Senatus and not Senatusconſulta: He meaneth *Diurna acta i.* the proceedings that paſſed there every day of ſitting.

* Ten men either choſen out of the Centumvirs by lot; or created of purpoſe.

37 And to the end that more men might beare their part in adminiſtration of the common weale, he deviſed new offices: to wit, *The overſeeing of the publike workes, the ſurveying of the waies, ſtreetes, and cauſies, of the water courſes or conduits, of the channel of Tybris, and diſtributing corne among the people.* Alſo the prouoſtſhip of the Cittie: One* Triumvirate, for chuſing Senatours; an another for reviewing & viſiting the troupes or cornets of horſemen, ſo oftē as need required. The Cenſours, whoſe creation was forlet and diſcontinued, after a long time betweene, he created againe. The number of pretours he augmented. He required alſo and demanded, that ſo often as the Conſulſhip was conferred upon him, he might have for one; ij. colleagues or cōpanions in office: but he cold not obtaine it; whileſt all men with one voice cried out, *That his maieſtie was abridged enough alreadie, in that he bare not that honourable office by himſelfe, but with another.*

* An office which 3 men ioinctly bare.

38 Neither was he more ſparing in honorably rewarding martial prowes, as who gave order, that to 30. *Captaines* and above, there ſhould be granted by publike decree full tryumphs: and to a good many more tryumphall (a) ornaments. Senatours Children, to the end they might be ſooner acquainted with the affaires of State, he permitted to put on even at the firſt their viril gown: to weare likewiſe the Senatours robe poudred with broad headed purple ſtuds; and to have their places in the Senate houſe. Alſo at their firſt entrance into warfare, he allowed them to be, not onely* militarre *Tribunes* in the legions, but alſo captaines over the* horſemen in the wings. And, that none of them might be unexpert of the Camp-affaires: he ordained for the moſt part over everie wing or Cornet, ij. ſuch Senatours (ſonnes) to be provoſts. The troupes & cōpanies of *Romaine Gentlemen*, he often reviewed; & after a long ſpace of time betweene, brought into uſe againe the manner of their* muſter or (b) riding ſolemnly on horſe backe, to ſhew thēſelues. Neither wold he ſuffer any on of thē during this ſolemnity, to be unhorſed & arreſted by his adverſary, that pretēded any matter in law againſt him: a thing that was uſually don. And to as many as were known to be aged or to have any defect or imperfection of body, he gave leave to ſend their horſes before, and to come on foote to aunſwere when ſo ever they were cited. And ſoone after he did thoſe this favour, to deliver uppe

Colonels of 1000. ſoteimes

* Or men of Armes.

* Tranſvectionis.

their

their (publike) horſes, who being above 45. yeares of age, were unwilling to keepe them ſtill.

39 Having obtained alſo by the *Senate. x. *Coadiutours*, hee compelled euerie Gentleman (that ſerved with the Citties horſe) to render an accoumpt of his life. And of ſuch as were blameable and could not approve their living; ſome he puniſhed, others he noted with ſhame & ignominie: the moſt part of them with admonition, but after ſundrie ſorts. The eaſieſt & lighteſt kind of admoniti on, was the tendering unto thē in open place & all mens ſight, a paire of *writing tables, to read unto themſelues preſently, in the place where they ſtood: Some alſo he put to rebuke & diſgrace for taking up of mony upō ſmal intereſt for the uſe, and putting it forth againe for greater gaine and uſurie.

*A *ſenatu or ſenatoribus*, i: out of the Senatours degree

*wherein were writren al their faults.

40 At the *Election of* *Tribunes (of the Commons)* if their wanted (*a*) Senatours to ſtand for that office, he created thē out of the degree of *Romaine Gentlemē*: ſo as, after they had born that magiſtracy, they might remaine ranged in whether degree *they would thēſelues. Now, when as many of the *Romain Gentlemē*, hauing waſted & decaied their patrimonie, & eſtate in the civil wars, durſt not out of the 14. formoſt ſeats behold the publike plaies & games, for feare of the penalty by the (law ROSCIA & IVLIA) caled THEATRALIS, he pronoūced opēly & made it knowne, that ſuch gentlemen were not liable thereto if either themſelues or their *fathers before them, were euer at any time valued to the* worth of *Romaine Gentlemen*: He made a review of the people of *Rome*, ſtreet by ſtreet: & to preuent that the cōmon people ſhold not be oftē called away frō their affaires by occaſion of the dole and diſtributiō of corne, he purpoſed to give out thrice a yeare, tiquets or talies for to ſerve 4: moneths: But when the people were deſirous of the old cuſtom, he grāted thē again to receiue the ſame upō the (*b*) *Nones* of every moneth: The ancient right and libertie alſo, in *Elections* & *Parliamentes* he brought in again: & having reſtrained the indirect ſuing for dignities by manyfold penalties, upō the day of ſuch *electiōs* he diſtributed out of his own purſe among the (*c*) *Fabians* & *Scaptians*, who were of the ſame *Tribes*, wherein himſelfe was incorporate; a thouſand Seſterces a peece, becauſe they ſhould not look for ought at any of their hands who ſtood for offices. Moreover ſuppoſing it a matter of great conſequence to keepe the people incorrupt & cleare from all baſe mixture of forain & ſervile blood; he both granted the freedom of the City of *Rome* moſt ſparily, & alſo ſet a certain gage & limitatiō of manumiſing & enfranchiſing ſlaves: When TIBERIVS made requeſt unto him by letters, in the behalfe of a *Grecian*, his client to be free of *Rome*: he wrot backe unto him, *That he would not grant it unleſſe he came perſonally himſelfe, and could perſwade him, what iuſt cauſes he had of his ſuite*: And, what time as LIVIA intreated the like for a certaine French-man, tributarie to the Romains: he flatly denied the freedome of the Citty, but offred in lieu thereof immunitie and remiſſion of Tribute; avowing, that he would more eaſily abide that ſomewhat went from the publike treaſure and chamber of the Cittie, than have the honour of the Romaine Citie to be made vulgar, & common: Nor content, that he had by diverſe ſtraight edicts & proviſoes kept many ſlaves from all manner of freedome, but more a great deal frō ful freedom in the beſt cōdition; as having preciſely & with much curioſitie put in caveats both for the nūber & alſo for the condition & reſpect otherwiſe of thoſe that were to be made free: he added thus much moreover.

parentibus: comprehēding all aunceſtours.

*Of gentlemen or of the Senatours

*400. *Seſtertia* or 400000. *Seſtertij*. i. 3125. l. ſterling

*Nonis cuiuſq; Menſis.

That

That no slaue, who had euer beene bound and imprisoned, or examined by torture should obtaine the freedome of the Cittie, in any kind of enfranchisement what soeuer. The olde manner of going and wearing apparell also, he endeuoured to bring into use againe. And having seene upon a time assembled to heare a publike speech, a number of Citizens cladde all in blacke *clokes or *sullied gownes, taking great indignation thereat crying out with all. Beholde, quoth he.

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

The *Romaines, Lords of all the world, and longe rob'd Nation.

* By blacke he meaneth clokes or gownes of a selfe russet colour, for their gownes should be white and faire not sullied

*By the trope *Ironia* meaning those that were in clokes or foule gownes, 41

He gaue the *Aediles* in charge not to suffer any person from thence forward, to abide or stay, either in the Common place or the Cirque, but (*d*) in a gowne, laying aside all clokes or mantills thereupon.

His liberality unto all degrees of Citizens he shewed often times as occasions and opportunities were offred: for both by bringing into the Cittie in the ALLEXANDRINE *Tryumph* the treasures of the (*Aegyptian* Kings he caused so great plentie of monie, that usurie fell, but the price of Landes and Lordships arose to a uerie high reckoning: and also afterwards, so often as out of the goods of condemned persons there was any surplusage of monie remaining above their fines; he granted for a certaine time the free lone and use thereof to as many as were able to put in securitie for the principall, by an obligation in duple the summe. The substance and wealth of Senatours hee augmented, and whereas the valew thereof before amounted to the summes of *800000. Sesterces he taxed or sessed them at 1200000: and looke who had not so much, he supplied and made it up to the full. Hee gave *Congiaries often times to the people but lightly they were of diuerse summes, one while 400, another while 300. and some times 200: and fiftie Sesterces: and he left not so much as boyes under age, whereas they had not wont to receive such congiaries, unlesse they were above eleuen yeares olde: Hee measured out also to the people by the Poll, Corne in times of scarcitie oftentimes at a verie lowe price, and otherwhiles freely, without payinge therefore: and as for the Tickets, of monie, he dupled the summe in them conteined,

*the *Ptolomeys*

*Duple the worth of Gentlemen.

*Largesses.

And that you may know, hee was a prince more respectiue of thrift and holesomenes, than desirous of popularitie, praise, & honour: when the people cõplained of the want & dearth of wine, he checked and snibbed thẽ with this most severe speech, *That his sonne in lawe* AGRIPPA *had taken order good enough that men should not be athirst, by conueighing so many waters into the* Cittie. Vnto the same people demanding the congiarie; which indeede was by him promised, he aunswered; *That his credite was good, and he able to performe his word*; but when they earnestly called for one which hee had never promised, hee hit them in the teeth by an edict or proclamation with their dishonestie, & impudencie: assuring them, that give it he would not although he had intended it.

And with no lesse gravitie and resolution, when uppon his proposing & publishing of a congiarie, he found that many in the meane time were manumised and inserted into the number of Citizens, he reiected such, and said; they should not receiue any, unto whom he had made no promise: and to all the rest hee

gave

gave leſſe than he promiſed: that the ſumme which he had appointed, might hould out and be ſufficient. When upon a time, there was great barrainneſſe and ſcarcitie of corne, being put to an hard exigent and to ſeeke a difficult remedie, in ſo much as he was driven to expell out of the Cittie, all the ſort of young ſlaves pampered aud trimmed up for ſale, as alſo whole ſcholes & companies of Novice-fencers and ſword players: all ſtrangers and forainers, except Phyſitians and ſcholemaiſters: yea and ſome of the ordinarie houſhold ſeruants: ſo ſoone as the market began to mend, and victuals grew plentifull, he writeth, *That it tooke him in the head to aboliſh thoſe publike doles of Corne for euer; becauſe upon the truſt and confidence of them, tillage was cleane laid downe.* Howbeit he continued not in that mind long, as being aſſured, that the ſame doles might be ſet up againe one time or other by the ambitious humour (of Princes his ſucceſſors.) And therefore after this he ordred the matter ſo indifferently, as that he had no leſſe regard of the Citties fermours of tillage, & other undertakers and purueiours of the publike corne, than of the people and commons of the Cittie.

43 In number, varietie, and magnificence of ſolemne ſhewes exhibited unto the people he went beyond all men. Hee reporteth of himſelfe that he ſet foorth plaies and games in his owne name foure and twentie times: and for other magiſtrates who either were abſent or not ſufficient to beare the charges, three and twentie times Diuers times, he exhibited plaies by everie ſtreete, and thoſe uppon many ſtages, and acted by plaiers skilfull in all languages not in the *Common forum* onely, nor in the ordinarie Amphitheater, but alſo in the *cirque*. In the encloſure called *Septa*, he never repreſented any ſportes but the baiting and courſing of wild beaſts and the ſhewes of champions-fight, having built woodden ſcaffolds and ſeates for the nonce in *Mars* field. In like manner, he made the ſhew of a Navall battaile about the River *Tiberis*, having digged of purpoſe a ſpacious hollow pit within the ground, even there whereas now is to be ſeene the grove of the CÆSARS. On which dayes he beſtowed warders in diverſe places of the citie, for feare it might be endãgered by ſturdie theeues and robbers, taking their vantage, that ſo few remained at home in their houſes. In the *Cirque* he brought forth to doe their deuour. *Charioters*, *Runners*, and *killers* of ſavage beaſts: otherwhiles out of the nobleſt young gentlemen of all the Cittie. As for the warlike *Riding* or *Turnament* called *Troie*, he exhibited it ofteneſt of all other, making choyſe of boyes to performe it, as well bigger as ſmaller: ſuppoſing it a matter of antiquitie: a decent and honorable maner beſides, that the towardly diſpoſition and proofe of noble bloud ſhould thus be ſeene and knowne. In this ſolemnitie and ſport, he rewarded, C. NONIVS ASPRENAS* weakened by a fall from his horſe, with a wreath or chaine of gold, and permitted both himſelfe and alſo his poſteritie to beare the ſurname of TORQVATVS. But afterwards he gave over the repreſentation of ſuch paſtimes, by occaſion that ASINIVS POLLIO the Oratour, made a grievous and invidious complaint in the Senate houſe, of the fall that ÆSERNINVS his nephew tooke, who likewiſe had thereby broken his legge. To the performance of his ſtage plaies alſo and ſhewes of ſworde fight, he employed ſome times even the Gentlemen and knights of *Rome*: but it was before he was inhibited by vertue of an Act of the Senate. For after

* Quater et vicies.

* Or lamed.

it

it verily, he exhibited no more, ſave onely a youth called L. Ivivs, borne of worſhipfull parentage, onely for a ſhew: that being a dwarfe not two foote high, & weighing but 17. l'. yet he had an exceeding great voice. One day of the ſword fight that he ſet forth, he brought in for to behould the ſolemnitie, euen through the midſt of the Shew place, the *Parthians* hoſtages who then were newly ſent (*to Rome*) and placed them in the ſecond * ranke or row of ſeates *above himſelfe: His manner was moreover, before the uſuall daies of ſuch ſpectacles and ſolemne ſights, and at other times, if any ſtrang and new thing were brought over unto him, and worthie to be knowne, to bring it abroad for to beſeene upon extraordinary daies, and in any place whatſoever. As for example, a *Rhinoceros* within the empaled or railed encloſure called *Serpta* · a *Tigre* upon the ſtage: and a *Serpent* 50: cubits long, within the *Hall Comitium*. It fortuned that during the great Circeian games which he had vowed before, he fell ſicke: whereby he lay in his litter and ſo devoutly attended upon the ſacred chariots called *Thenſæ*. Againe, it happened at the beginning of thoſe plaies, which he ſet out when he dedicated the temple of *Marcellus*, that his curule chaire became unioincted, and thereby he fel upon his back: Alſo at the games of his nephewes when the people their aſſembled were mightily troubled & aſtonied, for feare that the Theater would fall: ſeeing that by no means he cold hold them in, nor cauſe them to take heart againe, he removed out of his owne place, and ſat him downe in that part thereof which was moſt ſuſpected: The moſt confuſe and licentious māner of beholding ſuch ſpectacles, hee reformed and brought into order; mooved thereto, by the wrong done to a Senatour, whom at *Puteoli* in a frequent aſſemble ſittinge at their right ſolemne Games, noe man had received to him and vouchſafed a rowne.

*His lightnes was more to be noted than his ſhort ſtature: For wheras the full height is 6: foote and the weight ſome what above 100: l: this lenity of 2: foot is vnder that proportion the one halfe:

*Superque ſe: or behind at his backe higher, and therfore further of: or elſe in a ſecond ſeat from him of the one ſide, but in the ſame ranke for honor ſake:

Hereupon when a decree of the Senate was paſſed, *That ſo often as in any place there was ought exhibited publikely to be ſeene, the firſt ranke or courſe of Seates ſhould be kept cleere and wholly for Senatours*: he forbad the Embaſſadour of free nations and confederats to ſit at *Rome* within the *Orcheſtra*: becauſe he had found, that even ſome of their libertines kind were ſent in embaſſage. The ſoldiers hee ſevered frō the other people. To maried men that were cōmoners, he aſſigned ſeveral rewes by thēſelues. To Noble mens childrē under age his *own quarter: and to their teachers and governers the next thereto. He made an Act alſo, that not one of the baſe Commons wearing blacke and ſullied gownes ſhould ſit ſo neere as the midſt of the Theatre. As for women he would not allow them to behold ſo much, as the ſword Fencers, (who cuſtomarily in the time paſt were to be ſeene of all indifferently) but from ſome higher* loft above the reſt, * ſitting there by themſelues. To the *Veſtall Nunnus* he graunted a place a part from the reſt within the Theatre, and the ſame iuſt over againſt the Pretours Tribunall. Howbeit from the Solemnitie of Champions ſhew, he baniſhed all the female ſex: ſo farre forth, as that during the* Pontificiall Games, he put of a couple of them who were called for to enter in to combat, untill the morrow (*b*) morning. And made proclamation, that his will and pleaſure was, *That no woman ſhould come into the Theatre before the* fift hower of the day*:

44

*Cuneum ſuum: or a rancke of their owne:

*And by conſequēce farther of:

* Spectare concēſit ſolis,

*which himſelfe exhibited being *Pontifex Maximus*: the High prieſt:

*Eleven of the clok, by which houre all that fight was paſt,

Himſelfe beheldc the Circeian Games, for the moſt part from the

45

*upper

*upper lofts and lodging of his friendes and freed-men Sometime out of the *Pulviuar*, ſitting there with his wife onely and children. From theſe ſhewes and ſights he would be abſent many houres together, and otherwhiles whole dayes: but firſt having craved leave of the people, & recommended thoſe unto them, who ſhould ſitte as preſidentes of thoſe Games in his turne. But ſo often as he was at them, he did nothing els but intend the ſame: either to avoide the rumor and ſpeech of men, whereby his father CÆSAR (as he ſaid himſelfe) was commonly taxed, namely for that in beholding thoſe ſolemnities he uſed betweene whiles to give his mind to read* letters & petitions, yea and to write backe againe or els uppon an earneſt deſire and delight he had: in ſeeing ſuch paſtimes; pleaſure and contentment wherein he never diſſimuled, but oftentimes frankely profeſſed. And therefore he propoſed and gave of his owne at the games of priſe and plaies even of other men Coronets and rewards both many in number, and alſo of great worth: Neither was he preſent at any of theſe Greeke games (*a*) and ſolemnities, dut he honored everie one of the Actors and provers of Maieſteries therein according to their deſerts. But moſt affectionately of all other he loved to ſee the Champions* at fiſt fight: and the Latines eſpecially; not thoſe onely who by lawfull calling were* profeſſed, & by order allowed (and even thoſe he was wont to match with Greeks) but ſuch alſo as out of the common ſort of towneſ-men; fell together by the eares pell mell in the narrow ſtreets and though they had no skill at all of fight, yet could lay on load, and offend their concurrents one way or other. In ſumme, all thoſe in generall, who had any hand in thoſe publike games or ſet them forward any way, he deigned good rewards and had a ſpeciall reſpect of them. The priuiledges of Champions he both maintained entier, and alſo amplified. As for ſword fencers he would not ſuffer thē to ente r into the liſts, unleſſe they might be diſcharged of that profeſſion, in caſe they became victours. The power to chaſtice Actours and plaiers at all times and in everie place (granted unto the Magiſtrates by auncient law) he tooke from them, ſave onely during the plaies and uppon the ſtage. Howbeit he examined ſtreightly nevertheleſſe at all times either the matches or combats of Champions called (*b*) *Xyſtici*, or the fights of ſword fencers. For the licentiouſneſſe of ſtage plaiers he ſo repreſſed, that whē he had for certaine found out, *That* STEPHANIO *an actor of Romaine playes had a mans wife waiting upon him ſhorne & rounded in māner of a boy, he confined & ſent him away as baniſhed: but well beaten firſt with rods through all the* three *Theatres.* And HYLAS the *Pantomime at the complaint made of him by the Pretour, he skourged openly in the Court yard before his houſe: and excluded no man from the ſight thereof: yea and he baniſhed PYLADES out of the Cittie of *Rome* and *Italie*, becauſe he had pointed with his finger at a Spectatour who hiſſed him out of the ſtate, and ſo made him to be knowne.

Having in this māner ordred the Cittie and adminiſtred the civile affaires therin, he made *Italie* populous and much frequented with (*a*) Colonies to the number of 28, brought thither and planted by him; yea he furniſhed the ſame with publike workes and revenues in in many places. He equalled it alſo after a ſort, and in ſome patt with the verie Cittie of *Rome* in priviledges and eſtimation: by deviſing a new kind of* Suffrages which the decurious or elders of *Colonies* gave every one in their owne Towneſhippe, as touching Maieſtrates to bee created

*And not, *puluinari. i.* The bedloſt wher the ſacred Images of the Gods were devoutly beſtowed, which had beene brought in their Thenſes and carried thether, at theſe ſolemn games.

*As if he had no delight in thoſe games.

**Pugiles* aunſwerable in Greece to the Romaine Gladiatores.

*And ſo had learned he skil and feate of fighting.

*By beating with rods.

*Pretours and Aeldles.

**Pompeij, Balbi, Metelli*, For ſo many there were in *Auguſtus* dayes, beſides the Amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus*

A cunning Actour counterfaiting all parts.

46

*Voices;

created in *Rome*, and sent under their hands, and seales to the City against the day of the solemne *Elections*. And to the end, there should not want in any place either honest and worshipfull inhabitants, or issue of the multitude; looke who made suite to serve as men of armes on horse-backe upon the publique commendation of any townesship * whatsoever, those hee enrolled and advanced unto the degree of Gentlemen. But to as many of the Commoners as could by good evidence prove unto him as hee visited the Countries and * Regions of *Italy*, that they had sonnes and daughters he distributed a thousand sesterces a piece, for every child they had.

* *Colusonas oppidi.*

* And those were eleven.

47 A.V.C. 726

As for those Provinces, which were more mighty than other, and the government whereof by yeerely Magistrates was neither easie nor safe; he undertooke himselfe to (*a*) rule: the (*b*) rest hee committed to Proconsuls by lot. And yet otherwhiles he made exchange of such Provinces: and of both sorts, hee oftentimes visited many in person. Certaine Cities, confederate and in league with *Rome*, howbeit by over-much libertie running headlong to mischiefe and destruction, hee deprived of their liberties. Others againe, either deepely in debt he eased, or subverted by earthquake he reedified, or able to alledge their merits and good turnes done to the people of *Rome* hee endowed with the franchises of *Latium*; or else with freedome of *Rome*. There is not, I suppose, a Province, (except *Affrick* onely and *Sardinia*) but hee went unto it. Into these Provinces after he had chaced SEXTUS POMPEIUS thither, he prepared to saile out of *Sicilie* and to crosse the Seas: but continuall stormes and extreame tempests checked him: neither had hee good occasion or sufficient cause afterwards to passe over unto them.

48

All those kingdomes which he wan by conquest and force of armes, unlesse some fewe, hee either restored unto those Princes from whom hee had taken them, or else made them over to other. KK. mere Aliens, Princes, his Associates hee conioyned also together among themselves by mutuall bonds of alliance, as being a most ready procurer and maintainer of affinity and amity of every one: neither had he other regard of them all in generall than of the very naturall members and parts of his owne Empire. Moreover, he was wont to set Guardians and Governours over the saide Princes, when they were either young and under age, or lunatick and not well in their wits; untill such time as they were growne to ripe yeeres, or began to come againe to themselves. The children of very many of them, he both brought up and also trained and instructed together with his owne.

49

Out of his militarie forces, he distributed both Legions and Auxiliaries by Provinces. He placed one fleete at *Misenum*, and another at *Ravenna*, for the defences of the * upper and * nether Seas. A certaine number of Souldiours he selected for a guard, partly of the City, and in part of his owne person, having discharged the regiment of the * *Calagurritanes*; which hee had retained about him, untill he vanquished ANTONIUS; and likewise of the Germaines which hee had waged among the Squires of his body, unto the disasterous overthrow of VARUS: And yet he suffred not at any time, to remain within the City more then 3 cohorts, and those without their pavilions. The residue, his manner was to send away to wintering places & sommer harbours about the

* *Superi*, called otherwise the Adriatick Sea; Venice gulfe.

* *Inferi*, otherwise. *Tusci*, or *Tyrrheni*, i. the Tuskane Sea.

* People of Spaine.

neighbour-townes. Moreover, all the ſouldiours that were in any place whatſoever, hee tied to a certaine preſcript forme and proportion of wages and rewards, ſetting downe according to the degree and place of every one, both their times of warfare, and alſo the * commodities they ſhould receive after the terme of their ſervice expired & their lawfull diſcharge: leaſt that by occaſion of old age, or for want, they ſhould after they were freed from warfare, be ſolicited to ſedition and rebellion. And to the end, that for ever, and without any difficulty, there might be defrayed ſufficient to maintaine and reward them accordingly, he appointed a peculiar *Treaſurie* for ſoldiors with new * revenewes deviſed for their maintainance. And that with more ſpeede and out of hand word might be brought, and notice taken what was doing in every province, hee diſpoſed along the rode high-waies, within ſmall diſtance one from another; firſt, certaine young men as poſts; and afterwards ſwift wagons to give intelligence. This he thought more commodious, and better to the purpoſe, that they who from a place brought him letters might be asked queſtions alſo, if the matters required ought.

* Fees, penſions, land and living.

* *Ducenteſimis et quinquageſimis rerum venalium. Bonis etiã damnatorum i.* with the two hundreth peny, and the fiftieth peny of wares ſold; with the goods alſo of condemned perſons.

50 In charters, patents, writs, bils and letters he uſed for his ſeale, at the firſt, the image of (*a*) SPHINX: Soone after, that of ALEXANDER the great: and laſt of all, his owne; engraven by the hand of * DIOSCURIDES: wherewith the Princes and Emperours his ſucceſſours continued to ſigne their writings. To all his miſſives his manner was, to put preciſely the very minutes of houres, not of day onely but of night alſo, wherein it might be knowne, they were dated.

* A cunning Lapidarie and graver in pretious ſtones.

51 Of his clemencie and civill (*a*) curteſie, there be many, and thoſe right great prooſes and experiments. Not to reckon up, how many and who they were of the adverſe faction, that he vouchſafed pardon & life; yea, and ſuffred to hold ſtill a principall place in the City: he was content and thought it ſufficient, to puniſh IUNIUS NOVATUS and CASSIUS PATAVINUS, two commoners; the one with a fine of money and the other with a ſlight baniſhment: notwithſtanding that IUNIUS NOVATUS in the name of young AGRIPPA had divulged a moſt biting and ſtinging letter, touching him, and CASSIUS PATAVINUS at an open table and full feaſt, gave out in broad termes, That he wanted neither harty wiſhes nor good will to ſtab him. Moreover in a certaine iudiciall triall, when among other crimes this article was principally obiected againſt ÆMILIUS ÆLIANUS of *Corduba*, That hee was wont to have * a bad conceite and to ſpeake but baſely of CÆSAR, himſelfe turned unto the accuſer, and as if he had beene ſore offended, *I would*, quoth he, *thou wert able to prove this unto me: In faith* ÆLIANUS *ſhould well know, that I alſo have a tongue: for I will not ſtick to ſay more by him.* And farther than this he neither for the preſent nor afterwards inquired into the matter. Likewiſe, when TIBERIUS grieved and complained unto him of the ſame indignity in a letter, and that unceſſantly and after a violent manner, thus he wrote backe againe: *Dee not my goood* TIBERIUS *in this point follow and feed the humor of your * age: neither ſet it too neere your heart, That there is any man who ſpeaketh euill of me; For it is enough for us, if no man be able to doe us harme.*

* *Male opinari.* The ſame in this Author, that *Male dicere.*

* Young: imputing his coller & cruelty to the heate of youth & hote blood: meaſuring *Tiberius* by himſelfe.

52 Albeit, he wiſt well enough, that Temples were uſually graunted by decree even unto Proconſuls, yet in no Province accepted hee of that honour, but ioyntlie in the name and behalfe of himſelfe and of *Rome*. For in

Rome

Rome verily, he forbare this honour moſt reſolutely: yea, and thoſe ſilver Statues which in times paſt had beene ſet up for him, he melted every one. *Of which, he cauſed golden **Tables* to be made, and thoſe he dedicated to APOLLO PATAVINUS. When the people offered and inſtantly forced upon him the Dictatourſhip, he fell upon his knees, caſt his gowne from off his ſhoulder, bared his breſt, and with deteſtation of the thing, beſought them not to urge him farther.

*With the money, for which they were ſold.

53 The name and title of **Lord (a)* he alwaies abhorred as a contumelious & reproachfull terme. When upon a time, as he beheld the plaies, theſe words were pronounced out of a Comœdie *, *O good and gracious* * *Lord*: whereupon the whole aſſembly with great ioy and applauſe accorded thereto, as if they had beene ſpoken of him: immediatly both with geſture of hand and ſhew of countenance, he repreſſed ſuch undecent flatteries: and the next day reproved them moſt ſharply by an edict: neither would hee ever after ſuffer himſelfe to be called DOMINUS, no not of his owne children and nephewes either in earneſt or boord. And that which more is, ſuch faire and glavering wordes hee forbad them to uſe among themſelves. Lightly, you ſhould not have him depart forth of the City or any Towne, nor enter into any place, but in the evening, or by night: For diſquieting any perſon in doing him honour by way of dutifull attendance. In his Conſulſhip hee went commonly in the ſtreetes on foote: out of his Conſulſhip oftentimes in a cloſe *(b) chaire or licter. In generall Salutations and duties done unto him he admitted the very Commons, entertaining the ſuites and deſires of all commers with ſo great humanity as that he rebuked one of them merily, becauſe in reaching unto him a ſupplication, he did it ſo timorouſly, as if hee had raught a ſmall peece * of coine to an Oliphant. On a Senate-day, he never ſaluted his Nobles but in the (c) *Curia*: and thoſe verily as they ſat, every one by name without any *prompter: and at his departure out of the houſe, he uſed to bid them farewell one by one as they were ſet, in the ſame manner. With many men he performed mutuall offices yeelding one kindnes for another interchangeably: Neither gave he over frequenting their ſolemnities & * feaſts untill he was farre ſtept in yeeres: and by this occaſion, that once upon a day of *Eſpouſals he was in the preſſe & throng of people ſore crouded. GALLUS TERRINIUS a Senator, & none of his familiar acquaintance, howbeit fallen blinde and purpoſing reſolutely to pine (d) himſelfe to death, he viſited in proper perſon, and by his conſolatory and comfortable words perſwaded him to live ſtill.

*Ad operta: if adaperta the ſence is contrarie.

*Stipem Quintilianus reddidit aſſem lib. 6. cap. de riſu.

* Or *Nomenclator.*

* As Birthdayes, & Marriage Minds.

* Aſſurance making of a mariage.

As he delivered a ſpeech in the Senate, one ſaid unto him, *I conceived you not*: & another, *I would gain-ſay you if any place were left for* * *me to ſpeake*. Divers times when upon occaſion of exceſſive altercation and brabbling among the Senatours in debating matters, he was about to whip out of the Senate a pace in a great chafe, ſome of them would choke him with theſe words, *Senatours ought to have liberty to ſpeake their mindes concerning the Common-weale*. ANTISTIUS LABEO at a certaine *Election of Senatours, when* * *one man* chooſeth another, made choiſe of M. LEPIDUS, who ſometime was (AUGUSTUS) mortall enemie, and then in Exile. Now when he demaunded of the ſaid ANTISTIUS, *If there were not others more worthy to be choſen*? hee returned this aunſwere, *That every man had his owne liking and iudgement by himſelfe*. Yet for all this, did no

54

*As if *Auguſtus* by his abſolute power had take up all.

**Cum vir virũ*, not *Triumvirũ*.

mans free ſpeech or froward ſelfe-will, turne him to diſpleaſure or danger.

55 Moreover, the diffamatory libels of him caſt abroad & diſperſed in the *Curia*, he neither was affrighted at, nor tooke great care to refute; making not ſo much as ſearch after the Authors. Onely this he opened, *That from thence-forth there ſhould be inquiſition made, and examination had of thoſe that either in their owne name or under other mens, did put forth libels, rimes, or verſes to the infamie of any perſon.* Furthermore, to meete with the ſpitefull taunts and skurrile ſcoffes of ſome, wherewith he was provoked, he made an Edict againſt ſuch. And yet, to the end that the Senate ſhould paſſe no Act, for the Inhibition of their (*a*) licetious liberty in their *laſt wils & teſtaments, he interpoſed his negative voice.

*Wherein, the manner was to uſe broad jeſts, of any perſon. *Caſaubonus.*

56 Whenſoever he was preſent himſelfe at the Generall Ward-motes for Election of Magiſtrates, he went with his owne (*a*) *Candidates* round about to the *Tribes*, and humbly craved their * voices according to the uſuall cuſtome. Himſelfe alſo gave a voice in his * owne Tribe as one of the ordinary people. When hee appeared as witneſſe in iudiciall courts, hee ſuffred himſelfe right willingly to be examined upon interrogatives, & alſo to be impleaded againſt and confuted. His common * Hall of Iuſtice he made leſſe of narrower * compaſſe; as not daring to encroch upon the next houſes & diſpoſſeſſe the owners. He never recommended his ſonnes unto the people, but with this clauſe added thereto, If they ſhall deſerve. When, beeing yet under age, and * in their purpled childs habit, al the people generally that ſat in the Theater roſe up unto them, and the ſtanders below clapped their hands, hee tooke it very ill and complained grievouſly thereof. His minions & inward friends he would have to bee great and mighty men in the City; yet ſo, as they ſhould have no more liberty than other Citizens, but be ſubiect to lawes and iudgements as well as the reſt. When ASPRENAS NONIUS (*b*), a man of neere alliance & acquaintance with him was accuſed by CASSIUS SEVERUS, for practiſing poiſon, & pleaded for himſelfe at the Barr, hee asked counſell of the Senate, what they thought in duty he was to do? *For I ſtand in doubt*, quoth he, *leaſt being here preſent as an advocate, I ſhould acquit the priſoner * defendant and ſo hinder the courſe of law*: againe, if I be abſent & faile him, leaſt *I might be thought to forſake and prejudice my friend*: Wherupon, by all their conſents, he ſat there in the **Pues* certain houres, but ſpake never a word, nor affourded ſo much as a cõmendatorie ſpeech in the defendants behalfe, as the maner of friends was to do in the triall of ſuch caſes. He pleaded the cauſes even of his very clients, and by name, of a certaine * ſhield-bearer, (*c*) whom in times paſt he had called forth to ſerve him in the wars: he ſpake I ſay in his defence, when he was ſued in an action of the caſe. Of all thoſe that were thus in trouble, he delivered one & no more from making his appearance in Court: and him verily no otherwiſe, but by earneſt praiers & entreating the Accuſer before the Iudges: and him he perſwaded at length to let fal his action. And CASTRITIUS it was, a man, by whoſe meanes he came to the knowledge of MURENAES conſpiracie.

*Pretextatis adhuc.

*Or offender. *Within the Barr, among the Advocates, as a well willer.

*Or *Targuſtier, Scutario* ſome take this for a proper name of ſome ſouldiour of his.

57 How much, and for what demerits of his, he was beloved, an eaſie matter it is to make an æſtimate. The acts & decrees of the Senate concerning his honors I paſſe over, as which may be thought wreſted frõ them either upon mere neceſſity or baſhfull modeſty. The Gentlemen of *Rome* of their owne accord and by an uniforme conſent celebrated his birth-feaſt alwaies for 2 daies together. All States & Degrees of the City, yeerely upon a ſolemne vow that they made,

made, threw ſmall pieces of braſſe-coine into *CURTIUS lake for the preſervation of his life & health. Semblably, at the Calends of Ianuarie every yeere they offred a newyeeres-gift in the Capitol unto him, although he were abſent. Out of which maſſe & groſſe ſum he disburſed as much money, as wherewith he bought the moſt pretious Images of the Gods, and dedicated them in divers ſtreets: as namely APOLLO *SANDALIARIUS, & IUPITER *TRAGÆDUS, and * others beſides. For the reedification of his houſe in *Palatine* conſumed by fire, the old ſoldiours, The Decuries (of the Iudges) the Tribes, & many ſeverall perſons by themſelves of all ſorts, willingly & according to each ones ability brought in their monies together. Howbeit, he did no more but ſlightly touch the heapes of ſuch money as they lay, & tooke not away out of any one above one ſingle * denier. As he returned out of any province, they accompanied him honorably, not onely with good words & lucky *wiſhes, but alſo with ſongs ſet in muſicall meaſures. This alſo was duly obſerued, that how often ſo ever he entred *Rome*, no puniſhment that day was inflicted upon any perſon.

*Into the railed or empaled place named *Septa*, where ſometime was that Lake.
*In the Shoomakers ſtreet.
*In the Tragædians ſtreet.
*Aliaqui. Inteſtitutione &c.
* Mount *Palatine*.
*7d. ob.
*Fauſtis ominibus. or, nominibus. i. names.

58 The *ſurname in his ſtile of PATER PATRIÆ, they all preſented unto him with exceeding great & unexpected accord. The Commons, firſt, by an Embaſſage which they ſent unto *Antium*: then, becauſe he accepted not thereof, at *Rome* as he entred the Theater to behold the plaies, they tendered it a ſecond time themſelves in great frequencie, dight with Lawrell branches & Coronets. Soone after, the Senate did the like, not by way of decree nor acclamation, but by VALERIUS MESSALLA, who had commiſſion from them all, to relate their minds in this maner. THAT, quoth he, which may be to the good and happineſſe of thee & thy houſe O CÆSAR AUGUSTUS (for in this wiſe we think, that we pray for perpetuall felicity & * proſperity to this Commonwealth.) THE SENATE accordingly with the people of *Rome*, do iointly ſalute thee by the name of *PATER PATRIÆ. Vnto whom, AUGUSTUS with teares ſtanding in his eyes, made anſwere in theſe words, (For I have ſet the very ſame downe, like as I did *thoſe of *Meſſala*) NOW *that I have (mine honorable Lords) attained to the height of all my vowes and wiſhes, what remaineth elſe for me to crave of the immortall Gods, but that I may carie with mee this univerſall conſent of yours unto my lives end?*

* Or addition A. V. C. 758
*Felicitatem Reip. et lata huic: proſelicitatem et lata Reip. huic.
*Father of the Country.
*Sicut *Meſſalla*

Vnto ANTONIUS MUSA his Phyſitian, by whoſe meanes he was recovered out of a dangerous diſeaſe, they erected a Statue, by a generall contribution of braſſe, iuſt by the image of ÆSCULAPIUS. Some * houſholders there were who in their laſt wils and teſtaments provided, That their heires ſhould leade beaſts for ſacrifice into the Capitoll and pay their vowes, with this title caried before them containing the reaſon of ſo doing, *Becauſe* they had left AUGUSTUS living after them.* Certaine Cities of *Italy* began their yeere that very day, on which he firſt came to them. Moſt of the Provinces, over & above Temples & Altars *, ordained almoſt in every good Towne, ſolemne Games & Playes every fifth yeere in his honor.

59

*Patres familias good honeſt Citizens of *Rome* that were *ſui iuris*.
*.i. Their Fathers, the teſtatours.
* As if he had beene a Demi-God.

Kings his friends and Confederates both ſeverally every one in his own kingdome built Cities calling them *Cæſareæ*, and iointly altogether intended, at their common charges fully to finiſh the temple of *Iupiter Olympicus* at *Athens* which long time before was begun, & to dedicate it unto his *Genius*. And oftentimes, the ſaid Princes leaving their realmes, going in Romaine gownes, without Diadems & regall Ornaments, in habit & manner of devoted Clients, performed

60

their dutifull attendance unto him day by day: not at *Rome* only, but also when he visited and travailed over the provinces.

61 For as much as I have shewed already what his publique cariage was in places of Commaund and Magistracies: in the managing also and administration of the Common-weale throughout the world both in warre and peace: Now will I relate his more private and domesticall life: as also what behaviour hee A.V.C. 711: 745 shewed and what fortune hee had at home, and among his owne, even from his youth unto his dying day. His mother he buried during the time of his first Consulship, and his sister OCTAVIA in the 54 yeere of his age. And as he had performed unto them both, whiles they lived, the offices of pietie and love in the best manner: so when they were dead, he did them the greatest honours he possibly could.

62 He had espoused, being a very youth, the daughter of P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS: but upon his reconciliation unto ANTONIE after their first discorde at the earnest demaund of both their soldiours, that they might be conioyned and united by some nere affinitie, he tooke to wife (ANTONIUS) daughter in law CLAUDIA, the naturall daughter of Dame FULVIA by P. CLODIUS: a young Damosell, scarce mariageable. And upon some displeasure, falling out with FULVIA his wives mother, he put her away, as yet untouched and a virgine: Soone after, he wedded SCRIBONIA, the wife before of two husbands, both men of Consular dignity, and by one of them a mother. This wife also he divorced, not able to endure, as hee writeth himselfe, her shrewd and A.V.C. 715: perverse conditions: and forthwith, tooke perforce from TIBERIUS NERO, LIVIA DRUSILLA his lawfull wife & great with child. Her he loved entirely, her he liked onely, and to the very end.

63 Vpon SCRIBONIA he begat IVLIA: By LIVIA he had no issue, although full faine he would. Conceive once she did by him; but she miscaried, and the Infant was borne before time. As for IVLIA, hee gave her in mariage first to MARCELLUS the sonne of his sister OCTAVIA, even when he was but newly crept out of his childes age. Afterwards, when MARCELLUS was departed this life, he bestowed her upon M. AGRIPPA, having by intreatie obtained of his sister, to yeeld up unto him her right and interest in her sonne * in law. For, at the same time AGRIPPA had to wife one of the *MARCELLÆ (her daughters) and of her body begotten children. When this AGRIPPA was likewise dead, he cast about and sought for divers matches a long time, even out of the ranks of Romaine Gentlemen, and chose for her, his wives sonne *TIBERIUS: whom he forced to put away a former wife then with child, and by whom hee had beene a father already. M. ANTONIUS writeth, that he had affianced the said IVLIA first, to ANTONIE his sonne: and afterwards to COTISO King of the Getes: what time ANTONIE himselfe required to have a *Kings daughter likewise to wife.

*Her daughters husband: *It seemeth the younger: *Emperour after him.

*Lotapas the *Median* K. of *Armenia*: or els he meaneth *Cleopatra*:

64 By AGRIPPA and IULIA he had 3 nephewes, CAIVS, LUCIUS, and ARIPPA: nieces likewise twaine, IULIA and AGRIPPINA. IULIA he bestowed in mariage upon LUCIUS PAULUS, the Censors sonne: and AGRIPPINA upon GERMANICUS, his *sisters (a) Nephew. As for CAIUS and LUCIUS he adopted them for his owne children at home in his house, having bought them of AGRIPPA their Father by the brazen coine * and (b) the balance. Whom being yet in their tender yeeres, he emploied in the charge of the cō-

*Sororis, or uxoris. his wiues nephewe, and both true;

*Per æssem, vel per æs et libram.

mon-

mon weale: and no ſooner were they Conſuls Elect, but hee ſent them abroade to the government of Provinces and conduct of armies. His daughter and nieces above named, hee brought vppe and trained ſo, as that hee acquainted them with houſewiferie, and ſet them even to carde, ſpinne and make cloth: forbidding them ſtreighly either to ſay or doe ought but openly in the ſight and hearing of all men, and that which might be recorded in their day *bookes. Certes, ſo farre forth he prohibited and forewarned them the companie of ſtrangers, that he wrote uppon a time unto L. *TVCINIVS, a noble young gentleman and a perſonable, charging him that he paſſed the bounds of modeſtie, in that he came once to Baiæ for to ſee and ſalute his daughter: his nephewes, himſelfe for the moſt part taught to reade, to write (c) & to ſwimme, beſides the rudiments & firſt introductions to other Sciences. But in nothing travailed hee ſo much as in this, that they might imitate his handwritinge. Hee never ſupped togither with them, but they ſatte at the nether ende of the Table: neither went hee any Iournie, but hee had them either goinge before in a Wagon, or elſe abovt him rydinge by his ſide.

*Of accompt. *Or *Vinicius.*

But as joious and confident as hee was in regard both of his iſſewe, and alſo of the diſcipline of his houſe, fortune failed him in the proofe of all. His daughter and niece either of them named IVLIA diſteined with all kinde of leawdneſſe and diſhoneſtie he ſent out of the way as baniſhed: *CAIVS (a) and LVCIVS both, hee loſt in the ſpace of 18. moneths, CAIVS died in *Lycia*, LVCIVS at *Maſſilia*. His third nephewe AGRIPPA, togither with his wives ſonne TIBERIVS (b) hee adopted his ſonnes in the *Forum* of *Rome* by an Act of *all the Curiæ. But of theſe twaine within a ſmall time hee caſt out of his favour, yea and confined aſide unto *Surrentum* AGRIPPA, for his baſe *diſpoſition and fell nature. Moreover he tooke much more patiently the death, than the reprochfull miſdemeauours of his children. For, at the infortunitie of CAIVS and LVCIVS he was not extreamely diſmaied and caſt downe: mary, of his daughter & her leawd prancks, he gave notice in his abſence to the Senate, and that in writing, which his (c) Queſtor red openly before them: and for very ſhame he abſented himſelfe a long time and avoyded the company of men: yea, and that which more is, once he was of mind to put her to death. And verely, when as, about the ſame time a freed woman of his named PHOEBE, one of them that were privie to her naughtines, knit her own neck in a halter, & ſo ended her dayes, he gave it out, *that he wiſht with all his heart he had beene* *Phœbes *father*. Confined thus when ſhe was, he debarred her wholly the uſe of wine, and all manner of delicate trimming and decking her bodie: neither would he permitte any man, one or other, bond, or free to have acceſſe unto her without his privitie and leave asked: nor unleſſe he might be certified before, of what age, of what ſtature and colour hee was, yea and what (a) markes and skars he caried about him. After 5. yeares ende, he remooved her out of the *Iland into the Continent where ſhee abode at more libertie ſomewhat, and not ſo ſtreightly looked unto: For, to call her home againe once for all, he could by no meanes bee intreated: as who, many a time when the people of Rome beſought him, earneſtly and were very inſtant with him in her behalfe, openly before a frequent aſſembly of them curſed ſuch daughters and ſuch wives: ſaying, God bleſſe yee al from the like. The infant that his niece IVLIA bare after ſhe was condemned, hee forbad expreſſely to take knowledge of, & to give it the rearing. As touching his nephew AGRIPPA ſeeing him to proove nothing more tractable, but rather braine ſicke every day more than other, he tranſported him (from *Surrentum*) into an Iland and encloſed him there, beſides with a guard of ſoldiers. He provided alſo by an Act of the Senate, that in the ſame place he ſhould be kept for ever. And ſo often, as there was any mention made either of him or his ij. *IVLIE, he uſed to fetch a ſigh and grone againe, and with all to breake out into this ſpeech.

65

* ij. of his Nephewes.

*These Actes were called *Leges Curiatæ*: made in a parliament of all the *Curiæ*, in nomber 30, into which, *Romulus* divided the Cittie. These lawes *Sext. Papyrius* collected into one Booke, and called it was *Ius civile Papyrianum*.

Sordidã, others read *Stolidum, & Horridum*. i. Sottiſh & rude.

*Or that his daughter had beene Phœbe.

*Pandataria *Tacit.* lib. 1.

* Daughter & neice.

ἄιθ ὄφελον ἄγαμόν τ' ἔμεναι, ἀγονόν τ' ἀπολέσθαι,
Would God I never had wedded bride
Or elſe without any childe had died.

Friendship with any persõ as he did not easily intertain, so he maintained & kept
66 the same most cõstantly; not honoring only the vertues & deserts of euery man according to their worth, but enduring also their vices & deliquences at least wise if they exceeded not: for out of al that nũber of his depẽdants ther wil hardly be any found, during his frendship to have bin plunged in adversity & therby overthrown: except SALVIDIENVS RVFVS whom he had before advanced to the dignitie of Consul; & CORNELIVS GALLVS promoted by him to the prouostship of *Aegypt*, raised both from the verie dunghill. The one of these for pra
A.V.C. 714. 728. ctising seditiously an alteration in the state: & the other for his unthankeful and malitious mind, he forbad his house & all his provinces. But as for GALLVS, whẽ as both by the menaces of his accusers, & also by the rigorous Acts of the Senate passed against him, he was driuen to shorten his owne life: AVGVSTVS cõmẽded verely their kind harts to him for being so wroth & grieuing so much in his behalfe: howbeit for GALLVS sake he wept, & complained of his owne hard fortune, in that he alone might not be angrie, with his friends, within that measure as he would himselfe: all the rest of his fauorites flowrished in power & welth to their lives end, as chiefe persons every one in their ranke: notwithstanding some discontentment & mislikes came between. For otherwhiles, hee found a want in M. AGRIPPA of patience, and in MÆCENAS of Taciturnitie & secrecie; when as the* one upon a light suspicion of his cold love,* & affection, with a iealousie besides, that MARCELLVS should be preferred before him left all & went to MITYLENÆ: the *other (*b*) unto his wife TERRNTIA revealed a secret, as touching the detection of MVRENAES conspiracie. Himselfe also required semblably mutual benevolence of his friends, as wel dead as living. For although he was none of these that lie in the winde to mung and catch at Inheritances, as who could never abide to reape any cõmoditie by the last will & testamẽt of an unknown person; yet weighed he most strictly & precisely the *supreme iudgments & testimonies of his friends concerning him, delivered at their deaths: as on who dissimuled neither his grief in case a man respected him slightly & without honorable tearmes; nor his ioy, if he remembred him thankfully & with kindnes. As touching either legacies or parts of heritages, as also portions left unto him by any parents whatsoever, his manner was either out of hand to part with the same unto their children, or if they were in their minority, to restore all unto them with the increase, upon the day that they put on their virile gownes, or else whereon they maried.

*M. Agrippa:
*Frigoris: or rigoris, as if Augustus, had looked sternely or strangly upon him.
*Mecenas.
*Finall or last.

67 A patron he was (to his freedmen) and a Maist. (to his bondservants) no lesse severe, than gratious & gentle. Many of his enfranchised men he highly honoured and imployed especially: by name, LICINIVS, ENCELADVS, with others. His seruant COSMVS, who thought & spake most hardly of him, he proceeded to chastice no farther, than with hanging a paire of fetters at his heeles: As for Diomedes his Steward, who walking together with him, by occasion of a wild Bore running full upon them, for very feare put his Maist. between himselfe and the Beast, hee imputed unto him rather timiditie, then to bee any fault else: and although it were a matter of noe small perill, yet becaus there was noe prepensed mallice, hee turned all into a iest. Contrariwise, the selfe same man, forced to death PROCILLVS a freed man of his and whome hee set geatest store by, becaus hee was detested for abusing mens wives. *GALLVS his *scribe, had receiued 500: deniers

*Or *Thollus*.
*Clerke or secretary:

For

For making on priuie unto a letter of his hands: but he cauſed his legges to be broken for his labour. The pædagogue and other ſervitours attendant uppon CAIUS his ſonne, who taking the vantage of his ſickeneſſe and death bare themſelues proudly and inſolently in his *province and therein committed many outrages, he cauſed to be throwne headlong into a River, with heavie weights about their neckes. *Lycia.

In the Prime and flower of his youth he incurred ſundrie waies the infamous note of a vicious and wanton life. Sext. POMPEIUS railed uppon him as an effeminate perſon. M. ANTONIVS layed to his charge, that he earned his unkles adoption, by ſuffring the filthy abuſe of his bodie: Semblably, LUCIVS brother to the ſaid MARCUS enveied againſt him, as if he had abandoned and proſtituted his youth (deflowred and taſted firſt by CÆSAR) unto A. HIRTIVS alſo in *Spaine* for 300000: ſeſterces: and that hee was wont to ſindge his legges with red* hotte Walnutſhels, to the end the haire might come up ſofter: The verie people alſo in generall one time on a day of their Solemne Stage playes, both conſtrued to his reproach, and alſo with exceeding great applauſe verified of him a verſe pronounced vppon the Stage, as touching a prieſt of (*Cybele*) mother of the Gods playing upon a *Timbrell*; 68 *A kind of *Pſaltherium*.

Vides (a) nec Cinædus orbem digito temperat.

That he was a common adulterer his verie friends did not denie: but they excuſe him for ſooth: ſaying, That he did it not upon filthy luſt, but for good reaſon and in pollicy: to the end he might more eaſily ſearch out the plots & practiſes of his adverſaries, by the meanes of women & wiues, it skilled not whoſe. M. ANTONIVS obiected againſt him, beſides his over haſtie mariage * with LIVIA, that he fetched a certaine Noble dame, the wife of one who had beene Conſul, forth of a dining parlour, even before her husbands face, into his own bed chamber, and brought her thither backe again to make an end of the banquet with her haire all ruffled, even while her eares were yet glowing red. alſo that he put away* SCRIBONIA, becauſe ſhe was too plaine & round with him, upon griefe ſhe tooke, that a Concubine was ſo great & might do ſo much with him: as alſo that there were bargaines and matches ſought out for him by his friends, upon liking: who ſtucke not to view & peruſe both wiues, & young maidens of ripe yeares, all naked, as if TORAVIVS the baud were a ſelling of them: Moreover he writeth thus much to himſelf, after a familiar ſort, as yet being not fallen out flatly with him, nor a profeſſed enemy: *What hath changed and altered you? Is it becauſe I lie with a Queene, ſhe is my wife. And is this the the firſt time? Did I not ſo 9. yeares ſince? Alas good ſir, you that wold haue me cõpany with* OCTAVIA *my wife onely tell me trus*: know you for your part none other women but DRVCILLA? *go to*: ſo may you fare well & have your health, as when you ſhall read this letter, you be not redy to deale carnally with* TERTVLLA or TERENTILLA, or RVFILLA, or SALVIA TITISCENIA or with all of them. And thinke you it skilleth not, where and whom you luſt after and meddle with? 69 *Whome hee could not forbeare, but marry when ſhe was great with childe. *His owne wife. *Tertia. Terentia, Rufa: as louers vſe to name their ſweete hearts.

Moreouer, much talke there was abroad, of a certaine ſupper of his more ſecret, ywis then the reſt, & which was commonly called* (a) *Dodecatheos*: At which, that their ſat gueſts in habit of Gods & goddeſſes, & himſelfe among thẽ adorned inſteed of *Apollo*: not onely the letters of ANTONIE, who rehearſed moſt bitterly the names of every one do lay in his reproach, but alſo theſe verſes without an author ſo vulgarly knowne and riſe in everie mans mouth: 70

Cuiꝰ

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa Choragum,
Sexque Deos vidit Mallia, sexque Deas:
Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludit;
Dum nova Diuorum cœnat adulterium:
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt.
Fugit et auratos Iupiter ipse thronos:

When first the (*b*) table of these (guests) hired one the* daunce to leade
And (*c*) mallia six Goddesses and Gods as many saw;
Whiles Cæsar Phœbus (*d*) conterfaites profanely, and in stead
Of supper, new adultries (*e*) makes of Gods against all law;
All the heauenly powers then, from the earth their eies quite turned away,
And Iupiter (*f*) himselfe would not in gilt * Shrines longer stay.

The rumor of this supper was increased by the exceeding dearth & famine at that time in *Rome*: and the very next morrow, there was set up this cry & note within the Cittie. *That the Gods had eaten up all the Corne; and that* CÆSAR *was become** Apollo *in deede*, but yet *Apollo* the (*a*) tortor: under which surname that God was worshipped in one place of the Cittie. Furthermore, taxed hee was for his greedie grasping after pretious house furniture and costly *Corinthian* Vessels: as also for giving himselfe much to dice play. For, as in time of the proscription, there was written over his statue; *Pater Argentarius, Ego Corinthiarius.*

My father was a Banking-monie changer,
And I am now a Corinth-Vessell-munger.

Because it was thought he procured some to be put into the bill of those that were proscribed, even for the love of their Corinthian-Vesselles: so afterwardes, during the *Sicilian* warre, this Epigrame of him went currant abroad.

Postquam bis classe victus naues perdidit:
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

Since time he lost his ships at Sea in fight defaited twice;
That win he may sometime, he playes continually at dice.

71 Of these criminous imputations or malicious slanders (I wot not whether) the infamie of his unnatuall uncleanneſſe he checked and confuted most easily by his chast life both at the present and afterward. Semblably the invidious opinion of his excessiue, and sumpteous furniture: considering, that when he had by force won ALEXANDRIA, he retained for himselfe out of al the kings household stuffe and rich Implements, no more but on cup of the pretious stone * *Myrrha* · and soone after, all the brasen vessels which were of most vse, hee melted everie one. Mary for fleshly lust otherwise and wantonnes with women he went not cleere, but was blotted therwith. For afterwards, also as the report goes; he gave himselfe overmuch to the deflowring of young maides whome his wife sought out for him from all places. As for the rumour that ran of his diceplaying he bashed no whit thereat: and he played simply without Art and openly for his disport, even when he was well striken in yeares: and besides the moneth (*a*) December, upon other play dayes also, yea and worke daies too. Neither is there any doubt to bee made thereof. For in a certaine Epistle written with his owne hand: I supped, quoth hee, my *Tiberius* with the same

* *Choragum*, *Choregon*. or one to prouide the furniture of the feaſte.
* Some take this to be the name of one of the 6. goddesses guests. or rather some dame that could skill in bringing such to ether.
* *Thronos*, *al.* toros. beds or, *Tholos*, Scutcheons in Architecture.
* Not counterfaite as at the supper overnight.
* Or *Murrha*. The *Cassidonie*

same men: there came moreover to beare us companie these guests, VINICIVS, & SALVIVS the father. In *supper time we played *like olde men, both yesterday and to day. For when the * dice were cast (b) *looke who threwe the chaunce*, Canis *or* Senion, *for everie die he staked and layed to the stocke a denier: which he tooke up and swooped all cleane, whose lucke it was to throw* Venus. Againe in another letter. We liued full merily, my TIBERIVS, during the feast (c) *Quinquatria*: for, wee played everie day: wee haunted I say and heat the dicing house. Your * brother did his deede with many great shouts and outcries: Howbeit, in the ende he lost not much: but after his great losses gathered uppe his crummes pretily well by little and little, beyond his hope and expectation. I for my part, lost 20000. Sesterces in mine owne name: but it was when I had beene over liberall in my gaming, as commonly my manner is. For, if I had called for those loosing-hands which I forgave my fellow gamesters, or kept but that which I gave cleane away, I had wonne as good as 50000. cleere. But I choose rather thus to doe. For my bountie exalteth me unto cælestial glory. Vnto his daughter thus hê writeth, I haue sent unto you 250. deniers: just so many as I had given to my guests a peece, if they would have played togither in supper time, either at cockeall, or at even and odde. For the rest of his life, certaine it is, that in everie respect he was most continent, and without suspition of any vice.

*For *Talorum lusus fuit seniles.*
*Or bones.
*Betweene dishes or courses of services.
*Drusus Nero.

Hee dwelt at first, hard by the *Forum* of *Rome* above the winding staires ANULARIÆ, in an house which had been CALVUS the *Orateurs*: Afterwards in the mount *Palatium*: howbeit in a meane habitation, belonging sometime to HORTENSIVS, and neither for spacious receite nor stately setting out, and trim furniture, conspicuous: as wherein the galleries were but short, standing uppon pillers made of (soft) *Albane* stone: and the *Refection Roomes* without any marble or beautifull pavements. For the space of 40. yeares and more, hee kept on bedchamber winter and summer: and albeit hee found by experience the Cittie not verie holesome in the winter for his health, yet continually he wintred there: If hee purposed at any time to do ought secretly, and without interruption: hee had a speciall roome alone by it selfe aloft which hee called (a) *Syracusa*.* Hither would hee withdrawe himselfe orderly, or else make a stoppe to some Country house neere the Cittie, of one of his *Libertines*. Was hee sicke at any time? Then hee used to lie in MÆCENAS his house. Of all his retyring places of pleasure, hee frequented these especially, that stood along the *Maritime* tract, and the Isles of *Campania*; or else the townes nere adioyning to the Cittie of *Rome*, to wit, *Lanuvium*, *Præneste* and *Tibur*: where also within the *Porches* of *Hercules* Temple, he sat verie often to minister iustice. Large palaces and full of curious workes hee misliked: And verily, those that were sumptuously built he rased downe to the verie ground: his own as little as they were, he adorned and beautified not with trim statues and gay painted Tables, as with open * walks, pleasant* groves, and such things, as for their antiquitie and rareneſſe were notable: Of which sort were at *Capreæ* the huge members of monstrous * fishes and wilde beasts: the bones that are saide to bee of the Gyants, and the armour of the demigods and worthies in olde time.

72

*Or *Tecton.* *plyons.*
Xystus, admitting the winter sunne.
*For shade in Summer.
Bellua. as whales within pooles, &c.

How slenderly provided he was of houshold stuffe and furniture otherwise appeareth

73

appeareth by his dining pallets and tables yet remaining: the moſt part whereof be ſcarce anſwerable to the elegancie of a meere priuate perſon. Neither ſlept he by mens ſaying otherwiſe than vpon a *low-bed, and the ſame but meanely ſpread and laid with Coverlets. He wore not lightly any apparell but of huſwifes cloth, made within houſe; by his wife, his ſiſter, his daughter and neipces. His gownes were neither ſtreight and skant, nor yet, wide and large. His Senatours robe neither with ouerbroad ſtuds of purple guarded, nor with narrow. His ſhoes vnderlaide ſomewhat with the higheſt, that hee might ſeeme taller than hee was. As for the raiment which hee uſed abroade, and his ſhooes, hee had them at all times layed readie within his Bedchamber, againſt all ſuddaine occurrents and vnlooked for occaſions whatſoeuer.

*Not rayſed vppe and ſwelling high with downe.

74 He feaſted daily: and never otherwiſe than at a ſet *table: not without great reſpect and choiſe of degrees and perſons. VALERIVS MESSALLA writeth, that hee never intertained any of his libertines at ſupper except MEANVS, and him *naturalized firſt, even after the betraying of Sex: POMPEIVS fleete; Himſelfe writeth, that he invited one, in whoſe ferme hee would make his abode, and who in times paſt had beene a *Spie of his. Hee came to the bourde himſelfe when he made a feaſt, ſometimes very late, and otherwhiles left the ſame as ſoone: and then his gueſts would both fall to their ſuppers before he ſat downe, and alſo continued ſitting ſtill after hee was gone. The ſuppers hee made conſiſted ordinarily of three diſhes* of meate and when hee would fare moſt highly of 6: at the moſt; and as he entertained his gueſts in no exceeding ſumpteous manner, ſo he welcomed them with all the kindneſſe and curteſie that might be. For he would prouoke them, if they either ſat ſilent or ſpake ſoftly to the fellowſhippe of diſcourſe and talke: yea and interpoſe either *Acroames and players or elſe *Triuiall fellowes out of* the Cirque, but moſt commonly theſe diſcourſing poore* threedbare Philoſophers:

*Cana recta, or recta, abſolutely, or difference of ſportula.

*Reſtored to his blood and created a gentle man. for he was *Donatus aureis annulis vt inter ingenuos haberetur Dion.*

*Speculator, or a ſquire of his bodie.

*Tribus ferculis, not ſuch as ours be. but framed in manner of Tropees, with deuiſes that ſome meates might lye flat others hang thereupon.

*As minſtrels Muſitians, Quiriſters &c.

*As fortune tellers, iuglers Baffors &c.

*Aretalogos,

75 Feſtivall and ſolemne daies he celebrated ſometimes with vnmeaſurable expenſes, otherwhiles with mirth and ſpott onely: At the *Saturnalia*, and at other times when it pleaſed him, hee uſed to ſend abroade as his gifts, onewhile apparaile, golde and ſilver: otherwhile mony of all ſtampes, even olde peeces currant in the Kings dayes, and ſtrange coynes; ſometime nothing but haire clothes, ſpunges, cole *rakes, *cizars and ſuch like ſtuffe, vnder obſcure and doubtfull titles ſymbolizing ſomewhat elſe; Hee was wont alſo to offer ſale, by marting in the time of a banquet to his gueſtes, of ſuch thinges, as were in price moſt vnequall, yea and to tender blinde bargaines vnto them alſo of painted Tables, with the wronge ſide outwarde, and ſo by vncertaine venturinge vppon their happe, either to fruſtrate and diſappoint, or fully to ſatisfie the hope of the Chapmen: yet ſo, as the cheapninge of the thinge ſhould alwayes paſſe through everie bourde, and the loſſe or gaine growe to them all as common.

*Or fire forks,

* Or ſnippers,

*A kinde of Lotterie.

76 As touching diet (for I may not ouer paſſe ſo much as this) hee was a man of verie little meate, and feedinge for the moſt part groſſe. *Seconde breade and ſmall fiſhes: cheeſe made of cowes milke and the ſame

*Or cheat,

*preſſed

presſed * with the hand,& greene figges eſpecially of that kinde which beare twice a yeere, his appetite ſerved unto. His manner was to eate even iuſt before ſupper, when and whereſoever his ſtomacke called for foode. His very wordes out of his owne Epiſtles ſhewe no leſſe, which are theſe: *Whiles wee were in a* * *Britiſh Waggon, wee taſted of bread and Dates.* Againe, *As I returned homeward in my Litter from the Palace, I eate an ounce weight of bread with a fewe hard coated Grapes.* And once more, *The very Iewe, my* TIBERIUS, *obſerveth not his Faſt upon the (a) Sabbath ſo preciſely, as I have this day: who in the baines, not before the firſt houre of the night was paſt, * chewed two morſels of bread, even before I began to be anointed.* Vpon this * retchleſſe neglect of diet, he uſed divers times to take his ſupper alone, either before his other gueſts were ſet and fell to meate, or elſe after all was taken away, and they riſen: whereas, at a full bourd he would not touch a bit.

*Much like Angelots. *manu preſſum*, or *mane preſſum. i.* Greene cheeſe new made.

*Or Germain, *eſſedo*. For they were uſed in both countries indifferently.

**Pinis duracinis*, or, with hard kernels.

† Or, did eate.

**Ex hac in obſervantia*, vel, *ex hac obſervantia*: upon this due obſerving of his, to eate when his ſtomack called for it, & not els.

77

Hee was by nature alſo a very ſmall drinker of wine. CORNELIUS NEPOS reporteth of him, that his uſuall manner was during the time hee lay encamped before *Mutina* to drinke at a ſupper not above thrice. Afterwards, whenſoever hee dranke moſt liberally hee paſſed not * ſixe Sextants; or if hee went beyond, he caſt it up againe. Hee delighted moſt in *Rhetian* wine; and ſeldome dranke hee in the * day time. In ſteede of drinke hee tooke a ſop of bread ſoaked in colde water; or a peece of a Coucumber, or a young lectuce head, or elſe ſome new gathered apple, * ſharpe and tart, ſtanding much upon a winiſh liquour within it.

* 6. meaſures, containing either 2. ounces a peece, or two cyathes. *i.* 3 ounces. In all, at the moſt not above a good pint, or a ſmall wine quart, called *Sextarius*, conſiſting of 18 ounces.

† *Interdiu*, as we ſay, betwixt meales.

* *Acidum*, or *aridum. i.* dried, but yet of a winiſh taſt.

78

After his noones repaſt hee uſed to take his repoſe, and to ſleepe a while, in his cloathes as he was, with his ſhooes (*a*) on, ſtretching (*b*) out his feete, and holding his hand before his eyes. After ſupper hee retired himſelfe into a little Cloſet (*c*) or Studie. And there continued hee by a candle farre in the night, even untill he had diſpatched the reſt of that daies buſineſſe, either all or the moſt part. From thence, he went directly to his bed: Where, hee ſlept at the moſt not above ſeaven houres: and thoſe verily not together but ſo, as in that ſpace of time hee would awake three or foure times: and if hee could not recover his ſleepe thus broken and interrupted (as it happened otherwhiles); hee would ſend for ſome to reade or * tell tales; and by their meanes catch a ſleepe againe, and drawe the ſame out often after day-breake. Neither would he ever lie awake without one ſitting by his beds ſide. Much offended hee was with want of ſleepe (or waking) early in a morning: and if hee were to bee awakened ſooner than ordinarie, either about ſome worldly affaires of his friends, or ſervice of the Gods, becauſe hee would not preiudice thereby his owne good or health; hee uſed to ſtay in ſome of his familiar friends upper roomes and loft, next to the place where his occaſions lay. And even ſo, many a time for want of ſleepe, both as he was caried through the ſtreetes, and alſo when his litter was ſet downe, hee would betweene whiles take a nap and make ſome ſtay.

† Or, to hold him with talke.

79

Hee was of an excellent preſence and perſonage, and the ſame through-

out all the degrees of his age moſt lovely and amiable; negligent though hee were in all manner of pikedneſſe, for combing and trimming of his head ſo careleſſe, as that he would uſe at once many Barbers, ſuch as came next hand, it skilled not whom: and one while hee clipped, another while hee ſhaved his beard; and yet at the very ſame time, he either read, or elſe wrote ſomewhat. His viſage and countenance, whether he ſpake or held his peace, was ſo mild, ſo pleaſant and lightſome, that one of the Nobles and Potentates of Gaule; confeſſed unto his Country-men, he was thereby onely ſtaied and reclaimed, that he did not approach neere unto him, under colour of conference as hee paſſed over the Alpes, and ſo ſhove him downe from a ſteepe cragge to breake his necke, as his full intent was. Hee had a paire of cleere and ſhining eyes: wherein alſo, (as hee would have made men beleeve) was ſeated a kinde of Divine vigour: and hee ioyed much, if a man looking wiſtly upon him, helde downe his face, as it were againſt the brightneſſe of the Sunne. But in his olde age he ſaw not very well with the left eye. His teeth grewe thinne in his head, and the ſame were ſmall and ragged: The haire of his head was ſomewhat curled and turning downeward; and withall of a light yellowe colour. His eye-browes met together: his eares were of a meane bigneſſe: his noſe both in the * upper part, bearing out round, and alſo beneath ſomewhat with * the longeſt. Of colour and complexion, hee was betweene a browne * and faire white. His ſtature but ſhort: (and yet Iulius Marathus his freedman writeth in the Hiſtorie of his life, that hee was five foote (*a*) and nine inches high). But as lowe as the ſame was, the proportionable making and feature of his limmes hid it ſo, as it might not be perceived, unleſſe he were compared with ſome taller perſon than himſelfe ſtanding by.

*Toward his forehead.

*Deductiore, or as ſome expound it, ſharp & thin, *Lepton.*

*Inter aquilum candidumq; ſomewhat tanned and ſunneburnt, as *Caſaubon* ſeemeth to interpret it.

§ 80

His body, by report, was full of ſpottes: having upon the breſt and bellie naturall markes which hee brought with him into the worlde; diſperſed, for the manner, order, and number, like unto the ſtarres of the celeſtiall * beare; as alſo certaine hard riſings of thicke brawnie skinne, occaſioned in divers places by the ytching of his bodie, and the continuall and forcible uſe of the * *Strigil* in the Baines: Which calloſities reſembled a Ringworme (*a*). In his left hucklebone (*b*), thigh and legge, hee was not very ſound: in ſo much, as many times for griefe thereof he halted on that ſide: but by a remedie that he had of Sand (*c*) and Reedes, he found eaſe and went upright againe. Alſo, the fore-finger of his right hand hee perceived otherwhiles to be ſo weake, that being benummed and ſhrunke by a crampe upon ſome colde, he could hardly ſet it to any writing, with the helpe of an hoope and finger-ſtall of horne. Hee complained alſo of the griefe in his (*d*) bladder, but voiding at length little gravell-ſtones by urine, he was eaſed of that paine.

*Charlemaine his waine.

*Much like a curry comb.

81

All his life time hee taſted of certaine grievous and daungerous ſickneſſes, but eſpecially after the ſubduing of Cantabria: what time, by reaſon of his liver diſeaſed and corrupted by Deſtillations, hee was driven to ſome extremitie: and thereby of neceſſitie entred into a contrarie (*a*) and deſperate courſe of Phyſicke: For, ſeeing that hote fomentations did him no good, forced

*Deſtillationibus ſi cinere vitiato. What if we thus point and read? *Deſtillationibus, locinore vitiato:* to this ſence, That he was much ſubiect to rhewmes, by occaſiō that his liver was diſeaſed, to wit, obſtructed or ſtopped.

forced hee was by the direction and counſell of ANTONIUS MUSA his Phyſitiã, to be cured by colde. He had the experiẽce alſo of ſome maladies which came (*b*) yeerely and kept their courſe at a certaine time. For about his (*c*) birth-day, moſt commonly he was ſickiſh and had a faintneſſe upon him: likewiſe in the beginning of the (*d*) Spring, much troubled hee was with the inflation of the midriffe and * hypochondriall parts: and whenſoever the winde was ſoutherly, with the murr and the poſe. By occaſion whereof, his body beeing ſo ſhaken and craſie, hee could not well endure either colde or heat.

* Vnder the ſhort ribs.

82

In winter time clad he went againſt the colde with foure coates, together with a good thicke gowne, and his Waſtcoate or Peticoate bodie of woollen: well lapped alſo about the (*a*) thighes and legges. During Sommer he lay with his bed-chamber dores open, and oftentimes within a cloiſture ſupported with pillers, having water (*b*) walming out of a ſpring, or running from a ſpout in a Conduit; or elſe ſome one to make (*c*) winde hard by him. Hee could not away ſo much as with the Winter ſunne ſhine: and therefore even at home hee never walked up and downe in the aire without* a broad brimd Hat upon his head. He travailed in a licter, and never lightly but in the night. The iourneyes that he made were ſoft and ſmall: ſo as if hee went from *Rome* but to *Tibur* (*d*) or *Prenẽſte*, he would make two daies of it. Could hee reach to any place by ſea: hee choſe rather to ſaile thither, than goe by land. But as great infirmities as he was ſubiect unto, hee maintained and defended his body with as much care and regard of himſelfe: but principally by ſeldome * bathing (*e*): For, anointed hee was very often and uſed to ſweate before a light fire: and then upon it to be dowſſed in water luke-warme, or elſe heated with long ſtanding in the Sunne. And ſo often as he was to uſe the Sea waters hote, or thoſe of * *Albula* for the ſtrengthening of his ſinewes, hee contented himſelfe with this: namely to ſit in a wooden bathing Tub, which himſelfe by a Spaniſh name called DURETA, and therein to ſhake up and downe his hands and feet one after another, by turnes.

* Or Bondgrace.

* In hot waters.

* Which naturally were hot ſtanding upon a veine of brim ſtone.

83

The exerciſes in (*Mars*) field of riding on horſe-backe and bearing armes, he laid aſide immediatly after the civile warres, and tooke himſelfe, firſt, to the little (*a*) tennis-ball, and the hand-ball blowne with (*b*) winde. Soone after, he uſed onely to bee * caried and to walke, but ſo as that in the end of every walke he would take his runne by iumpes, lapped and wrapped within a light garment called * *Seſtertius* (*c*) or a thinne vaile and ſheete of linnen. For his recreation and paſtime, his manner was ſometime to angle or fiſh with the hooke, otherwhiles to play with cockall bones, or * trundling round (*e*) pellets, or elſe with nuttes even among little boyes; vvhom hee would lay for, and ſeeke out from all parts, if they were of an amiable countenance and could * prattle pretily with a lovely grace, but principally thoſe of the Moores and Syrians kind. As for Dwarfes, crooked and miſhapen Elves and all of that ſort, he could not abide ſuch, as being the very mockeries of natures work, and of unlucky preſage.

* Either on horſebacke, or in a chairlicter

* Two foote & a halfe ſquare.

* Theſe the Romaines called *Veneres ſuas*, their playferes and dearlings in an honeſt ſence: not ſuch as the Greeks in an uncleane ſignification named *Paidice*. wanton baggages, Catamites

84 Eloquence, and other liberall profeſſions he exerciſed from his very childhood right willingly, and therein tooke exceeding great paines. During the warre at *Mutina*, notwithſtanding that huge heape of affaires and occurrents, (by report) he read, he wrote, hee declaimed every day. For afterwards, neither in the Senate-houſe, nor before the people, ne yet to his ſouldiours made he ever ſpeech, but it was premeditate and compoſed before: albeit hee wanted not the gift to ſpeake of a ſodaine and extempore. Now, for feare leaſt his memorie at any time ſhould faile him, leaſt alſo he might ſpend too much time in learning by rote, hee began to reade and rehearſe all out of his written copie. His very ſpeeches alſo with folke by themſelves, even with LIVIA his wife about any grave and ſerious matters were never but penned and put downe in writing: out of which hee would rehearſe the ſame, that hee might not ſpeake otherwiſe *ex tempore* or leſſe than was meete. His pronunciation and utterance was ſweete, carying with it a peculiar and proper ſound of his owne: and continually he uſed the helpe of a *Phonaſcus* to moderate his voice: but ſometimes when his throate was * weakened he delivered his orations to the people, by the mouth of a Crier.

* When he was hoarſe, by reaſon of rhewme.

85 Many compoſitions he made in proſe, of ſundry arguments. Of which he would reade ſome in a meeting of his familiars, as it were in an Auditorie: as namely a Reioinder, called *Reſcripta*, unto BRUTUS, againſt * CATO. Which volumes, when for the moſt part, hee had rehearſed, being now well ſtricken in yeeres and growing wearie, hee made over to TIBERIUS for to be reade through. In like manner hee wrote certaine Exhortations unto Philoſophie, and ſomewhat of his owne life: which hee declared in * thirtie bookes, even unto the Cantabrian warre, and no farther. As for Poetrie hee dealt in it but ſuperficially. One Treatiſe there is extant written by him in Hexametre verſes, The argument whereof, is *Sicilie*, and ſo it is entituled. There is another booke alſo, as little as it, *of Epigrammes*: which for the moſt part hee ſtudied upon and deviſed whiles hee was in the Baines. For, having in a great and ardent heat begun a * Tragædie, when he ſaw his ſtile would not frame thereto and ſpeede no better, he defaced and wiped it quite out. And when ſome of his friends asked him, *How* AIAX *did*? he anſwered, that his AIAX was * fallen upon a (*a*) Spunge.

* Vicenſis.

* XXX. *Libris*, or rather xiii. according to *Suidas*, and all old Copies.

* Called *Aiax*. * Was wiped away or blotted out with a ſpunge: alluding to *Aiax* that fell upon his own ſword: whereof *Sophocles* made a Tragædie entituled *Aiax*.

86 The Eloquence that he followed was of an Elegant & temperate kind: wherein he avoided unapt and unfit Sentences, as alſo the ſtinking ſavours, as himſelfe ſaith, of darke and obſcure words: but tooke eſpeciall care how to expreſſe his minde and meaning moſt plainely and evidently. For the better effecting whereof, and becauſe hee would not in any place trouble and ſtay reader or hearer, hee ſtucke not either to put Prepoſitions unto Verbes, or to iterate Coniunctions very oft: which being taken away breed ſome obſcurity, although they yeeld a greater grace. As for thoſe that affect (*a*) new-made words, ſuch alſo as uſe old termes paſt date, hee loathed and reiected alike, as faulty, both the ſorts of them in a contrary kinde. Thoſe he ſhooke up divers times, but eſpecially his friend MÆCENAS, whoſe (*b*) *Murobrecheis* * *cincinnos* for theſe were his termes he evermore curſeth and taxeth, yea and by way of (*c*) imitation merrily ſcoffeth at. Neither ſpared he ſo much as TIBERIUS for hunting otherwhiles after old words out of uſe, and ſuch be obſcure and hardly underſtood.

* Curled lokes or feakes, glib and dropping againe with ſweat.

understood. As for MARCUS ANTONIUS, he rateth him as if he were frantick, *for writing that which men may rather wonder at, than understand.* And proceeding to mocke his lewd and unconstant humour in choosing a kinde of eloquence by himselfe, he added thus much moreover, *And are you in doubt to imitate* CIMBER(*d*) ANNIUS *and* VERANIUS FLACCUS, *so that you might use the wordes which* CRISPUS SALUSTIUS *gathered out of* * CATOES Origines? *or rather transfer the rolling tongue of* Asiatick *Orators, full of vaine words, and void of pithy sentences into our language and manner of speech?* And in a certaine Epistle, praising the ready wit of AGRIPPINA* his owne niece, *But you have neede,* quoth hee, *to endevour that neither in writing nor in speaking, you be troublesome and odious.*

* *Censorius,* who wrote a booke of Antiquities, so called.

*By his daughter *Iulia*, and *M.* Agrippa the mother of *Caligula.*

In his daily and ordinary talke certaine phrases hee had which hee used very often and significantly: as the letters of his owne hand writing doe evidently shew: In which, ever and anon, when hee meant some that would never pay their debts: He said, *They would pay ad* * *Calendas Græcas.* And when he exhorted men to beare patiently the present state what ever it was, *Let us content our selves,* quoth hee, *with this* * CATO. To expresse the speedy expedition of a thing done hastily. *Quicker, would he say, than* SPARAGES *can be sodden.* Hee putteth also continually for *Stultus**, *Baceolus**: For * *Pullus*, *Pulleiaceus*: and for *Ceritus*, *Vacerrosus*; and in steede of *Male se habere*, *Vapide se habere*: and for *Languere*, *Betizare*, which commonly we meane by *Lachanizare**. Semblably, for, *simus*, *sumus*; and *domos*, in the genetive case singular for *aomus*. And never used hee these two words otherwise, that no man should thinke it was a fault rather than a custome. Thus much also have I observed, especially in his *manuscripts*, That he never cutteth a word in sunder: nor in the end of any * rewes transferreth the overplus of letters unto those next following, but presently putteth them downe even there underneath, and encloseth them (within a compasse line).

87

* At the Greek Calends, *i.* at latter Lammas for the Greeks had no Calends, no more than the Latines *Nonas*, *i.* newe moones to begin their moneths with. And yet the word seemeth to be derived of *Kalo* in Greeke.

*Read *Macrob. Saturnal.* 2.

* *i.* A foole.

88 Orthographie, that is to say, the forme & precise rule of writing set down by Grammarians, he did not so much observe: but seemeth to follow their opinion rather, who thinke, *Men should write according as they speake.* For, whereas oftentimes he either exchangeth or leaveth cleane out, not letters onely but syllables also, that is a common errour among men. Neither would I note thus much, but that it seemeth strange unto mee, which some have written of him, namely, That he substituted another, in the place of a Consulare Lieutenant (as one altogether rude and unlearned) because hee had marked in his hand-writing, ixi, for, *ipsi*. And looke how often himselfe writeth darkly by way of ciphring, hee putteth *.b.* for *.a..e.* for *.b.* and so forth after the same manner, the letters next following in steede of the former: and for *.x.* a duple *a a.*

* *Vel Bitteolus* a *blito*, *vel Blaesus*, a *Blax*, *vel Bateolus.*

*Or for *Puleio i. Pulegium*, *Puleiaceum.*

*Or *Lachanisare.*

*Or lines.

Neither verily was he lesse in love with the studie of Greeke literature: For, even therein also he highly excelled, as having beene brought up and taught under the professed Rhetorician Apollodorus of *Pergamus*. VVhom beeing now very aged, himselfe as yet but young had forth of *Rome* with him to *Apollonia*. Afterwards, also when he was well furnished with variety of erudition and learning of (*a*) SPHÆRUS; he entred into familiar acquaintance, with

89

AREVS the Philoſopher and his two ſonnes, DRONYSIVS and NICANOR: yet ſo, as for all that he neither could ſpeake readily, nor durſt compoſe any* thing. For if occaſion required ought, he drew it in Latine, and gave it unto another for to be tranſlated into Greeke. And, as he was not altogether unskilfull in Poemes, ſo he tooke delight even in the (*b*) olde Comœdie alſo, which he exhibited oftentimes to be acted in publique ſolemnities. In reading over and peruſing Authors of both Languages, hee ſought after nothing ſo much as holſome precepts and examples, ſerving to publique or private uſe: and thoſe, when he had gathered out of them word for word, hee ſent either to his inward friends and domeſticall Servitours, or to the Commaunders of armies and Governours of Provinces: or elſe for the moſt part to the Magiſtrates of the Citie, according as any of them needed admonition. Moreover, whole bookes he both read from one end to the other unto the Senate, and alſo publiſhed oftentimes to the people by proclamation: as namely, the Orations of Q. (*c*) METELLUS touching the propagation and multiplying of children: thoſe likewiſe of RUTILIUS concerning the model* and forme of buildings: thereby the rather to perſwade them, *That hee was not the firſt that lookt into both theſe matters, but that their fore-fathers in old time had even then a care and regard thereof.* The fine wits flouriſhing in his daies he cheriſhed by all meanes poſſible. Such as rehearſed before him their Compoſitions he gave audience unto, courteouſly and with patience: not onely verſes and hiſtories, but* orations alſo and dialogues. Mary, if any thing were written of himſelfe, unleſſe it were done with ſerious gravity and by the beſt, hee tooke offence thereat; and gave the Prætours in charge not to ſuffer his name to be made vulgar and ſtale, in the trivial contentions (of Oratours, Poets, &c) when they were matched one with another.

*In Greeke:

*As wel to cut off the expenſes of ſumpteous edifices as to prevent danger by Skare-fires.

*Which were not ſo uſually red and rehearſed in open audience.

90

For Religious ſcrupuloſity and Superſtition, thus by heere-ſay hee ſtoode affected. Thunder and Lightning hee was much affraide of: in ſo much as alwaies and in every place, hee caried about him for a preſervative remedie a* Seales skinne: yea, and whenſoever he ſuſpected there would be any extraordinarie ſtorme or tempeſt, he would retire himſelfe into a cloſe ſecret roome under (*a*) ground, and vaulted above head: Which hee did, becauſe once in times paſt, he had beene frighted with a flaſh of lightning, croſſing him in his iourney by night; as we have before related.

*Or of a ſea calfe, wich as *Plinie* writeth checketh all lightnings:

91

As for dreames, neither his owne, nor other mens of himſelfe, he neglected. At the battaile of PHILIPPI, albeit hee meant not to ſtep out of his pavilion by reaſon of ſickneſſe, yet went hee forth, warned ſo to doe by the dreame of his* Phyſitian. And it fell out well for him: conſidering that after his Campe forced and woon by the enemies, his licter was in that concurſe of theirs ſtabbed through and all to rent and torne, as if hee had remained there behind lying ſicke. Himſelfe every ſpring was wont to ſee many viſions moſt fearefull, but the ſame proved vaine illuſions and to no purpoſe: at other times of the yeere he dreamed not ſo often, but yet to more effect. When as hee ordinarily frequented the temple dedicated to IVPITER, the Thunderer in the Capitoll, he dreamed that IVPITER CAPITOLINVS complained, *How his worſhippers were taken from him perforce:* and *That hee anſwered, Hee had placed Thundering*

*Medici, Some read, amici, a friend:

IVPITER

IUPITER *hard by him, in steede of a* * *Porter*: whereuppon soone after hee adorned the * *Lanterne* of that Temple with a* Ringe of belles, because such commonly do hange at mens* Gates. By occasion of a vision by night, he begged (*a*) yearely uppon a certaine day mony of the people, and held out his hand* hollow to those that brought and offred unto him brasen *Dodkins or mites called *Asses*.

*Dore keeper. &Or top. ✱Or chime ✱To raise the porters. ✱As beggers do: ✱Or peeces, worth *ob. q.*

Certaine foretokens and ominous signes he observed as unfallible presages, to wit, if in a morning his shoes were put one wronge, and namely, the left for the right, he held it unluckie: Againe, when hee was to take any long journey by land or sea, if it chanced to mizzle of raine, hee tooke that for a luckie signe betokening a speedie and prosperous returne. But mooved he was especially with uncouth and supernaturall sights. There happened a date tree to spring forth betweene the very joincts of the stones before his dore, which he remooved and transplanted in the inward court of his domesticall* Gods; taking great care that it might get roote and grow there. Hee joied so much that in the Iland *Capreæ*, the boughes of a very old holmetree hanging and drouping now for age down to the ground, became fresh againe at his comming thither, that he would needes make an exchang with the State of *Naples*, and in liev of that Iland geve them ÆNARIA. Certaine dayes also hee precisely observed: as for example: hee would not take a journey any whither, the day after the (*a*) *Nundinæ*: nor begin any serious matter uppon the *Nones* of a Moneth: Herein verily avoyding and eschewing nought else, as he writeth unto TIBERIVS, but the unluckie* ominousnesse of the name.

92

*Wherin they stood.

*Dusphemian nominis.

Of foraine ceremonies and religions, as hee entertained with all reverence those that were auncient, and whereof hee conceived good reason: so hee despised the rest. For having beene instituted and professed (in the sacred mysteries of CERES) at *Athens*, when afterwards he sat judicially upon the *Tribunall* at *Rome* to here and determine a controversie as touching the priviledge of CERES priests in *Attica*, and perceiued that certaine points of great secrecie were proposed there to be debated: hee dismissed the assembly and multitude of people standing all about in the Court, and himselfe alone heard them plead the cause; But contrariwise, not onely when hee roade in visitation all over *Aegypt*, himselfe forbore to turne a little out of his way for to see (*a*) *Apis*, but also cõmended his nephew CAIVS, because in ryding through *Iurie*, he did not so much as once* make supplication in (*b*) *Hierusalem*.

93

*Or do his devotions.

And seeing we have proceeded thus * farre, it would not be impertinent to annex hereto, what befell unto him before hee was borne? What happened uppon his verie birth day? And what presently ensued thereupon? Whereby, that future greatnes and perpetuall felicity of his, might be hoped for and observed. At *Velitre*, part of the (Towne) wall in olde time had beene blasted by lightening: uppon which occasion, answere was given by ORACLE, that a Citizen of that Towne should one day be ruler of the world. The *Velitrines*, in confidence hereof, both then immediatly, and afterwardes also, many a time warred with the people of *Rome*, even wel neere to their own finall ruine and destructiõ. At length (though late it was) by good proofes and evidences it appeared that the said strange accident, portended the mightie

94

*In the historicall reports of so great and worthy a prince.

power of AVGVSTVS. IVLIVS MARATHVS reporteth, that some sixe moneths before AVGVSTVS Nativitie, there happened at *Rome* a prodigie publikely knowne, whereby foreshewed and denounced it was, *That nature was about to bring forth a King (a) over the people of Rome*, at which the Senate beeing affrighted made an Act, *That no man child that yeere borne should be reared and brought vp.* But they whose wives then, were great bellied (for everie one was readie to drawe the hope unto himselfe,) tooke order, *That the saide Act, of the Senate shold not be brought into the Cittie Chamber* and there enrolled. I reade in the bookes of ASCLEPIADES* *Mendes* entituled *Theologoumenon*, * Howe ATIA, *being come at midnight to celebrate the solemne sacrifice and divine seruice of Apollo*, whilest other dames slept, fell fast a sleepe also; and sodainely a (*b*) serpent crept close unto her, and soone after went forth from her: She therewith being awakened purified her selfe, as she would haue done uppon her husbands companie with her; and presently there arose to bee seene uppon her bodie a certaine marke or specke representing the picture of a serpent, which never after could be gotten out: in so much as immediatly thereupon shee forbore the publike baines for ever: Also, how in the x. moneth after, she was delivered of AVGVSTVS: & for this cause he was reputed to be the sonne of *Apollo*. The same ATIA, be fore she was brought to bed of him, dreamed that her entrails were heaved up to the starres, and there stretched foorth & spred all over the cõpasse of earth and heaven. His father OCTAVIVS likewise dreamed, that out of the wombe of ATIA there arose the shining beames of the Sun. The very day on which he was borne, what time as the conspiracie of CATILINE was debated in the Senate house, and OCTAVIVS by occasion of his wives Childbirth came verie late thither, well knowne it is and commonly spoken, that P. *NIGIDIVS understandinge the cause of his stay, so soone as he learned the houre * also when shee was delivered, gave it out confidently, *That there was borne the Soveraine Lorde of the Worlde*. Afterwardes, when OCTAVIVS leadinge an Armie through the secret partes of *Thracia*, inquired in the Sacred grove of *Liber pater* (according to the rites and ceremonies of that Barbarous Religion,) concerning his sonne, the same aunswere hee received from the Priestes there; For, that when the wine was powred uppon the Altars, there arose from thence so great a shining flame, as surmounted the * *Lanterne* of the Temple. and so ascended uppe to Heaven: and that in times past the like strange token happened to ALEXANDER the great, and to none but him, when hee sacrificed uppon the same Altars. Moreover, the night next following, hee * presently thought he sawe his sonne carrying a stately Maiestie above the ordinarie proportion of a mortall wight, with a * Thunder bolt and a Scepter (in his hand) with the Triumphant Robes also of *Iupiter. Opt: Max.* (uppon his backe) and a Radiant Coronet (on his head): over and besides his Chariot dight with Lawrell and drawne with 12. steedes exceeding white. While hee was yet a very babe, (as C. DRVSVS hath left in writing extant,) being by his nource laide in the evening within a Cradell in swadling bands, beneath uppon a lowe floure: the next morning hee could no where bee seene: and after longe seekinge was found at last, lying uppon a verie

(a) or *Mendesius* bearing the name of the Cittie *Mendes* in Aegypt.

* Of diuine discourses.

* The mother of *Augustus*.

* famous Astrologer.

* And thereby the Horoscope of his Nativity

* Or Steeple.

* *Octavius*.

* Which properly are attributed unto Iupiter.

* *Augustus*.

verie high Turret juſt againſt the Sunne-ryſinge. So ſoone as hee began to ſpeake, hee commaunded the Frogges to keepe ſilence, that by the mannour of his Grandſires by the Cittie ſide, chaunced to make a foule noyſe: and thereuppon ever after, the Frogges in that place are not able to croke. About foure miles from *Rome*, as yee * goe directly to *Capua*, it fell out, that ſodainely an Ægle ſnatched a peece of bread out of his hand as hee tooke his dinner within a pleaſant grove: and when he had mounted up a very great height, came gently downe of a ſuddaine againe and reſtored unto him the ſame: Q. CATVLVS after the dedication of the Capitol dreamed two nights together: In the former, him thought, that *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*: Whiles many young boyes, Noble mens ſonnes, were playing about his Alter, ſeuered one of them from the reſt and beſtowed in his boſome the publike broade (*e*) Seale of the * State to carrie in his hand. And the next night following he ſaw in an other dreame the ſame boy in the boſome of *Iupiter* CAPITOLINVS: Whome when hee commaunded to bee pulled from thence, prohibited hee was by the admonition of the God, as if the ſame boy ſhould be brought up for the defence and tuition of the Common-weale: Nowe the morrowe after, chaunceing to meete with (young) AVGVSTVS, (whome earſt hee had not knowne before,) hee beheld him wiſtly not without great admiration, and withall openly gave it out, *That hee was for all the world like unto that boy of whom hee dreamed*. Some tell the former dreame of CATVLVS otherwiſe: as if *Iupiter*, (when as a number of thoſe boyes required of him a Tutor) pointed out one of them, unto whome they ſhould referre all their deſires: and ſo lightly touching his lipps, & taking as it were an aſſay therof with his fingers, brought that kiſſe backe to his own mouth; M. CICERO having accompanied CAIVS CÆSAR into the Capitoll, happened to report unto his familiar friendes the dreame hee had the night before: namely how a boy of an ingenious face and countenance, was let downe from heaven by a golden Chaine, and ſtoode at the doore of the Capitoll, unto whom *Iupiter* deliuered a (*d*) whip: Hereuppon eſpying at unawares (little) AVGVTVS whom (as yet altogether unknown to moſt men) his Vnkle CÆSAR had ſent for to the ſacrifice, hee avouched plainly, that this boy was very he, whoſe Image was repreſented unto him in a viſion as he lay aſleepe. When hee was putting on his virile gowne, it fortuned that his broad * ſtudded Coate with purple, being unſtitched in the ſeames of both ſhoulders, fell frō about him downe to his feete. There were who made this interpretation; *That it betookened nothing elſe, but that the * degree whereof that Robe was a badge ſhold one day be ſubiected unto him.* IVLIVS *of ſacred memorie* being about to chooſe a plot of ground: for to encamp in, about *Munda*, as he cut downe a wood, chanced to light upon a date tree. which he cauſed to bee ſpared and reſerved as the verie preſage of victorie: from the root of it, there ſprung immediately certaine ſhoots which in few dayes grew ſo faſt, that they not onely equallized but over topped alſo and ſhadowed their ſtocke: yea and * doves haunted the ſame, therein to neſtle and breede: notwithſtanding that kind of birde cannot of all others away with any hard leaves and rough branches. Vppon this ſtraunge ſight eſpecially, CÆSAR, by report was mooved to ſuffer none other to ſucceede him in the Empire but his ſiſters * Nephewe. AVGVSTVS, during the time that he was retired to *Apollonia*, went up in the company

*In the way *Appia*.

*Or Citie.

* Which *Cæſar* had giuen him inſtead of *Tutia-carella*.

*Senators.

**Doues* or conſecrate to *Venus* from whence the *Iulij* are deſcended. By them therefore & the date tree was inſigured perpetuall felicitie to that name and family.

companie of AGRIPPA, into the *gallerie of *Theogenes* the *mathematician. Now, when AGRIPPA, (who inquired first what his owne fortune should be) had great matters and those in manner incredible foretold unto him; AVGVSTVS *himselfe concealed the time of his owne nativitie, and in no wise would utter the same; for feare and bashfulnesse, least he should be found inferiour to the other. But when, hardly after many exhortations and much a doe, hee had delivered the same, *Theogenes* leapt foorth and worshipped him. AVGVSTVS then anone conceived so greate a confidence in his fortunes, that hee divulged his Horoscope and the ascendent of his Natiuitie: yea and also stamped a peece of silver coyne, with the marke of the Celestiall signe *Capricornus*, under which figure and Constellation hee was borne.

*Or schoole.
*Or Astrologer.
**Augustus.*

95 After CÆSARS death, being returned from *Apollonia*, as he entred *Rome* Cittie, sodainely when the skie was cleere and wether verie faire, a certaine round coronet in forme of a raine bowe compassed the circle of the Sunne, and therewith soone after, the monument of IVLIA, CÆSARS daughter was smitten with lightening. Moreover in his first (*a*) Consulship, whiles he attended to take his Augurie, there were presented unto him, like as to *Romulus*, 12 * geirs: and as hee sacrificed, the Livers of all the beasts then killed appeared in open view enfolded double, and turned inwardly from the nether fillet; And no man of skill conjectured otherwise, but that prosperitie and greatnes hereby was portended.

* Or Vultures.

96 Furthermore, the very events, also of all his warres hee foresaw. What time as all the forces of the* *Triumvirs* were assembled together at *Bononia*, an Ægle perching over his tent, all to beat ij. Ravens that assailed and fell uppon her of either side, and in the end strucke them both down to the ground: which sight the whole armie marked verie well, and presaged thereby that one day, there would arise betweene the Colleagues of that *Triumvirate* such discorde, and the like ensued thereof, as after followed. At *Philippi* there was a certaine * *Thessalian*, who made report of the future victorie: alledging for his author CÆSAR of famous memorie, whose *Image encountred him as he journied in a desert and by-way. About *Perusia* whē he offred sacrifice & could not *speede, but demaunded (*a*) more beasts still to be killed: behold, the enemies made a sodaine sallie forth, caught up and carried away the whole provision of the Sacrifice. The Soothsayers then agreed uppon this point, *That those perilous and adverse calamities which had beene threatned and denounced to him that sacrificed, should light all, and returne upon their heads, who gat the Inwards*; And so it fell out in deed. The day before he fought the battaile at Sea neere *Sicilie*, as he walked upon the shore, a fish leapt out of the sea and lay at his feeet: At *Actium*, as hee was going downe to fight the battaile, there met him in the way an Asse with his driver, the mans name was (*b*) EVTYCHVS, and the beasts *Nicon*: After victorie obtained, hee set uppe the Images of them both in brasse, within that Temple, into which hee converted the verie place where he encamped.

* Antonie Lepidus, and Octavius Augustus.
*And therfore by likelihoode a wizard.
*Or spectre.
*i. Obtaine the favour of the Gods.

97 His death also (whereof from hence forth I will write) and his deification after death was knowne before by many signes most evident, when hee had taken a review of the Cittie; and was about the solemne *purging therof within

*Called Lustrū

Mars.

Martiola before a frequent assemblie of people: an Ægle there was that soared oftentimes round about him, and crossing at length from him unto a house thereby, setled upon the name of AGRIPPA, and iust upon the first * letter of that name: Which when he perceived, the vowes which the manner was to be made untill the next (*a*) *Lustrum*, he commanded his colleague TIBERIVS to nuncupate and pronounce. For, notwithstanding the Tables and (*b*) instruments containing them were now written and in readinesse, yet denied he to undertake those vowes which he should never pay. About the same time the first * letter of his owne name, upon a flash and stroke of lightening went quite out of the Inscription that stood uppon his statue: Aunswere was made by the Soothsaiers, that he was to live but iust one hundred dayes after: which number that letter did betoken; And that it would come to passe that hee should bee Canonized and registred among the Gods, because ÆSAR, the residue of the name CÆSAR, in the *Tuskane* Language signified God. Being about therefore to send TIBERIVS away into *Illyricum* and to companie him as far as *Beneventum*, when diverse suiters, for one cause or other interrupted him, yea and detained him about hearing and determining matters iudicially, hee cryed out alowd (which also within a while was reckened as a presaging osse,) *That were he once out of* Rome, *he would never after be there againe what occasion soever might make him stay*. And so being entered upon his journie he went forward as far as to *Astura*: and so presently frō thence (contrary (*c*) to his usuall maner,) with the benefite of a forewind & gentle gale * tooke water by night and sayled over.

* A.

* C, in *Cæsar*.

For *Astura* was a water towne with a river also of that name running by it.

The cause of his sickenes he caught by a flux of the bellie. And for that time having coasted Campanie and made circuit about the Ilands next adioyning, he bestowed also foure dayes within a retiring place of pleasure at *Capreæ*: where he gave his minde to all ease and courteous affabilitie. It happened as he passed by the *Bay* of *Puteoli*, certaine passengers and souldiers out of a ship (*a*) of ALEXANDRIA, which then was newly arrived, all clad in white, dight also with garlands, and burning frankincense, had heaped upon him all good & fortunate words, chaunting his singular prayses in these terms. *That by him they liued, by him they sayled, by him they enioyed their freedome, and all the riches they had.* At which, he tooke great contentment and was cheered at the heart; Insomuch as thereupon he divided to everie one of his traine about him 40, (*b*) peeces of gold, but he required an oath againe & assurance of ech one, that they should not lay out that monie otherwise than in buying the wares (*c*) & commodities of ALEXANDRIA. For certaine dayes together that remained, among diverse and sundrie gifts, he distributed among them over and above, gownes and clokes, with this condition, that *Romans* should use the *Greekish* habite and speake likewise Greeke; the *Greekes* also weare *Romaine* attire and use their language. He beheld also continually the youthes exercising themselues (of whome there remained yet some store at *Capreæ*) according to the * auncient custome. And even unto them he made a feast in his owne sight, permitting them or rather exacting of them, their olde libertie of sporting, of snatching appels and cates, and of skambling for such small gifts and favours as were sent or skattered abroad. In one word, he forbare no manner of mirth and pastime. The Isle (*d*) hard by *Capreæ*, he called *Apragopolis*, of the Idlenesse of such as

98

* of the greeks who sometime inhabited those parts.

out

out of his traine retired themselues thither. But one of his beloved minions named (*f*) MASGABAS, hee had wont merily to call κτίσης, as one would say, *The founder of that Iland*. The sepulcher of this MASGABAS (who died a yeare before) when he perceived one time out of his dining chamber to be frequented with a sort of people and many lights: he pronounced this verse a loud which he made *ex tempore*.

Κτίστα δέ τύμβον εἰσορῶ πυρούμενον.

I see the Tombe of *KTISTES *all on fire.*

*The founder

And therewith turning to THRASYLLUS a companion of TIBERIVS sitting over against him, and not woting what the matter was, he asked him of what *Poets* making he thought that verse to be? And when he stucke at the question and made no answere, he came out with an other to it.

Ὁρᾷς φαέεσι μασγάβαν τιμώμενον,

Thou seest with lights MASGABAS *honoured.*

Of this verse also he demaunded whom he thought to be the maker? but when THRASYLLVS returned no other answere but this, *That whosoever made them, right excellent they were*; he laughed a good and made himselfe exceeding merie. Soone after he crossed over to *Naples*, albeit even then his guts were greatly enfeebled & *the disease (*g*) grew variable: yet for all that, the (*h*) *Quinquēnal Gymnick* games instituted in the honor of him, he beheld to the very end, and so together with TIBERIVS went to the place appointed. But in his return from thence, his disease increased more and more, so as at length he yeelded to it, at *Nola*: where, having sent for TIBERIVS and called him backe from his journey, he held him a great while in secret talke; neither from that time framed he his minde to any greater affaire.

*Or if yee distinguish thus *Morbo variante tamen &c* yet By reason that his disease altered, & himselfe was better some time then other,

99

Vppon his dying day, enquiring ever and anone, whether there was as yet any sturre and tumult abroad as touching him? hee called for a *mirror, and commanded the haire of his head to bee combed & trimmed: his chawes also readie for weakenesse to hang or fall, to be composed and set straight. Then having admitted his friends to come unto him, and asked of them whether, *they thought he had acted well the Enterlude of his life*? he adioyned with all this finall *conclusion, for a Plaudite,

*A looking glasse.
†Or chaps.

Δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε.

Now clap your hands and all with ioy resound a shout.

*As the manner is at the ende of *Comedies* to call for a *Plaudite*: hee persisted therefore in the metaphor, and by this plaudite, allegorizeth the end of this life, which hee called before *Mimum vitæ*. *Euthanasie.

After this he dismissed them all, and whiles hee questioned with some that were new come frō the Cittie, cōcerning the daughter of DRVSVS the sicke, sodainely amidst the kisses of LIVIA, and in these words he gave up the ghost, *Live mindfull* LIVIA *of our wedlocke, and so farewell*. Thus died he an easie death and such as he had euer wished to have, For lightly, so often as he heard of any body to have departed this life quickely & without all panges, he prayed unto God, that hee and his might have the like *Euthanasia, for, that was the verie word he was wont to vse. One signe onely and no more he shewed of a minde disquieted and distracted, before he yeelded up his vitall breath: in that he suddainely started as in a fright and complained, *That hee was harried away by* 40. *tall and lustie younge men*. And even that also was rather a pregnant presage of his minde, than a raving fitte and idle conceit of light braine. For so many souldiers they were indeede of the *Prætorian* bande who carried

him

him forth (dead) into the ſtreete upon their ſhoulders.

Hee died in that very bed-chamber where his Father OCTAVIUS left his life before him, when POMPEIUS and APPULEIUS, having both their forename SEXTUS, were Conſuls: *Foureteene daies before the Calends of September, at the *ninth houre of the day: being 76 yeeres olde wanting five and thirtie daies. His corps was conveighed and borne by the Decurions* of the free burrowghes and Colonies from *Nola* to *Bovillæ* by night, for the hote ſeaſon of the yeere: whereas till the day time it was beſtowed in the Hall of every towne, or elſe in the greateſt (*a*) temple thereof. From *Bovillæ* the degree of Romaine Gentlemen tooke charge of it, and brought it into the Citie of *Rome*, where they placed it within the Porch of his owne houſe. The Senate both in ſetting out his Funerals, & in alſo honouring his memorialls, proceeded ſo farre in ſtriving, who ſhould ſhew greater affection, That among many other complements, ſome were of minde, *That the pompe and ſolemne convey of his obſequies, ſhould paſſe forth at the Triumphal gate with the image of victorie, which is in the Court* Iulia *going before*: and the chiefe Noble-mens children of both ſexes ſinging a dolefull and lamentable ſong, others opined, *That upon the very day of this funerall, their (b) rings of gold ſhould be layd away and others of yron put on*. Againe, divers gave adviſe, *That his bones ſhould be gathered* up by the (c) prieſts of the moſt auncient Societies*. And one above the reſt would have had the name of the moneth* Auguſt to be ſhifted and transferred unto September; For that, AUGUSTUS was borne in this and died in the other. Another perſwaded, That all the time from his very birth unto the dying day, ſhould be named *SECULUM AUGUSTUM, and ſo recorded in the Kalendars and Chronicles. But, thought beſt it was, to keepe a meane in the Honours done unto him. Whereupon, twice, and in two ſeverall places praiſed hee was in a funerall Oration: once before the temple of IULIUS late deceaſed, of ſacred memorie, by TIBERIUS; and againe* at the (d) *Roſtra* under the *Veteres*, by DRUSUS the ſonne of TIBERIUS, and ſo upon Senatours ſhoulders was hee borne into *Campus Martius*, and there committed to the fire & burnt. Neither wanted there a* grave perſonage, one that had been Prætor, who affirmed & bound it with an oath, That he ſaw his very* image when he was burnt, aſcending up to heaven. The chiefe Gentlemen of the Knights order, in their ſingle* waſtcoates, ungirt & bare-footed gathered up (*e*) his reliques together, & beſtowed them in a ſtately (*f*) monument*: which peece of work himſelfe had built between the ſtreet *Flaminia* & the bank of *Tiberis* in his ſixth Conſulſhip, & even then given the Groves growing about it & the walks adioyning to be common for the uſe of the people of *Rome* for ever.

100

A.V.C. 767.

*The Nineteenth of Auguſt.

*About three o the clocke after noone.

*Alder men, & Senators.

*A thing againſt the olde received religion

*Before him called *Sextilis*.

The Auguſt age.

*Or before.

*Die nameth him *Nonius Atticus*: & ſaith, he was hired by *Livia* for two millians of Seſterces, to ſweare that of *Auguſtus*, which *Proculus* had ſomtime ſworn of *Romulus*.

*Or true Portraict.

*Or ſhirts, as ſome would expound *tunicis*.

*In *Mauſoleo*.

*The third of Aprill.

101 His laſt will & teſtament made by him when L. PLANCUS and C. SILIUS were Conſuls, the third day before the* Nones of April, a yeere and foure moneths before hee died, and the ſame in two bookes written partly with his owne hand, and in part with the hands of POLBYUS and HILARIUS his freed men, the veſtall virgins (*a*) who had the keeping thereof upon truſt brought forth; together with three other rolls or volumes ſealed alike. All which Inſtruments were opened and read in the Senate. Hee ordained for his heires; In the firſt place, TIBERIUS of the one halfe and a (*b*) ſixt part: and LIVIA of a (*c*) third: whom alſo he appointed to beare his owne (*d*) name. In a* ſecond

*For defaut of the other if they dyed.

ranke, hee appointed DRUSUS the ſonne of TIBERIUS to inherit one third part: and GERMANICUS with his three male children, the other parts remaining. In * a third degree, he nominated of his owne kinsfolk, Allies & friends, very many. Hee bequeathed as a legacie to the (e) people of *Rome* * 400000 Seſterces an hundred times told. To the Souldiours of the * guard a thouſand Seſterces a peece. Among the Cohorts of the City Souldiours 500, & to thoſe of the Legionarie cohorts 300 a peece. Which ſumme of money he cõmaunded to be paied preſently: For hee had ſo much in ſtore at all times (put up in bagges and coffers) lying by him. Sundry parcels gave hee beſides by legacie parole. And of ſome thereof he deferred the * payment, if the ſame were above 20000 Seſterces. For paying of which he ſet a yeeres day at the fartheſt: alledging for his excuſe his meane eſtate; and proteſting, that by this account there would not come to his heires hands, above 150 * millions: albeit within the compaſſe of 20 yeeres immediatly going before, hee had received by the wills and teſtaments of his friends * 4000 millions. All which maſſe of treaſure, together with two patrimonies by his * two fathers and other inheritances, hee had ſpent wel-neere every whit upon the Common-weale. The two IULIÆ, to wit, his daughter & *niece, (if *ought hapned unto them) he forbad expreſly to be enterred in his owne *Mauſoleum*. Of thoſe three Rolls or Inſtruments above named, in the firſt he compriſed his owne directions as touching his funerall: The ſecond contained a Regiſter or Index, of thoſe Acts which he had atchieved: and his pleaſure was, that the ſame ſhould be engraven in brazen * tables, and erected before his *Mauſoleum*. In the third he repreſented a Breviarie and abſtract of the whole Empire: to wit, *How many Souldiours were enrolled and in pay, in any place whatſoever? as alſo, How much money was in the common Treaſurie of the City and in his owne coffers? Laſtly, what the arrierages were of ſuch revenewes and tributes as were due to the ſtate and unpaid*: Whereto he annexed alſo a Shedule, containing the names of Freed men and bond, his receivers, at whoſe hands the reckoning might be exacted.

* If the ſecond heires failed,
*Som read *quadringẽties tricies quinquies*: and then it is three millions and a halfe more.
*Or *Prætorium* band.
* *Produnt ter quadam ad vicena Seſtertia.* So *Torrentius* expoundeth it.
*Of Seſterces.
* *Quater decies millies*, foure thouſand millions.
**Octavius* and *Iulius Cæſar*.
* His daughters daughter.
* If they died.
* *Æneis tabulis*, other writers ſay, Pillers.

THE HISTORIE OF Tiberius Nero Cæsar, vvritten by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



THE Patritian familie CLAUDIA (for, there was likewise another *Plebeian* of that name, neither in power nor dignity inferiour) had the first beginning out of * *Regillum* a Towne of the Sabines. From thence they came with a great retinue of vassals to *Rome* newly founded, there to dwell: induced thereto by the counsell of T. TATIUS, fellow in government of the kingdome with ROMULUS; or (which is the more received opinion) through the perswasion of (*a*) ATTA* CLAUDIUS, a principall person of that house, about the 6 yeere after the kings were expelled: and so, by the Senatours of *Rome*, raunged they were among the *Patritij*. Vpon this, soone after, they received by vertue of a graunt from the whole City, for their Clients & vassals, lands to occupy beyond the river *Anio*: and

1

* Or *Regilli.*

* Or *Clausus.*

and for themſelves a *place of ſepulture under the Capitol: and ſo forth, in proceſſe of time obtained 28 Conſulates, five Dictatures, Cenſures ſeaven, Triumphs ſixe, and two Ovations. This family being diſtinguiſhed by ſundry fore-names and ſurnames both, in a generall conſent reiected the fore-name of LUCIUS, after that two of their linage bearing that name were convict, the one of robberie, the other of murder. Among ſurnames it aſſumed the addition of (*b*) NERO, which in the Sabine tongue ſignifieth *Strong or ſtout.*

*Locum. Some read *lucum*, not in the ſtrict ſignification of a ſacred Grove, but of a pleaſant tuft of trees wherewith monuments were beautified: as you may gather by the *Mauſoleum* of *Auguſtus*.

2 Many of theſe *Claudij*, as they deſerved many waies paſſing well of the Common-wealth: ſo, in as many ſorts they faulted and did amiſſe. But to relate the principall examples onely in both kindes; APPIUS ſurnamed *CÆCUS was hee, who diſſwaded the entring into league and ſocietie with King PYRRHUS, as preiudiciall unto the State: (*a*) CLAUDIUS CAUDEX was the firſt man that paſſed over the narrow Seas with a fleete, and drave the Carthaginians out of *Sicilie*: CLAUDIUS NERO ſurpriſed and defaited ASDRUBAL comming out of Spaine with a very great and puiſſant armie before he could ioyne with his brother ANNIBAL. Contrariwiſe, *CLAUDIUS APPIUS REGILLANUS being *Decemvir* choſen to frame and pen the Romaine Lawes, went about by violence (for the ſatisfaction of his fleſhly luſt) to enthrall a virgine Free-borne: and thereby gave occaſion to the Commons for to fall away and forſake the Nobles a ſecond time. CLAUDIUS DRUSUS having his owne ſtatue erected with a Diademe in a Towne called (*b*) *Forum Appij*, attempted with the helpe of his favorites and dependants to hold all *Italie* in his owne hands. CLAUDIUS *PULCHER, when as in taking of his (*c*) *Auſpicia* before *Sicilie*, the ſacred pullets would not feede, cauſed them, in contempt of Religion, to be plunged into the Sea, *That they might drinke ſeeing they would not eate*: and thereupon ſtrucke a battaile at Sea: In which, beeing vanquiſhed, and commaunded by the Senate to nominate a Dictator, ſcorning, as it were, and making but a ieſt at the publique danger & calamitie of the State, named a (baſe) Sergeant of his owne called *GLYCIA. There ſtand likewiſe upon record, the examples of women, and thoſe as divers and contrary. For, two CLAUDIÆ there were of the ſame houſe: both ſhee *that drew forth the ſhip with the ſacred images of the *Idæan* mother of the Gods ſticking faſt and grounded within the *ſhelves of TIBERIS, having before made her prair openly, *That as ſhe was a true and pure virgin, ſo the ſhip might follow her, and not otherwiſe*: as alſo another, who after a ſtrange and new manner being *a woman, was araigned before the people of high treaſon, for that when her Coach wherein ſhee rode could hardly paſſe forward by reaſon of a thicke throng and preaſſe of people, ſhe had openly wiſhed, *That her brother* PULCHER *were alive againe, and might leeſe a fleete the ſecond time, to the end there might be by that meanes a leſſe multitude at Rome*. Moreover, very well knowne it is, that all the CLAUDII, excepting onely that P. CLODIUS who for expelling CICERO out of *Rome*, ſuffred himſelfe to be adopted by a *Commoner and one younger (*d*) alſo than himſelfe, were alwaies *Optimates*, the onely maintainers or patrons of the dignitie and power of the Patritians: yea, and in oppoſition of the Commons ſo violent, ſtubborne and ſelfe-willed that not one of them, although he ſtoode upon his triall for life and death before the people, could finde

A.V.C. 474
490
457

A.V.C. 304
*Or *Appius Claudius*.
*i. One of the *ten Decemvirs*.

*i. The Faire.
A.V.C: 505

*Or Ilycia.

**Plin: Nat: hiſt: lib: 7. cap: 35.*
*Cybele.
*Or Barr.

A.V.C: 580. For, unto this time that ſex had not beene endited and attaint of treaſon. See *Valer. Max. lib. 8. cap. 1.*
A.V.C: 695

*C. *Fonteius.*

finde in his hart ſo much as to change his (*e*) weede, or to crave any favour at their hands. Nay, ſome of them there were, who in a brawle and altercation, ſtuck not to beat the very (*f*) Tribune of the Commons. Furthermore, a * virgin veſtale there was of that name, who when a brother of hers triumphed without a warrant from the people, mounted up with him into the chariot, & accompanied him even into the Capitoll: to this end, that none of the Tribunes might lawfully * oppoſe themſelves and forbid the Triumph. *Claudia. A.V.C.611

3 From this race and linage TIBERIUS CÆSAR deriveth his Genealogie, and that verily in the whole bloud and of both ſides: by his Father, from TIBERIUS NERO: by his mother from APPIUS PULCHER, who were both of them the ſonnes of APPIUS CÆCUS. Incorporate hee was beſides into the familie of the LIVII, by reaſon that his Grandfather by the * mothers ſide was adopted thereinto: Which family (Commoners though they were) flouriſhed notwithſtanding and was highly reputed; as being honoured and graced with eight Conſulſhips, two Cenſureſhips, and three Triumphs: with a Dictatourſhip alſo and Maiſterſhip of the Horſemen: renowmed likewiſe and ennobled for brave and notable men, (*a*) SALINATOR eſpecially and the * DRUSI: As for SALINATOR, in his Cenſureſhip hee noted and taxed all the Tribes everie one and whole bodie of the people, for unconſtant levitie, for that having uppon his former conſulſhip condemned him and ſet a fine uppon his head, yet afterwardes they made him Conſul a ſecond time and Cenſour beſides. DRVSVS, upon the killing of one DRAVSVS the Generall of his enemies in cloſe combat and ſingle fight, purchaſed unto himſelfe and his poſteritie after him that ſurname. It is reported alſo that this DRVSVS beeing propretour, recovered and fetched againe out of his province *Gaule*, that gold which in times paſt had beene given unto the Senatours when they beſieged the Capitol: & that it was not CAMILLUS (as the voice goeth) that wreſted the ſame perforce out of their hands. His * ſonne in the 4. degree of deſcent, called for his ſingular imployment againſt the *Gracchi*, Patron of the Senate, left behind him a ſonne: whom in the like variance and debate as he was buſie in deviſing and putting in practiſe ſundrie plots, the adverſe faction treacherouſly ſlew. *Or rather *Druſus*. A.V.C 550 A.V.C.471 A.V.C.433 *Or Nephew, *abnepos*.

4 But, the Father of this TIBERIUS CÆSAR, being Treaſurer unto C.* CÆSAR, and Admirall of a fleete in the *Alexandrine* warre performed very good ſervice for the atchieving of victory, whereupon hee was both ſubſtituted Pontifex in ſteed of SCIPIO, and alſo ſent with commiſſion to plant Colonies in Gaule, among which were * Narbona and Arelate. Howbeit, after that CÆSAR was ſlaine, when as all men for feare of troubles and uprores decreed a finall abolition * and oblivion of that fact (and all other quarrels thereupon depending) he proceeded farther and opened, *That they ſhould conſult about the rewards of ſuch Tyrant-killers*. After this, having borne his Pretourſhip (in the end of which yeere there aroſe ſome diſcord betweene the Triumvirs) hee retaining by him ſtill the * enſignes and ornaments of that office after the time fully expired, and following L. ANTONIUS the Conſull and the Triumvirs brother, as farre as to *Peruſia*, when the reſt yeelded themſelves, continued alone faſt, and ſtuck to the faction (that ſided againſt OCTAVIUS) and firſt eſcaped to *Preneſte*, then to *Naples*: where when hee had proclaimed (but in vaine) A.V.C.463 *Dictator. A.V.C.707 * Or *Narbo*. A.V.C.710 * This is that *amneſtia* which *Cicero* perſwaded unto. A.V.C.713 * To wit, his fixe lictors or *virgers* with their Knitches of rods & axes ſticking therein. *Alexand. ab Alexandr.*

vaine) * freedome for all bondſlaves, hee fled into *Sicilie*. But taking it to the heart, that hee was not immediatly admitted to the preſence of SEXTUS POMPEIUS, but debarred the uſe of his (*a*) Knitches of rods to bee borne afore him, hee croſſed the Seas into *Achaia*, and went to M. ANTONIUS. With whom, by occaſion that ſhortly after, an attonement and peace was made betweene all parties; hee returned to *Rome*; and at the requeſt of AUGUSTUS, yeelded unto him his owne wife LIVIA DRUSILLA, who both at that time was great with child, and alſo had already before brought him a ſonne named TIBERIUS, in his owne houſe. Not long after, he departed this life, and left his children ſurviving him, namely TIBERIUS NERO and DRUSUS NERO.

* *Servis ad pileum vocatis*: becauſe the cap or bonet was the badge of freedome.

5

Some have thought that this TIBERIUS (CÆSAR) was borne at *Fundæ*, grounding uppon a light coniecture, becauſe his mothers * Grandame was a Fundane borne; and for that ſoone after the image (*a*) of * *Felicitie*, by vertue of an Acte of the Senate was there publiquely ſet up. But, as the moſt Authors and thoſe of better credite doe write, borne hee was at *Rome* in the *Mount Palatium*, the * ſixteenth day before the Calendes of December, when M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS was Conſull the ſecond time together with MUNATIUS PLANCUS, even after the warre at *Philippi*: For ſo it ſtandes upon record and in the publique Regiſters. Yet there want not ſome who write otherwiſe: partly that he was * borne a yeere before in the Conſulſhip of HIRTIUS and PANSA, and partly the yeere next following, wherein SERVILIUS ISAURICUS and ANTONIUS were Conſuls.

* Or his grandame by the mothers ſide, * *Felicitatis*, or *Fœcunditatis* i. fruitfulnes.

* The ſixteenth of November. A.V.C. 712

* *Genitum.*

6

His infancie and childhood both were exeeding * forward (*a*) and the ſame full of toileſome travaile and daunger, by occaſion that every where, hee accompanied his Parents ſtill, in their flights and eſcapes. And verily, twice hee had like to have * deſcried them with his wrawling at *Naples*, what time as a little before the forcible and ſuddaine entrie of the enemie, they made ſhift ſecretly to get into a ſhip: namely once, when hee was taken haſtily from his Nources breaſt: and a ſecond time out of his Mothers lap and armes, by thoſe who as the neceſſity of the time required, did their beſt to eaſe the poore women of their burden and loade. Hee was caried away with them likewiſe through *Sicilie* and *Achaia*: yea, and beeing recommended to the Lacedæmonians (who were under the protection of the CLAUDII their Patrones) for to take the charge of him in publique, as hee departed from thence by night, hee was in daunger of his life by reaſon of a light flaming fire, which ſuddainly from all parts aroſe out of a wood: and compaſſed all the companie in his traine ſo; as that ſome part of LIVIAES apparell and the haire of her head was ſcorched and ſienged therewith. The giftes beſtowed uppon him in *Sicilie* by POMPEIA the ſiſter of SEXTUS POMPEIUS, to wit, a little Cloake with a button or claſpe to it: likewiſe ſtudds and boſſes of golde, continue and are yet ſhewed to boe ſeene at *Baie*. After his re-

* *Luxuriosam* i. growing a pace to maturity.

* Or diſcovered.

turne

turne into the Cittie of *Rome*, beeing adopted by M. GALLIVS a Senatour in his laſt will and teſtament, hee accepted of the inheritance and entred upon it: but within a while forbare the name, becauſe GALLIVS had ſided with the adverſe faction and taken part againſt AVGVSTVS. Being 9. yeares olde he praiſed his father deceaſed openly from the *Roſtra*. Afterwardes, as hee grewe to be a ſpringall, he accompanied in the *Actiacke* tryumph the Chariot of AVGVSTVS, ryding uppon the ſteede drawing without the * yoke on the left hand, when as MARCELLVS the ſonne of OCTAVIA rode upon the other on the right hand. Hee was preſident alſo at the *Actiack* Games and plaies yea & the *Troian* Turnament in the *Circean* ſolemnities, where he led the troupe of the bigger boyes.

* Or ſpiren-pole.

7.

After hee had put on his * virile robe, his whole youth and all the time beſides of the age next enſuing, even unto the beginning of his Empire, hee paſſed for the moſt part in theſe affaires following. He exhibited one ſworde fight performed by fencers to the outrance, in memoriall of his father: likewiſe another in the honourable remembraunce of his Grandfather DRVSVS: and thoſe at ſundrie times and in diverſe places: the former in the * *Forum*, of *Rome*: the ſecond in the Amphitheatre: having brought againe into the Liſts, even thoſe that were freed before time and diſcharged from that profeſſion: whom hee now hired and bound to fight, with the ſumme of one hundred thowſand ſeſterces. Hee did ſet foorth ſtage playes alſo, but whiles himſelfe was abſent: all with great magnificence, and alſo at the charges of his * mother and * father in Law. * AGRIPPINA the daughter alſo of M. AGRIPPA, and neice to POMPONIVS ATTICVS a Gentleman of *Rome*, him I meane, unto whome CICERO wrote his Epiſtles, hee tooke to wife. And when hee had begotten of her a ſonne named DRVSVS, albeit ſhee fitted him well enough and was beſides with Childe againe, enforced hee was to put her away; and foorthwith to wed IVLIA the daughter of AVGVSTVS: not without much griefe and heart breake: conſidering that hee both deſired ſtill the companie of AGRIPPINA and alſo miſliked the conditions and demeanour of IVLIA, as whom he perceived to have had a minde and fanſie unto him whiles ſhee was the wife of a former husband. Which verily was thought alſo abroade. But as hee grieved, that after the divorce hee had driven away AGRIPPINA, ſo when hee chaunced but once (as ſhee mette him) to ſee her, hee followed her ſtill with his eyes ſo bent, ſo ſwellinge, * and ſtaring, that ſtreight order was given, and a watch ſet, ſhee ſhould never after come in his way nor within his ſight. With IVLIA he lived at the firſt in great concord and mutuall love: but afterwardes hee began to * eſtraunge himſelfe, and (that which was the more griefe) hee proceeded to part beddes and to lie from her continually, namely, after that the pledge of love, their ſonne beegotten beetweene them, was untimely taken away: who beeing borne at *Aquileia* died a very infant. His owne brother * DRVSVS hee loſt in *Germanie*, whoſe bodie he conveyed throughout to *Rome* going before it all the way on foote.

* at 17. yeeres of age,

* Or great market place,

* *Livia.*
* *Auguſtus.*
* Whom *Tacitus* calleth *Vipſania* after the ſurname of her father,

A.V.C. 744.

* Readie as it were to runne out of his head.

* Or diſagree,

* Who died when he was Conſul, A.V.C. 735.

In

8 In his first rudiments and beginnings of civile offices, he pleaded at the barre in defence of *Archelaus*; of the *Tralliens* and *Thessalians*: all of them in sundrie causes whiles AVGVSTVS sat in iudgement to heere their tryall: In the behalfe also of the *Laodicenes*, *Thyaterenes* and *Chians*, who had suffered great losse by Earthquake, and humbly sought for reliefe, he intreated the Senate. As for FANNIVS CÆPIO. who together with VARRO MVRÆNA had conspired against AVGVSTVS, hee arraigned of high treason before the iudges, and caused him to bee condemned: And amid these affaires, he* executed a duple charge and function: to witte, the purveyance of Corne and Victualles, whereof there happened to bee scarcitie: and the skouringe or riddance of the worke-house* prisons: the Lordes and Maisters whereof were become odious, as if they had caught uppe and held to worke not onely waifaring persons, but those also who for feare of taking a militarie oath and to be enrolled, were driven to shrowd themselues in such corners and starting holes.

*Whilest hee was Questour, and but 29 yeares olde.

*Ergastulorum Such as bride wel nd houses of correction.

9 His first service in the warres was in the expedition of *Cantabria*, what time hee had the place of a* Tribune *Militarie*. Afterwardes, having the conduct of an armie into the East parts, hee restored the kingdome of ARMENIA unto TIGRANES, and from the Tribunall seat did put the Diademe uppon his head. Hee recovered also those militarie ensignes which the *Parthians* had taken from M. CRASSVS. After this hee governed as Regent that part of *Gaule* beyond the *Alpes*, called *Comata*: which was full of troubles, partly by the incursions of barbarous nations, and in parte through the inteſtine discorde of Princes and Nobles of the Countrie. Then, warred hee uppon the Rhetians and *Vindelici*, and so forwarde vppon the *Pannonians* and *Germaines* (whom hee vanquished all). In the *Rhetian* and *Vindelicke* warres, hee subdued the Nations inhabiting the *Alpes*: in the *Pannonian*, he conquered the *Breuci* and *Dalmatians*. In the *Germaine* warre hee brought over into *Gaule* 40000 that yeelded unto him, and placed them neere unto the *Rhene* banke, where they had there habitations assigned. For, which Acts, hee entred the Citie of *Rome* both *Ovant* (ryding on horsebacke) and also *Triumphant* mounted uppon a Chariot: being the *first (as some thinke) that was honoured with Triumphant ornaments, a newe kinde of honour and never graunted to any man before: To beare Magistracie hee both beganne betimes, and also ranne through them all in manner joyntly without intermission, namely his Quæsture; Præture and Consulate. After some space betweene hee became Consul a seconde time, yea and also received the Tribunitian Authoritie for fiue yeares together:

A.V:C:728, *Colonell of a thousand footmen:

A,V,C 728,

*Primus, some read *prius, i. ante ouationem*, before he had ridden *ovant* or triumphed:

A,V,C,737, 738. 742, 747.

10 In this confluence of so many prosperous successes, in the strength also of his yeares and perfect health, hee had a full purpose, sodainely to retire himselfe and remoove out of the way as farre as hee could. Whether it were for the wearinesse hee had of his wife, whome neither hee durst plainely charge or put awaye, nor was able to endure any longer, or to the ende that by avoyding contempt (*a*) incident to daily and continuall residence, hee might maintaine and increase his authoritie by absenting himselfe, if at any time the State stoode in neede of him, it is uncertaine.

A.V.C 748.

Some

Some are of opinion, that considering AVGVSTVS his children were nowe well growne, he of his owne accorde yeelded up unto them the place and possession as it were, of the second *degree, which himselfe had usurped and held a long time; following herein the example of M. AGRIPPA, who having preferred M. MARCELLUS, to bee imployed in publike affaires, departed unto MITYLENÆ; least by his presence he might seeme to * hinder them or depraue their proceedings. Which cause even himself, but afterwards, alleadged: Marie, for the present, pretending the satietie that he had of honorable places, and rest from his travailes, he made suite for licence to depart: neither gave he any eare to his owne mother humblie beseeching him to stay; nor to his father in law, who complained also that hee should be forsaken thereby and left desolate in the Senate. Moreover; when they were instant still to holde him backe, hee abstained from all kinde of meate foure dayes together. At length having obtained leave to be gone, he left his wife and sonne behind him at *Rome*, and forthwith went downe to *Ostia*: giving not so much as one word againe to any that accompanied him thither, and kissing very few of them at the parting.

*In administration of the common weale:

*To darken their light;

II

As he sayled from *Ostia* along the coast of *Campanie*, uppon newes that he heard of AVGVSTVS weakenesse, he stayed a while and went not forward: but when a rumor began to be spred of him, (as if he lingred there, waiting some opportunitie of greater hopes,) hee made noe more adoe, but even against winde and wether sayled through & passed over to *Rhodes*: having taken a delight to the pleasant and healthfull situation of that Iland, ever since he arrived there in his returne from *Armenia*. Contenting himselfe here, with a meane and small habitation, with a ferme house likewise by the Cittie side not much larger nor of greater receite, he purposed to lead a verie civill and private life: walking otherwhile in the *Gymnase* without *lictor or other officer, performing acts and duties in maner one for another with the *Greekes* conversing there. It happened uppon a time, when he disposed of the businesses which hee would dispatch one day, that hee gave it out before hand, *He was desirous to visite all the *sicke in the Cittie.* These words of his were mistaken by those next about him. Whereupon; all the lazars and diseased persons were by commaundement brought into a publike porch or gallerie and placed there in order according to the sundrie sorts of their maladies. At which unexpected sight, being much troubled and perplexed, he wist not for a good while what to do? howbeit he went round about from one to another, excusing himselfe for this that was done even to the meanest, poorest and basest of them all. This onely thing and nothing else beside was noted, wherein he seemed to exercise the power of his Tribunes authoritie. Being daily and continually conversant about the Schooles and Auditories of professours, by occasion that there arose a great braule among the * *Sophisters* opposite in arguing cases and declaiming one against other, there chaunced to bee one who perceiving him comming betweene and inclining to favorize one part above the other; rayled bitterly at him. With drawing himselfe therefore by little and little, and retyring home to his house, he came forth sodainely againe and appeared with his Lictours: where he cited by the voyce of his cryer to appeare judicially before his Tribunall, that foule mouthed rayling fellow, and so commanded him to be had away

*Or publike place of exercises.

*He was then Tribune of the Commons and Consul the second time.

* *ægros*, some read *agros*, as if he minded to walk the fields.

*Rhetoricians,

away to prison. After this, he had certaine intelligence given him that IVLIA his wife was convict and condemned for her incontinencie and adulteries; also that in his name (by a warrant directed from AVGVSTVS) she had a bill of divorse sent unto her. And albeit, he was glad of these tidings, yet he thought it his part as much as lay in him, by many letters to reconcile the father unto his daughter: yea and how ever she had deserved badly at his hands, yet to suffer her for to have whatsoever he had at any time given unto her in free gift.

A.V.C.752 Now, after he had passed through the time of his Tribunes authoritie, and confessed at last, that by this retyring of his out of the way he sought to avoide nought else but the suspition of Ielousie and emulation with CAIVS and LVCIVS: hee made suite, *That seeing he was now secured in this behalfe, and they strengthened enough and able with ease to manage and maintaine the second place in government, he might be permitted to returne and see his friendes and acquaintance againe, whose presence he missed and longed after.* But hee could not obtaine so much: nay, admonished hee was and warned before hand, to lay a side all regard of his friends and kinsfolke, whom he was so willing to leave and abandon before.

12 Hee abode therefore still at *Rhodes*, even against his will: and hardly by the meanes and intercession of his owne mother wrought thus much, that for to cover his ignominie and shame, he might be absent under this pretence, *as if he were* AVGVSTVS *his Lieutenant*. And then verily, lived he not onely private to himselfe, but also exposed to daunger, and in great feare of some hard measure: lying close and hidden in the uplandish and inward parts of the Iland: and avoyding the offices of them that made saile by those coasts, who had frequented him continually: For as much as no man went into any province that way, as Lord Generall or * Magistrate, but he strucke a side and turned to *Rhodes*. Besides, other causes there were of greater feare and trouble presented unto him. For when as he crossed the seas to *Samos* for to visit CAIVS, * his wives sonne, president of the East parts, he perceived him to be more estranged than before time through the slaunders and criminous imputations which M. LOLLIVS companion and governour to the saide CAIVS had put into his head. He was drawen also into suspition by certaine CENTVRIONS, whom his favour had advanced, & who at the day limited in their pasport were returned to the camp, *That he had deliuered unto many* *(*of them*) MANDATES of an ambiguous & duple construction, such as might seeme to sound the mindes of everie one and sollicite them to rebellion. Of which suspition being certified by AVGVSTVS, hee never rested to call for, and require to have some one of any degree and order what soever, to observe all his deedes and words.

* As *Prætor, propretor, proconsul, &c:*
* The sonne of his wife *Iulia* by *Agrippa*,
* Of his friends.

13 He neglected also his wonted exercises of horse and armour: yea and having laid by the * habite of his native Countrie, hee betooke himselfe to a cloke and * slippers. In such a state & condition as this, continued hee almost two yeeres throughout: more dispised and hatefull everie day then other: insomuch as the *Menianſians* overthrew his Images and statues: and upon a time, at a certaine feast, where familiar friends were met together (by occasion that mention was made of him,) there was one stood up who promised CAIVS, *That in case he did but command and say the word, he would immediatly sayle to* Rhodes *and fetch*

* The gowne.
* Pantofles or corke shooes after the greekish fashion.

fetch vnto him the head of that exiled person: For so was hee commonly called. And chiefly upon this which was now no bare feare, but plain perill, enforced he was by most earnest prayers not onely of his owne but also of his mother, to require and seeke for to returne: which he obtained at length with the helpe somewhat of good fortune. AVGVSTVS had fully set downe with himselfe to resolve upon nothing as touching that point, but with the wil & good liking of his elder *sonne: now was he, as it happened at that time much offended and displeased with M. LOLLIVS, but to his *father in law (TIBERIVS) well affected, and easie to be by him intreated. By the permission therefore and good leave of CAIVS called home he was; but with this condition. *That he should not meddle one Iote in the affaires of State:*

*Caius, his nephew or daughters sonne.

*His mothers husband.

Thus in the 8. yeare after his departure, returned he full of great hopes and nothing doubtfull of future fortunes, which he had conceived as well by strang sights, as also by predictions and propheſies even from his very birth. For LIVIA whiles she went with child of him, among many and sundrie experiments which she made, and signes that she observed (and all to know whether shee should bring forth a man child or no?) tooke closely an egge from under an hen that was sitting, and kept it warme sometime in her owne, otherwhiles in her womens hands by turnes one after another, so long, untill there was hatched a cock-chicken with a notable combe upon the head. And when he was but a very babe, SCRIBONIVS the Astrologer gave out and warranted great matters of him, and namely, *That he should one day raigne as Monarch, but yet without the royall* Ensignes.* For as yet, ye must wote, the soveraigne power of the CÆSARS was unknowne. Also, as he entred into his first expedition, and led an armie into *Syria*, through *Macedonie*: it chaunced that the consecrated Altars of the victorious *Legions in time past at *Philippi* shone out * sodainely of themselues all on a light fire. And soone after, when in his journey towarde *Illyricum* he went to the Oracle of *Geryon* nere unto *Padua*, and drew forth his lotte, whereby he was advised that for counsell and resolution in such particulars as he required after, he should throw golden * dies (*a*) into the fountaine *Aponus*, it fell out so that the dies thus cast by him shewed the * greatest number: And even at this verie day these dies are seene under the water. Some fewe dayes likewise before he was sent for home, an Ægle, (never seene afore time at *Rhodes*) perched upon the very top and ridge of his house: and the verie day before he had intelligence given him of his returne, as he was changing his apparell, his shirt was seene on fire. THRASYLLVS (*b*) also the Astrologer, whom for his great profession of wisedome & cunning he had taken into his house to beare him companie, he made then most triall of; namely, when upon kenning a * ship a farre of, he affirmed. *That ioyfull newes was comming*, whereas at the verie same instant as they walked togither TIBERIVS was fully purposed to have turned him headlong downe into the sea, as being a false prophet, (for that things fell out untowardly and contrarie to his former predictions) & one besides; who chaunced for the most part to bee privie unto him of all his secrets.

14 A.V.C.755.

*l: The Diademe.

*Vnder Iulius Cæsar or Augustus.

*Subitis ignibus or Subductis ignibus. 3. When the fire was taken from them

*Or Cockals.

*Venus or Cous, which is the best chance.

*which broght the messenger of his returne.

*There to cõmense & shewe the first proofe of pleading at Barre.

15 Being returned to *Rome*, and having brought his sonne DRVSVS solemnly into the * *Forum*, he remooved immediatly out of *Carinæ* and the house * of POMPEIVS unto * *Esquilia*, and the Hort-yards of MÆCENAS: where he gave himselfe

*Which was in the streete Carina.

*Or Exquilia an other steete in Rome.

himselfe wholly to quietnesse performing priuate duties onely and not medling at all in publike offices. After that CAIVS and LVCIVS were dead within the compasse of *3. yeares, he together with their brother M. AGRIPPA was adopted by AVGVSTVS, but compelled first himselfe to adopt GERMANICVS his brothers sonne. Neither did he ought afterwards as an *housholder, nor retained one jote of that right which he had forgon by his adoption. For, he gave no donations, he manumised no person: not yet made benefite of any *inheritance or legacies otherwise then in the nature of *Peculium: and so he did put them downe in his booke of receits. But from that time forward was there nothing pretermitted for the augmentation of his state and Maiestie: and much more after that AGRIPPA once was in disfavour and sent away: whereby the world tooke knowledge for certaine, that the hope of succession rested onely in him.

*Of 2. yeares rather: by *Velleius* and *Dio*. and as himselfe hath written in *Augustus*.

+One that was *sui iuris*,

*Falling unto him by the Testaments of his friende,

+A stocke given & granted unto one by him under whose tuition he is, be hee father or maister.

16. Nowe was the Tribunitian Authoritie conferred a second time uppon him, and that for the terme of 5. yeeres; the honorable charge and commission likewise, for to pacifie the State of *Germanie* was assigned unto him: and the *Parthian* Embassadours, after they had declared their message at *Rome* unto AVGVSTVS, were commanded to repaire unto him also* into his province: But upon the newes that ILLYRICVM revolted, he remooved from* thence to the charge of a new warre, which, being of all foraine warres the most dangerous since those with the *Carthaginians*, he menaged with the power of 15: Legions, & equal forces of *Auxiliaries*, for the space of 3. yeares in great extremitie of all things, but especially in exceeding scarcetie of Corne. And notwithstanding that he was oftentimes revoked from this service: yet persisted he unto the end fearing least the enemie so neere a neighbour and so puissant with all, should make head and come upon them, if they first did quit the place and retire. And verily, passing well paied and rewarded was hee for this preseverance of his; as having thereby fully subdued and brought under his subiection all ILLIRYCVM: as farre as reacheth and spreadeth betweene *Italie*, the kingdome of *Noricum*, *Thracia* and *Macedonie*: betweene the river *Danubius* also and the gulfe of the *Adriaticke* sea.

A.V.C.757, Æ. +Germanie

*Out of *Germanie*.

A.V.C.760.

A.V.C.762. 17

Which glorious exploit of his was yet more amplified and encreased by the opportunitie of an occurrent that fell betweene. For, about the verie same time QVINTILIVS VARVS together with 3. Legions was overthrowne and defaited in *Germanie*: and no man made any doubt, but that the *Germaines* following the traine of this their victorie, would have ioyned with PANNONIA in case ILLYRICVM had not beene subdued before. For these his noble Acts, a triumph with many great honours was decreed for him: Some also delivered their sentence, that he should be surnamed PANNONICVS; others would have had the addition of *Invincible*: and some againe of PIVS, in his Style; But as touching any such surname, AVGVSTVS interposed his negative voyce, promising and undertaking in his behalfe, that he shold rest contented with* that, which he was to assume after his death: As for the Trinmph, himselfe did put it of unto a further day, by occasion that the whole* state, sorrowed for the overthrow and losse above saide of VARVS: Nevertheless, he entred the City in his rich Prætexta or imbrodred purple Robe, with a chaplet of lawrell upon his head: and so mounted up to the Tribunall erected for him in the (a) *Septa*, whiles

*i. *Augustus*.

+Of Rome

whiles the Senate ſtoode to give attendance: and there, together with Augustus, in the mids betweene the two Conſuls hee tooke his place and ſate downe. From whence, after he had ſaluted the people, hee was honourably conducted round about all the Temples.

18

The next yeere following, being returned into *Germanie*, when hee perceiued that the *Varian* defeature aforeſaid hapned through the raſhneſſe and negligence of the Generall, he did nothing at all without the opinion of his Counſell of warre. And whereas hee had uſed alſo before, to ſtand upon his owne bothom, and to reſt in his ſelfe-iudgement alone; then, contrary to his manner hee conferred with many as touching the menagement of the warre: yea, and he ſhewed more care and preciſeneſſe in every point than his wont was afore-time. Being about to paſſe over the Rhene, all his proviſion of victuals ſtrictly reduced to a certaine rate and ſtint, hee would not ſend over the water before he had conſidered (ſtanding upon the very banke of the river) the lode of every Waggon, that no cariages might bee * diſcharged or unloaden, but ſuch as were by him allowed and thought neceſſary. When hee was once on the other ſide of *Rhene*, this courſe and order of life he held: Namely to ſit upon a bare banke of turfe, and ſo to eate his meate: to lie abroad all night, and take his reſt oftentimes without tent: to deliver all directions for the day following, as alſo what ſuddaine ſervice or buſineſſe was to bee enioyned, by writing; with this caveat and admonition, *That whereof any man doubted, hee ſhould repaire unto him at all houres of the night, and ſeeke for no other expoſitour but himſelfe.* A.V.C. 763.

* *Detonentur, vel deportarentur.* i. tranſported and caried over.

19

Martiall diſcipline he required moſt ſharply, bringing againe into ure and execution certaine kindes of chaſtiſements and ignominious diſgraces which had beene uſed in auncient times: in ſo much, as he branded with open ſhame the Lieutenant of a Legion, for ſending a few Souldiours with his owne freedman ouer the other ſide of the river a hunting. As for battailes, albeit hee did put as little as might be upon the hazard of Fortune and chaunce: yet entred he upon them with much more reſolution, ſo often as whiles hee watched or ſtudied by a candle, the light ſuddainly fell downe and went out, when no body forced it: truſting confidently (as hee ſaid) upon this ſigne, which both hee and all his Auncеſtors had tried and found to be infallible during all their warlike conducts and regiments. But howſoever hee ſped well and had good ſucceſſe in this Province, he eſcaped very faire that hee had not beene killed by a certaine * Rhutene (*a*), who being among thoſe that were next about his perſon, and detected by his timorous geſture, was apprehended, and with torture forced to confeſſe his prepenſed deſignment.

* *A Rhutenus quidam.*

20

Being after two yeeres returned out of *Germanie* to *Rome*, hee rode in that triumph which he had differred, accompanied with his Lieutenants, for whom he had obtained (*a*) triumphall Ornaments. And ere hee turned into the Capitoll hee alighted from his Chariot, and bowed himſelfe to the knees of his * Father, ſitting then before him as Preſident. A Captaine and Commaunder of Pannonia named Baton, hee rewarded firſt, with exceeding great Preſents, and then remooved him to *Ravenna*, in thankfull requitall A.V.C. 765.

* *Auguſtus Cæſar.*

for ſuffering him upon a time, when with his Armie hee was encloſed within the ſtreights, to paſſe forward and eſcape. After this, hee beſtowed upon the people (of *Rome*) a ſolemne dinner, where they ſate at a thouſand tables: and gave beſides to them three thouſand Seſterces a peece for a Congiarie. Hee dedicated alſo the temple of *Concord*: likewiſe that of *Pollux* and *Caſtor* in his owne name & his brothers, all out of the ſpoile woone from the enemies.

21 A.V.C 766. And not long after, when by vertue of an Act preferred by the Conſuls, *That hee ſhould adminiſter the* Provinces *iointly with* Augustus: *and likewiſe hold the generall review and muſter of the people*, hee had performed the ſame and finiſhed it with a ſolemne purging called *Luſtrum*, hee tooke his iourney into *Illyricum*. And being incontinently called backe out of the very way, he came A.V.C. 767. and found Augustus dangerouſly ſicke, howbeit yet breathing and alive: with whom he continued in ſecret talke, one whole day. I wote well, it is commonly received and beleeved, that when Tiberius after private conference was gone forth, theſe words of Augustus were over heard by the Chamberlaines. *Miſerum populum Romanum qui ſub tam lentis maxillis erit. O unhappie people of Rome, that ſhall be under ſuch a ſlow (a) paire of chawes*. Neither am I ignorant of this alſo, that ſome have written and reported of Augustus, How openly and in plaine termes without diſſimuling, hee diſliked his churliſh behaviour and harſhneſſe of manners ſo much, as divers times being in pleaſant diſcourſe and mery talke, he would breake-of when Tiberius came in place: Howbeit, overcome by his wives intreaty and earneſt praier, he refuſed not to adopt him; or rather was induced ſo to doe, upon an ambitious humor and conceite of his owne, that leaving ſuch a ſucceſſour, himſelfe might another day be more miſſed and wiſhed for againe. Yet cannot I be perſwaded otherwiſe, but to thinke, that Augustus a right circumſpect, conſiderate and prudent Prince did nothing, eſpecially in ſo weighty a buſineſſe, hand over head and without adviſe: but having duly weighed the vices and vertues of Tiberius, eſteemed his vertues of more worth: and namely ſeeing that both he ſware ſolemnly in a generall aſſembly of the people, *That hee adopted him for the (b) good of the* Common-weale: and alſo commendeth him in certaine Epiſtles for a moſt expert and martiall warriour, yea the onely Defender and Protectour of the people of *Rome*. Out of which, I have thought good to quote ſome places heere and there for example. *Farewell moſt ſweet* Tiberius, *and God bleſſe your conduct and proceeding, warring as you doe for mee and the Muſes*. Againe, *O moſt pleaſant, and (as I deſire to bee happy) right valiant man, and accompliſhed* Captaine, *with all perfections, adiew*. Alſo, *As touching the order and manner of your Sommer-campe, for mine owne part verily, my* Tiberius, *I am of this minde, That conſidering ſo many difficulties and diſtreſſes: in regard alſo of ſo great ſloath and cowardiſe of Souldiours, no man in the world could performe the ſervice better than you have done. And even they of your traine, who were with you doe all confeſſe, that this verſe may be applied fitly unto you.*

Ἐμὲ καὶ μούσας σὸς τοὺς σοὺς ἴλαθι. thy friends.

(c) *Vnus homo nobis vigilando reſtituit rem.*
One man alone by watchfull ſight
Our tott'ring ſtate hath ſet upright.

And whether, quoth he, *there fall out any occurrent to be conſidered upon with more care and diligence, or whether I bee diſpleaſed and angry at any thing, I have a*

great

great misse, I assure you, of my TIBERIVS: *and evermore that verse of* HOMER *commeth into my remembrance:*

(d) Τόφρα δὶ ἐσ τωμὲν ὀιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο, * Iliad. κ.
ἄμφω νοσήσαιμεν, ἐπὴ περὶ δῶρε νοῆσαι:

Whiles this man beares me company (so well he doth fore-see)
We may ev'n out of flaming fire returne, both I and hee.

When I heare say and read that you are weakened and growne leane with unceſſant and continuall labour, God confound me, if my body doe not quake and tremble. I pray you therefore spare your selfe: least if it come to our eares, that you are sicke, both I and your mother also die for sorrow, and the people of Rome *beside, hazard the Empire. It makes no matter, whether I be in health or no? * if you be not well; The Gods I beseech, to preserve you for us and vouchsafe your health both now and ever, unlesse they hate the people of* Rome *to death.*

* Si tu non valebis: or, si tu modo valebis. So you continue well.

The death of AUGUSTUS hee divulged not abroad, before that young AGRIPPA was slaine. This AGRIPPA was killed by a militarie * Tribune, set and appointed to guard him, so soone as hee had read the writ *, whereby hee was commaunded to doe the deede. This writ, whether AUGUSTUS left behind him when hee died, thereby to take away all matter that might minister tumult after his death: or whether LIVIA in the name of AUGUSTUS endited it, and that with the privity of TIBERIUS, or without his knowledge, it resteth doubtfull. Certaine it is, that when the saide Tribune brought him word, that the thing was dispatched which he had commaunded, he made answere, *That he gave no such commaundement*, and added moreover, *That he should answere it before the Senate*: Declining no doubt the envie and hard conceit of men for the present: for within a while after he buried the matter in silence. 22

* Colonel *Or warrant.

Having nowe assembled the Senate by vertue and authority (a) of his Tribuneship, and begun to make a * speech unto them by way of * Consolation: all on a suddaine, as unable to maister his griefe, he fell into a fit of sighing and groaning: Yea he wished, *That not onely his voice, but his vitall breath also might faile him*: and therewith gave the booke unto his sonne DRUSUS to read it out. After this, when the last will or testament of AUGUSTUS was brought in, and none of the witnesses admitted to come in place, but those onely who were of Senatours degree, the rest standing without the *Curia* & there acknowledging their hands and seales, hee caused it to be read and pronounced by his freed man. The will began in this manner. *For as much as sinister fortune hath bereft me of* CAIUS *and* LUCIUS, *my sonnes, I will that* TIBERIUS CÆSAR *be mine heire, in the one moity and a sixth part*. By which very beginning, their suspition was augmented who thought thus, that seeing he forbare not after this sort to make his preface, hee ordained TIBERIUS to be his successour upon necessity, rather than any iudgement and discretion. 23

*Which hee had penned.
*For the death of *Augustus*.
* That is to say, in 8 parts of twelve, or a third parte

Albeit hee made no doubt to enter upon his imperiall government immediatly and to menage the same, and that by taking unto him a strong guard of Souldiours about his person, that is to say maine force & the very forme of absolute rule & dominion: yet notwithstanding, he refused it a long time: & putting on a most impudent & shamlesse mind, one while he seemed to rebuke his friends that encouraged him thereto, as those who knew not, *what a monstrous and untamed beast an Empire was*: and otherwhiles with ambiguous answeres 24

and crafty delaies holding the Senate in ſuſpence when they beſought him to take it upon him, yea and humbly debaſed themſelves before his knees: in ſo much as ſome of them having their patience moved therewith, could endure him no longer: and one among the reſt in that tumult cried aloude, *Let him either doe it at once, or elſe give over quite*: and another openly to his face upbraided him in theſe words, *Whereas other men be ſlacke in doing and performing that which they have promiſed, he was ſlacke in promiſing that which hee did and performed.* In the end, as if forſooth he had beene compelled, and complaining withall, that there was impoſed upon his ſhoulders a miſerable and burdenſome ſervitude, he tooke the Empire upon him: and yet no otherwiſe, than giving hope, that one day he would reſigne it up. His very words are theſe, *Vntill I come unto that time, wherein yee may thinke it meete to give ſome reſt unto mine aged yeeres.*

25 The cauſe of this holding of & delay that he made, was the feare of imminent dangers on every ſide, in ſo much as he would often ſay, *Hee held a Woolfe by the eares.* For there was one of AGRIPPAES ſlaves named CLEMENS, who had levied & gathered together no ſmall power, for to revenge his Maiſters death: and L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, a noble man, ſecretly complotted ſedition and rebellion: yea, and a two-fold mutinie of the Souldiours aroſe, in *Illyricum* and in *Germanie*. Both the armies called hard upon him for performance of many matters extraordinarily: but above all, that they might have equall pay with the (*a*) Pretorian ſouldiours. And as for the (*b*) Germanician ſouldiours, they verily refuſed him for their Prince and Soveraigne, as not by them ordained: and with all their might and maine urged GERMANICUS, who then was their Generall to take upon him the government of the State, albeit he withſtood & denied them ſtoutly, Fearing therefore the iſſue and danger of this occurrent moſt of all, he required for himſelfe to have that part of the Common-weale in charge, which it ſhould pleaſe the Senate to lay upon him: ſeeing that no man was ſufficient to weld the whole, unleſſe he had another or many aſſiſtants rather ioyned with him. Hee feigned himſelfe alſo to be ſickly, to the end that GERMANICUS might with the better will and more patience abide in expectance either of ſpeedy ſucceſſion after him, or at leaſt waies of fellowſhip in the Empire with him. Well, after hee had appeaſed thoſe mutinies, CLEMENS likewiſe by a fraudulent wile he over-raught, and brought to his devotion. As for LIBO, becauſe he would not be thought at his entrance newly into the Empire for to proceede rigorouſly, two yeeres after and not before he charged & reproved him before the Senate, contenting himſelfe all that meane ſpace to beware of him onely, and to ſtand upon his guard. For, as the ſaid LIBO was together with him among other Pontifies ſacrificing, hee tooke order, that in ſteed of the (yron) cleaver, there ſhould be cloſely laid for him a chopping knife of Lead: And when the ſame LIBO requeſted upon a time to have ſecret talke and conference with him, he would not graunt it, without his ſonne DRUSUS might be by: and ſo long as he walked up & downe with LIBO, he ſeemed to leane upon his hand; and ſo, held it ſure enough all the while untill their communication was ended.

26 But being once delivered frō this feare he caried himſelfe at the beginning very orderly and after a civill ſort, yea and ſomewhat * under the port of a private

* *Paulo minus quā privatum egit*: or, little better than the port, &c.

vate perſon. Of very many dignities and thoſe right honourable, which by publique decree were preſented unto him, he accepted but few, and thoſe of the meaneſt kind. His birth-day-mind, falling out in the time of the Plebeian (*a*) games and plaies exhibited in the Cirque, hee hardly would ſuffer to be celebrated and honoured ſo much as with the addition extraordinarily of one chariot drawne with two Steedes. Hee forbad expreſly, any temples Flamins or Prieſts to be ordained for him, yea and the erection of Statues and images in his honour, without his leave and permiſſion: the which ranne with this onely clauſe and condition, *That they ſhould not be ſet up among the images of the Gods, but ſtand with other ornaments of the houſe*. Hee prohibited alſo by his negative voice the ſolemne oath of obſerving and keeping his Acts inviolably: as alſo to call the moneth * September, TIBERIUS; or * October, LIVIUS. The forename alſo in his ſtile of (*b*) IMPERATOR; the ſurname likewiſe of PATER PATRIÆ; as alſo a (*c*) Civick Coronet at the fore gate or porch of his Palace he refuſed. Nay, the very name of AUGUSTUS, hæreditarie though it were, he would not put as an addition to any of his Epiſtles, but thoſe onely which he ſent unto Kings and great Potentates. Neither bare hee more than three Conſulſhips: the firſt but a few dayes; the ſecond three moneths; the third in his abſence no longer than unto the * Ides of May.

* Or November rather, for in it hee was born, of his own name.
* or September of his mother.
* Frō the Calend or firſt day of Ianuary to the 15 of May.

Hee deteſted flattery and obſequious complements ſo much, as that hee would admit no Senatour to his Licter ſide either by way of dutiful attendance, or otherwiſe about any buſineſſe whatſoever. When a certaine * Conſulare perſon was about to make ſatisfaction unto him, and humbly to entreate and crave pardon by a reverent touching of his knees, he ſtarted and fled from him ſo, as hee fell therewith and * lay along upon his backe. Yea, and that which more is, if in any talke or continued ſpeech there paſſed words of him ſmelling of flatterie, hee would not ſticke to interrupt the ſpeaker, to checke him, and preſently to alter and correct ſuch termes. One there was who called him DOMINUS, that is, *S. but hee gave him warning not to name him any more by way of contumely. Another chaunced to ſay, *His ſacred buſineſſes*: and a third againe, *That he went into the Senate, auctore ſe i. by his warrant or auctoritie*. Hee cauſed them both to change thoſe words, and for *auctore* to ſay *Suaſore*, that is, *by his aaviſe and counſell*: and in ſteede of *Sacred*, to put in, *Laborious* and painfull.

27

* One who had beene Conſull. *Tacitus* ſaith, it was *Quintus Haterius*.
* Whereby, the ſaid *Q. Haterius* had like to have beene killed by the guard.
* Or Lord.

Moreover, againſt railing taunts, bad reports and rumours, as alſo ſlanderous libels, verſes and ſongs caſt out either of himſelfe or thoſe about him, he ſtoode ſo firme and patient, as that ever and anone he would give out, *That in a free ſtate, ſolke ought to have both tongue and thought free*. And when upon a time the Senate called earneſtly unto him, *That ſuch crimes, and the offenders themſelves might be brought indicially into queſtion*; *Wee have not*. quoth hee, *ſo much leaſure as to entangle our ſelves in many affaires. If yee open this window once, yee will ſuffer nothing elſe to be done: for under pretence heereof yee ſhall have the quarrels of every man preferred unto * you*. There is beſides a paſſing civill * Apophthegme of his extant which hee uttered in the Senate. *If ſo be*, quoth he, *that hee ſpeake otherwiſe of mee than well, I will endeavout to give an account of my deedes and wordes, but in caſe hee continue ſo ſtill, I will hate him for it againe*.

28

* *Ad vos. vel ad nos*, ur to us.
* Such as might beſeeme one Citizen to ſpeake of another, and not a Prince of his ſubiects.

29 And these things were so much the more remarqueable in him, for that in
* d. The Senatours. speaking to them * either one by one severally, or to all at once in generall, yea and in reverencing them, himselfe exceeded in a manner the measure of all humanity. When he dissented one day in opinion from Q. HATERIUS in the Senate: *Pardon mee, I beseech you*, quoth hee, *if I as a Senatour shall speake ought over-frankly against you*: and then directing his speech unto the whole house. *Both nowe*, quoth hee, *and many times else, my Lords, this hath beene my saying, That a good and gracious Prince, whom yee have invested in so great and so absolute a power, ought to serve the Senate and all the Citizens generally: often times also, yea and for the most part, every of them particularly. Neither repent I that I have so said, for I have ever found you, and doe so still to be my good, my gracious and favourable Lords.*

30 Furthermore, he brought in a certaine shew of the common Libertie, by preserving entier for the Senate and Magistrates, both their auncient maiestie and also their authority: neither was there any matter so small or so great, pertaining to publique or private affaires, but proposed it was at the Counsell-table before the Senatours: as namely, about Tributes, Customes and Revenewes of the State: of Monopolies: of building and repairing any publique works: of enrolling or discharging Souldiours: of setting downe the number as well of Legions as of auxiliarie forces: Finally, who should have their place of commaund and government continued by a new commission? or take the charge of extraordinary warres? as also what, in what forme they thought it good to write againe, & to answere letters sent by Kings? A certaine Captaine over a * cornet of horse-men, being accused for an outrage and for robberie, he compelled to make his answere before the * Senate. Hee never entred the *Curia* but alone. And being one time brought in sicke within his litter, (*a*) he caused all his traine and company to void.

*Or wing.
*Whereas by course he should have had his triall before the Lord Generall, or prince himselfe.

31 That some Decrees were enacted against his minde and sentence, hee never once complained, nor found himselfe grieved. Notwithstanding hee opined, that Magistrates appointed to any charge, ought not to bee absent; to the end that by their presence they might the better intend their function and calling: yet one Pretour elect, obtained the favour of a free * (*a*) embassage. Againe, when he advised in the * *Otriculanes* behalfe a graunt, that they might bestowe the money in paving a cawsie or high-way, which was by legacie given to the building of a new Theater: hee could not prevaile but that the will of the Testator should stand and be fulfilled. When it fortuned upon a time that an Act of the Senate should passe by going to a side, and himselfe went over to the other part where the fewer in number were, there was not one that followed him. Other matters also were handled and debated by the Magistrates and the ordinarie course of lawe, and not otherwise: Wherein the Consuls bare so great sway and authority, that certaine Embassadors out of *Africk* repaired unto them for dispatch, as complaining that they were put-of and delayed by CÆSAR unto whom they had beene sent. And no mervaile: For evident it was, that himselfe also would arise up unto the saide Consuls and give them the way.

*Liberam legationem.
*Or Trebians

32 Hee rebuked Generalls of Armies even such as had beene Consuls for not writing

writing unto the Senate of their warre exploites: alſo for conſulting with him and asking his adviſe as touching the graunt of * militarie giftes, as if it lay not in their owne power to give and diſpoſe all. Hee commended a Pretour for bringing uppe againe the auncient cuſtome, in the entraunce of his gouernment, to make an honourable mention and reherſall of his Anneſtours before a frequent aſſembly of the people. The funerall obſequies of certaine Noble perſonages, he accompanied with the common multitude to the very (*a*) fire. The like moderation he ſhewed in meaner perſons and matters both when hee had called foorth unto him the Magiſtrates of the *Rhodians*, for delivering unto him publike letters from the State without the due (*b*) ſubſcription, he gave them not ſo much as one hard worde but onely commanded them to ſubſcribe and ſent them away. DIOGENES the profeſſed *Grammarian*, who was wont to *diſpute and diſcourſe at *Rhodes* every * Sabbath, had put him backe and would not admit him into his ſchoole comming of purpoſe extraordinarily to here him, but by his page poſted him of untill the 7. day. Nowe when the ſame DIOGENES ſtood waiting before his gate at *Rome* to doe his dutie and to ſalute him, he quit him no otherwiſe than thus, namely by warning him to repaire thither againe 7. yeares after: when the preſidentes and governours abroad gave him counſell to burden the provinces with heavie tributes and taxes he wrote backe unto them. *That it was the part of a good ſhepheard to ſheare his ſheepe and not to flay them:*

*As collars, Cheines, pearles, chaplets &c.

*or readé a lecture.

*once a weeke or every 7. day

By little and little he put himſelfe forth and ſhewed his princely maieſty; how ever for a long time, in ſome variety, yet for the moſt part, rather mild and gratious than otherwiſe, and more inclined to the good of the common wealth: and at the firſt, thus far forth onely interpoſed he his abſolute power & inhibition, *That nothing ſhould be done* vniuſtly.* Therfore he both repealed certaine conſtitutions of the Senate, & alſo very often, when the Magiſtrates were ſitting judicially upon the Bench, to decide matters, he would offer himſelfe to joyne as it were in counſell and to be aſſiſtant with them, or elſe juſt over againſt them in the fore part (of the Tribunall.) And if the rumour went that any defendant were like by favour to eſcape cleere; all on a ſodaine, he would be in place, and either on the (*a*) ground below, or elſe from the Tribunall ſeat of the L. chiefe Iuſtice, put the other Iudges and Iurie in mind of the lawes, of their conſcience and religion, and of the crime whereupon they ſat. Alſo if any thing were amiſſe and faultie in the publike ordinances and manners of the Cittie, forlet by occaſion of idleneſſe or taken up through evill cuſtome, he undertooke to reforme the ſame. 33

*Beſide the rule of law.

He abridged and reſtrained the expenſes of Stage playes and *games exhibited unto the people, by cutting ſhort the wages paied to Actours uppon the ſtage, and reducing the couples of ſword fencers to a certaine number. That *Corinthian* veſſels & manufactures grew to an exceeding high rate, & that three barbels were ſold for 30000. ſeſterces, he grievouſly complained, and gave his opinion, that there ſhould be a gage ſet, and a mediocritie kept in houſhold furniture: as alſo that the price of victuals in open market ſhould be ordred yeerly at the diſcretion of the Senate, with a charge given unto the *Aediles* for to inhibite victualling houſes, tavernes, and thus farre foorth, as they ſhould not ſuffer any paſtry-workes (*a*) to be ſet out to ſale: And to the end, that by his owne ex- 34

*Of ſword-fencers.

ample also, he might put forward the publike frugalitie, himselfe at his solemne and festivall suppers caused oftentimes to be served vp to the bord, Viands dressed the day before and those halfe eaten alreadie, saying. *That the side of a wild Bore had init all the same that the whole.* He forbad expressely by an Edict, the usuall and daily kisses commonly given and taken: likewise the intercourse of new yeares gifts sent to and fro: Namely, that it should not continue after the Calends of Ianuarie. He had wont to bestow for his part a new yeares gift foure fold worth that which he received, and to give the same with his owne hand: but being offended that a whole moneth together hee was in his other affaires troubled with such as had not beene with him, nor felt his liberalitie uppon the verie feast, hee never gave any againe after the saide day.

35 Wives of leawd and dishoneſt life, if their wanted accusers to call them publikely into question, his advise and sentence was, that their next kinsfolke should, * *more maiorum* agree together in common, for to chastice and punish. He dispensed with a gentleman of *Rome* for his oath (who had sworne before, *never to divorce his wife*) and gave him leave to put her away being taken in adulterie with her * sonne in law. Certaine women infamous for whoredome and filthinesse, began to professe before the *Aediles* bawderie: to the ende, that having by this base trade and occupation lost the right priviledge and dignitie of matrones, they might delude the * lawes (*a*) and avoide the penalties thereof. Semblably, out of the youth of both * degrees, the leawdest spendthrifts of all other, because they would not be liable to an Act of the Senate in that behalfe, for performing their parts iu acting upon the stage, or their devoir * within the lists, wilfully underwent the ignominious not of * infamie. But, as well them, as those light women aforesaid he banished all: that none ever after should by such delusion of the law seeke evasion. He tooke from a *Senatour his robe, after he knew once, that iust before the Calends of (*b*) Iulie hee remooved out of his dwelling house into certaine * Hortyardes and gardens, to the end that when the said day was past, he might take his house againe within the Citie at a lower rent. Another he deprived of his Questureship for that having (as it were) by lotterie, chosen and married a wife the one day, he dismissed her on * another.

36 All foraine ceremonies in Religion: the *Aegyptian* also and the *Iewish* rites he prohibited: compelling * those who were given to that Superstition, for to burne all their religious vestiments: the instruments likewise & furniture what soever thereto belonging. The serviceable youth of the *Iewes*, under colour of a militarie oth he sent into sundrie prouinces which were in a pestilent (*a*) and unhol-some aire above others: the rest of that Nation or such as were addicted to the like religiō, he banished out of *Rome*, upon paine of perpetuall bondage if they obeyed not. He expelled also Astrologers: but u pon their ernest intreatie and promise to give over the practise of that Art, he permitted them there to remaine.

37 A speciall care he had to keepe the peace, and to preserve the state frō outrages & robberies, as also from licentious mutinies & seditions. The set guards and garisons of soldiers, hee disposed thicker than the wonted manner was, throughout all Italie. Hee otdained a standing * Campe at *Rome*, wherein the

*According to the maner and custome of their auncestours.
*That married her daughter.
*Iulie &c. *de Adulteriis.*
*As well Senatours as gentlemen.
*In sword-fight at the sharpe.
*By committing some leawd parts
*He deprived him from his Senatours place.
*Without the Cittie.
*i. The morrow: his levitie was notable as well in making choise so slightly, as in casting her of so quickely, making but a game of marriage
*Romaine Citizens.
*Neere unto the wals thereof as *Plinie* writeth. Lib. 4. cap. 5. Nat. Hist.

the *Prætorian* Cohorts wandering up and downe before that time & dispersed in diverse Innes and *Hostelries*, might be received. All Insurrections of the people he punished most sharply; hee tooke likewise much paines to prevent such commotions. There happened upon some discord and variance to be a murder cõmitted in the *Theatre*: But the principal heads of the factiõ, as also the actours themselnes for whose sake the quarrel and fray began, he exiled: neither could he ever be brought for any prayer and intreatie of the people to revoke and restore them. When the Commons of *Pollentia* would not suffer the dead corps of a certaine principall *Centurian* to be carried with funerall obsequies out of their market place, before they had forcibly extorted out of his heires hands a peece of money to the setting out of a game of Fencers with unrebated swords, he tooke one Cohort from *Rome*, and another out of K. *COTIVS Kingdome, dissimuling the cause of this journey, and sodainely discovering their armes and weapons which they closely carried, and giving alarum with sound of trumpets, all at once he put them into the Towne with banner displayed at sundrie gates and so cast into perpetuall prison the greater part of the Commons and *Decurions. The priviledge and custome of Sanctuaries, where ever they were, he abolished. The *Cyzicenes* who had committed some notorious out-rage & violence vpon *Romaine* Citizens, he deprived generally of their freedom, which in the warre against MITHRIDATES they had by their good service gotten. The rebellions of enemies he repressed: not undertaking therefore, any expedition afterwards himselfe, but by his lieutenant onely: and not by them verily without lingring delayes, and driven thereto of necessitie. Kings that rebellously tooke armes, or were suspected to breake out, hee kept downe with threats rather and complaints, than otherwise by force and open hostilitie. Some of them, whome hee had trained out of their owne Realmes unto him with faire words and large promises hee never sent home againe: as by name MARABODUUS the *Germaine*, THRASYPOLIS a *Thracian*: and ARCHELAVS the *Cappadocian*, whose kingdome also he reduced into the forme of a province.

*A petie king about the *Alpes*.

*Senatours, or Aldermen.

For two yeares together after he came unto the Empire, hee never set foote once out of *Rome* gates. And the time ensuing, hee absented not himselfe in no place unlesse it were in townes neere adioyning, or as farre as *Antium* when he trauailed farthest: and that was verie seldome and for a few dayes: albeit he promised and pronounced openly oftentimes that hee would visite the provinces also and armies abroade: yea and everie yeare almost hee made preparation for a journey, taking up all the waines and wagons that were to be gotten, and laying provision of Corne and victuals in all the good Burroughes & Colonies by the way, yea and at the last suffered vowes to be made for his going forth and returne home: in so much as commonly by way of a jest and by-worde, hee was called (*a*) CALLIPPIDES, who in a Greeke proverbe is noted to bee alwaies running, and yet never gaineth ground one cubit forward. 38

But being bereft of both his sonnes, of which *GERMANICVS died in *Syria*, and *DRVSVS at *Rome*, he withdrew himselfe into *Campania*, as to a retyring place: and all men well neere, were fully perswaded and spake it as constantly, that he would never returne but die soone after, Both which had like 39

*Adopted.
*Naturall.
A.V.C. 779.

like indeede to have come to paſſe. For, in truth he never came againe to *Rome*: and within ſome few dayes, neere unto *Tarracina*, in a certaine part of his mannour houſe (built eſpecially for his owne lodging) and called *Spelunca*, as hee ſat there at ſupper, a number of huge ſtones from above chaunced to fall down: whereby many of his gueſtes at the Table and ſervitours there waitinge were cruſhed and ſquized to death; but hee himſelfe beyonde all hope eſcaped,

40 Having made his progreſſe over *Campania*, when he had dedicated a Capitol at *Capua*, and the Temple of AVGVSTVS at *Nola*, which hee pretended to have beene the motive of his journey, he betooke himſelfe to *Capreæ*: delighted eſpecially with that Iland becauſe there was but one way of acceſſe unto it and the ſame by a ſmall ſhore and landing place: as being otherwiſe encloſed round about, partly with craggy rockes & ſteepe cliffes of an exceeding height: and in part with the deepe ſea. But ſoone after, when the people called him home, and unceſſantly beſought him to returne, by occaſion of an unhappie & heauy accident, wherby at *Fideny* xx.* thouſand folke and more, at a ſolemn fight of ſword players periſhed by fall of an Amphitheater, he paſſed over into the maine and firme land, permitting all men to come unto him: the rather, for that when he firſt ſet forth and went out of *Rome*, he had given ſtreight commandement by an Edict that no man ſhould trouble him, and all the way voided as many as were comming towards him.

*Strangers that conflowed thither to ſee the ſhowes.

41 Being retired againe into the ſaid Iſle, he caſt aſide all care verily of Common weale; ſo farre forth as never after he did ſo much as repaire and make up the broken decuries of horſe men: Hee chaunged no militarie Tribunes nor Captaines: no nor any preſidents and Governours of Provinces. He held *Spaine* and *Syria* both, for certaine yeares, without Conſulare Lieutenantes: hee neglected *Armenia* and ſuffered it to bee overrunne and poſſeſſed by the *Parthians*: *Maſia* to be waſted and ſpoyled by the *Dakes* and *Sarmatians*, as alſo *Gaule* by the *Germanes*, to the great ſhame and no leſſe daunger of the whole Empire.

42 To proceede, having now gotten the libertie of this ſecret place, and being as one would ſay remooved from the eyes of people: at lenght hee poured foorth and ſhewed at once all thoſe vices which with much a do for a longe time he had cloked and diſſimuled. Of which I will particularize and make relation from the very beginning. In the Campe when hee was but a newe and untrained ſouldier, for his exceſſiue greedineſſe of wine bibbing, hee was for (*a*) TIBERIVS named BIBERIVS; for CLAVDIVS, CALDIVS: for NERO, MERO: After being Emperour, even at the very time when hee was buſie in reforming the publike manners and miſdemeanour (of the Cittie) he ſpent with POMPONIVS FLACCVS and L. PISO one whole night and two dayes in *gluttonie and drunkenneſſe, unto the former of theſe twaine he preſently gave the governement of the province *Siria*: uppon the other hee conferred the Provoſtſhip of *Rome*, profeſſing even in all his letters and writings; *That they were moſt pleaſant companions and friends at all aſſaies*. To* SEX. CLAVDIVS a *Senex* fornicatour and prodigal dingthrift, who had in times paſt been by AVGVSTVS put to ignominie and ſhame, yea and by himſelfe ſome fewe dayes before rebuked before the Senate, he ſent word, that hee would take a ſupper with

*In eating and drinking.

*Or *Seſtius Gallus*.

with him: uppon this condition, *that he altered nothing, nor left ought out of his ordinarie and customed manner*: and namely, *that wenches all naked should serue at the Table*. He preferred one to be a competitour for the Questorship, who was a most base and obscure person, before others that were right noble gentlemen: onely for carousing and drinking up at a banquet, a whole (*b*) *Amphor* of wine when he *dranke unto him. Vnto Asellivs Sabinvs he gave 200000. Sesterces for a diologue of his making, in which he brought in a combate or disputation, betweene the *Mushrome*, the (*c*) *Ficedula* the *Oister* and the (*d*) *Thrush*. To conclude, he instituted a new office, forsooth, * *a voluptatibus*, wherein he placed Priscus a gentleman of *Rome*, and one who had beene Censor.

* Or tendered it unto him.

* For the devising of newe pleasures. &c.

But during the time of his private abode in *Capreæ*, he devised a roome with seates and benches in it, even a place of purpose for his secret wanton lusts. To furnish it there were sought out and gathered from all parts, a number of youngs drabbes and stale Catamites, sorted together: such also as invented monstrous kinds of libidinous filthinesse, whom he termed *Spintriæ*: who being in three rankes or rewes linked together should abuse and pollute one anothers bodie before his face: that by the verie sight of them he might stirre up his owne cold courage and fainting lust. Hee had bed-chambers besides, in many places, which he adorned with tables and petie puppets: representing in the one sort, most lascivious pictures, and in the other as wanton shapes and figures. He stored them likewise with the bookes of *Elephantis*: that none might be to seeke for a patterne of the semblable forme and fashion, in that beastly businesse performed in everie kind. He devised in the woods also and groves here and there, certaine places for lecherie and venereous Acts: wherein he had within caves and holow rockes youthes of both sexes standing at receit readie prostitute, in habit of *Paniskes* and *Nymphes*; In so much as now men in open place, abusing the vulgar name of the Iland, termed him usually, **Caprineus*.

43

* or *Caprinicus* or *Caprouens.*

44

He incurred yet the infamie of greater and more shamefull filthinesse, such as may not well be named or heard, and much lesse beleeved: to wit, that hee should traine up and teach fine boyes the tendereſt and daintiest that might be had (whom he called his little fishes) to converse and play betweene his thighes as he was swimming, and pretily with tongue and teeth seeme to make unto his secret parts, and there to nibble: Whom likewise, as babes of good grouth and strength, howbeit as yet not weaned, he should set unto his privie member as unto the nipple of a breast, to sucke. And verily, both by nature and for his yeares, more prone he was and given to lust in this * kind. Therefore, whereas a certaine painted table of Parrasivs making, (in which Atalanta yeldeth her mouth unto Meleager in that beastlinesse) was given unto him as a legacie: upon condition, that if he were offended with the argument or matter represented therein, he might in lieu thereof receive a millian of Sesterces, hee not onely preferred the saide picture before such a summe of monie, but also dedicated it in his owne bed-chamber. It is reported besides, that being at sacrifice upon a time, he casting a fansie to the beautifull and well favoured face of a youth and servitour as he carried before him the * Censer, coulde not containe, but immediatly and before the complements of sacrifice were

* *Irrumasio*,

* Or incense pan.

well

well and fully performed, even there and then, take him aside out of the place and so abuse his bodie: and together with him a brother of his, the minstrel: yea and soone after, for that they twitted and upbraided one another for this abominable act, he brake their legges both.

45 Moreover, in what sort he was wont to offer abuse unto the very heads of women, and those nobly borne and of good reputation, appeared most evidently by the wofull end of one dame named MALLONIA. For when shee was by force brought unto his bed, and most resolutely, to die for it, refused to suffer any more, than naturally a woman was to suffer: hee suborned certaine promoters falshly to accuse her: and evermore as she pleaded in her owne defence asked her still, *whether shee repented not yet of her Obstinacie?* which hee followed so long, untill at length shee left the Court, made hast home to her house, and there ranne her selfe through with a *sword: after shee had openly and aloud reproched the shaghaired and rammish old churle with his filthy & beastly mouth. Wherupon in a by-enterlude called, *Atellanicum Exodium*, this infamous and shamefull Note, received with exceeding great accorde, was rife and currant abroade in everie mans mouth, *That the olde bucke-goat was licking the *nature of the does (or females.)*

*Or dagger.

*Or shape, as the kinds of such beasts to do.

46 Being a very niggard of his purse, and one that would part with nothing, he never maintained those of his traine in all his journies and expeditions with any wages or set *salaries, but found their meate and victuals onely: yet must I needes say, that once out of his father in lawes Indulgence and bounty, he bestowed uppon them a peece of liberalitie: when having raunged them according to the worthinesse of everie one into three rankes, he dealt among those of the first 600000. sesterces: of the second 400000: of the third 200000: And the same called he the *companie, not of his friends but *Gratorũ i.* of his *thankfull favourits.*

*Inmonie.

*Or ranke.

*Some reade *Græcorum i.* of Greekes by way of contẽpt

47 All the whiles he was Emperour, neither built he any stately workes: (For the verie temple of *AVGVSTVS, and the reedification of POMPEIVS Theatre which onely and none else he had undertaken, after so many yeares he left unfinished) nor exhibited so much as one solemne shew unto the people: and at those which were by any other set out, he was very seldome present; and all for feare least some thing should be demanded at his hands: & namely after that he was compelled once to manumise the *Comedian* * *Actius*. Having releeved the want and povertie of some Senatours, because he would not helpe more of them, he denied to succour any other than those, who alledged before the Senate good and just causes of their necessities. By which deede of his he frighted the most part upon a modestie and bashfulnesse in them: & among the rest, one ORTALVS, the nephew of Q. HORTENSIVS the professed Oratour, who being of a very meane estate had begotten foure children, by the meanes *and perswasion of AVGVSTVS.

*At Rome:

*An Actour in a Comædie.

*He had maried a young wife upon hope of maintenance by vertue of the lawes *Papia Poppæa*, and *Iulia*.

48 As touching his publike munificence, he never shewed it but twice: once, when he purposed and published a free lone for 3. yeares of an hundred millians of Sesterces: & againe, when unto certaine Land-lords of faire houses and tenements, which situate upon mount *Cælius*, were consumed with fire, he restored the full price and worth of them. One of these Boones he was forced to grant, by reason that the people in great want of monie called earnestly for

for his helpe: what time as by vertue of an Act of Senate hee had ordained, That Vsurers should lay out two (third) parts of their * Stock in lands, tenements and appurtenances immoveable: the Debtours likewise make present payment of two parts of their debts; and yet the thing * was not done and dispatched accordingly: The other, for to mitigate the greevousnesse of those * heavie times. Howbeit this (latest) beneficence of his he so highly prised, that he commaunded the name of *Mount Cælius* to be changed and called AVGVSTVS. The Legacies given by AVGVSTVS in his last will unto the Souldiours being once * published, he never after bestowed any Largesse upon them: saving that among those of the * *Prætorium* hee dealt one thousand Deniers a peece; in & to the Legions in *Syria* certaine gifts, for that they alone among all their Ensignes in the field honoured no * image at all of SEIANVS. Moreover, he made very seldome any * discharges of olde Souldiours: as expecting upon age their death, and by death gaping for some gaine and vantage. Neither succored he the very Provinces with his bountiful hand, except it were *Asia*, by occasion that certaine Cities * therein were by earthquake overthrowne.

* Or patrimonie
* That thereby the money might come abroad.
* Paid his paid.
* For then it was that xx thousand were killed at Fidenæ by the fall of a Theater.
* *Publicata*.
* Or Guard.
* As of their Generall.
* With allowance of lands, fees or yearely Pensions for their service.
* In number as *Plinius lib. 2. cap. 84. Eusebius Chronic. 13.*

49 Afterwards, and in processe of time he gave his mind wholly even to rapine and plaine pillage. It is for certaine knowne, That CN. LENTVLVS the *Augur*, a man of exceeding great wealth, for very feare & anguish of mind was by him driven to a loathing and wearinesse of his owne life; and at his death to make no other heire but himselfe: That dame LEPIDA likewise, a right noble Lady was condemned by him, to gratifie * QVIRINVS, one that had beene Consull, but passing (*a*) rich and * childlesse withall: who having before time put her away beeing his wedded wife, twenty yeeres after called her iudicially into question, and laid to her charge, that long agoe she had bought and provided poison for to take away his life. Besides, as well knowne it is, that certaine Princes and Potentates of *Gaule*, *Spaine*, *Syria* and *Greece*, forfaited their estates upon so slight a slaunder and impudent imputation, that against some of them nought else was obiected but this, That they had part of their substance and wealth * lying in money: yea and that many Cities and private persons lost their auncient immunities and priviledges, as also their right in mines and mettals, Tolls and customes: and finally that VONONES a King of the Parthians who beeing driven out of his kingdome by his owne subiects, retired himselfe with an huge masse of Treasure into *Antiochia*, under the protection, as it were, of the people of *Rome*, was perfidiously stript out of all and killed.

* Her husband
* And therfore he hoped to be his heire.
* more than by law they might

The hatred that hee bare to his kinsfolke and neere Allies, hee bewraied, first in his brother DRVSVS by disclosing a letter of his: wherein hee dealt with him about compelling AVGVSTVS to restore the common Libertie: afterwardes, in others also. As for his wife IVLIA, so farre was he from shewing any courtesie or kindnesse unto her when she stoode confined (which had beene the least matter of a thousand) that whereas by an Ordinance of her fathers, shee was shut up within one Towne, hee gave straight order that shee should not steppe out of dores, and enioy the Societie of people and worldlie commerce: nay, hee proceeded so farre, as to bereave her of that little stocke and household-stuffe which her Father allowed her: yea, and defrauded her of the yeerely Pension and exhibition for her maintenaunce:

50

and all, forsooth, under a colour of common right and law; because AUGUSTUS in his last will and testament had not expressly provided in this behalfe. Being not able well to endure his mother LIVIA, as chalenging to her selfe equall part with him in power and authority, hee avoided both to keepe ordinary and daily company, and also to entertaine long speech or secret conference with her; because hee might not be thought ruled and directed by her counsailes; which otherwhiles notwithstanding he was wont both to stand in neede of, and also to use. Semblably, he tooke to the very heart the passing of this Act in the Senate, *That in his stile as he had the title, sonne of* AUGUSTUS, *so this addition should runne withall sonne of* LIVIA. And therefore it was, that he would not suffer her to be named * PARENS PATRIÆ, nor to receive any remarkable honour in open place and by publique decree. Oftentimes also he admonished her to forbeare intermedling in greater affaires, and such as were not meet for women; especially after he perceived once, that when the Temple of *Vesta* was on fire, she also came thither in person among others, & there encouraged the people and souldiours both, to doe their best and help all what they could, as her manner was to doe in her husbands dayes.

* Mother of her Country.

51

By these degrees he proceeded even to secret rancour & malice against her, but chiefly upon this occasion, as men report. She had been very earnest with him many a time to enrole one in the (*a*) Decuries of the Iudges who was made free Denizen & Citizen of *Rome*: but he denied flatly to choose and admit the party, unlesse it were upon this onely condition, That she would suffer a clause to be written & annexed to the Instrument * or Roll, in these words, *This graunt was by my mother wrung and wrested from me.* Whereat she highly displeased and offended, brought forth out of her Closet & Cabinet certaine old letters of AUGUSTUS (written) unto her, as touching his perverse, bitter and intollerable manners; and those she openly read. He againe tooke the matter so greevously, that she had both kept those writings so long by her, and also cast them in his dish so spitefully, that some thinke this was the greatest cause of his departure from the Citie. And verily, for the space of three yeeres compleat, during which time hee was absent and his mother living, hee sawe her but once: and that was no more than one day, and very fewe howers of the same. And afterwards as little minde hee had to be by her lying sicke: and when shee was dead, suffering her corps by staying so long above ground (whiles men hoped still of his comming) to corrupt at length and putrifie: after shee was enterred, he forbad that she should be canonized and regiſtred in the Catalogue of Saints: pretending as if she her selfe had given that order. Her will hee annulled, all her friends and familiars, even those unto whom upon her deathbed she had committed the charge of her Funerals, within a short time he persecuted and plagued, yea and one of them, to wit, a worshipfull Gentleman of *Rome*, he condemned to the * pumpe.

* *Quorum nomina*, or such like.

* Or wheele & bucket: in *Antiam*: Some read, *in Antiliam*, or *Anticyrã*, an Iland: or else *Lacunam*, a dungeon in the common prison.

52

Of his two sonnes, hee loved neither DRUSUS that was by nature, nor GERMANICUS by adoption, as a father should doe; as taking offence at the vices of the * one. For DRUSUS was of an effeminate minde; given to a loose and idle life. Therefore was not TIBERIUS so neerely touched and grieved for him beeing dead; but presently after his funerall, returned to his

* Of *Drusus*.

his ordinarie and accuſtomed buſineſſe prohibiting vacation * of Iuſtice to continue any longer. Moreover, when the *Ilienſian* Embaſſadours came ſomwhat with the lateſt to comfort him; he, (as if now by this time the memorie of his ſorrow had beene cleane worne out,) ſcoffed at them and made this anſwere, *That hee likewiſe was ſorie in their behalfe for the loſſe they had of* HECTOR, *ſo noble and brave a Citizen.* As for GERMANICUS, he depraved and diſgraced him ſo, as that not onely he did extenuate and diminiſh all his worthy exploits as mere vaine and needleſſe, but alſo blamed his moſt glorious victories, as daungerous and hurtfull to the Common-wealth. Alſo, for that without his adviſe, hee went unto *Alexandria*, (by occaſion of an extreame and ſuddaine famine) hee complained of him in the Senate: yea, and it is verily beleeved, he was the cauſe of his death, and uſed the meanes of CN. PISO, Lieutenant of *Syria*; who ſoone after beeing accuſed of this crime, would (as ſome thinke) have uttered abroad thoſe directions and warrants that hee had ſo to doe: but that SEIANUS ſecretly withſtood it. For which, TIBERIUS was oftentimes and in many places much * blamed, and in the night ſeaſon commonly called upon with this crie and note, *Redde Germanicum. i.* Giue us GERMANICUS againe. The ſuſpition whereof himſelfe afterwardes confirmed and made good, by afflicting in cruell manner the wife alſo and children of the ſaid GERMANICUS.

* *Iuſtitium*, as the maner was in any mournfull time.

* *Ni Seianus ſecreto obſtaret*: or, *Niſi ea ſecreta obſtarent*. i. but that they were in ſecret delivered, and therefore could not be proved.

53

Furthermore, his daughter * in law AGRIPPINA, for complaining overboldly of him after the death of her husband, he tooke by the hand, and recited unto her a (*a*) Greeke verſe to this effect, *If thou haſt not ſoveraine Rule and Dominion*, quoth he, *Thinkeſt thou pretty daughter that thou art wronged? and ſo vouchſafed her no ſpeech at all after.* Alſo, becauſe upon a time, when ſhee durſt not at ſupper taſt of thoſe appels which he had reached unto her, he forbare to invite her any more; pretending, that ſhe charged him with the crime of attempting her with poiſon: when as in deede, it was of purpoſe plotted & packed aforehand, both that himſelfe ſhould by the offring of ſuch fruit tempt her, and ſhe againe beware moſt preſent and aſſured death. At the laſt, having untruly accuſed her, as if ſhee minded to flie one while to the Statue of AUGUSTUS, and another while to the Armies, hee confined and ſent her away to the Iſle *Pandataria*; and as ſhee railed at him, hee by the hands of a Centurion with whipping and laſhing her over the face ſtrucke out one of her eyes. Againe, when as ſhee was fully determined to pine her ſelfe to death: hee cauſed her mouth perforce to bee opened, and meate to be crammed into her throate: Yea, and after that by continuance in this minde ſhee conſumed quite away and died in the end, hee inveighed againſt her in moſt odious and reproachfull termes: having opined firſt in the Senate, that her birth day alſo ſhould bee reckoned among the diſmall and unlucky dayes. Furthermore, he expected thankes, as for an high favour done unto her, in that hee ſtrangled her not before with a cord, and ſo flung her to the * (*b*) *Gemonia*, and in regard of ſuch a ſingular clemencie as this, hee ſuffred a Decree to paſſe, *That thankes ſhould bee given unto him, and a Preſent of Golde conſecrated unto* IUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

* *Increpitum*: others read *inſcriptum i.* This inſcription was in many places ſet upon his Statues.

* *Germanicus* his adopted ſonnes wife, & daughter to *Agrippa* and *Iulia*.

* *Scala.*

Whereas by GERMANICUS he had three nephewes, NERO, DRUSUS & CAIUS; 54

CAIUS; by DRUSUS one, to wit TIBERIUS, when he was left destitute and fatherlesse by the death of his children, the two eldest sonnes of GERMANICUS, namely NERO and DRUSUS, he recommended to the LL. of the Senate; and celebrated the day of both their Commencements with giving a * Congiarie to the people. But no sooner understoode he, that upō New-yeeres-day there had beene publique vowes made by the Citie for their life also and preservation, but he gave the Senate to understand, *That such honours ought not to be conferred upon any persons, but those that were experienced and farre stept in yeeres.* Thereby, having discovered the inward character and canker of his hart, from that day forward hee exposed them to the slaunders and imputations of all men: When also, by sundry subtile devises hee had wrought so, that they might bee both provoked to give railing taunts, and also beeing so provoked come to mischiefe and destruction; he accused them in his letters, heaped most bitterly upon them hainous reproaches, caused them to be iudged enemies to the State, and so hunger-starved them to death; NERO, within the Isle *Pontia*, and DRUSUS at the very foote and bottome of *Palatium*. Men think that NERO was driven to * worke his owne death, what time as the * Hangman, as sent by a warrant from the Senate, presented unto him halters * and hookes. As for DRUSUS, kept he was from all foode and sustenance: in so much as hee gave the attempt to eate the very flockes that stuffed the * mattresse whereupon hee lay: And the * reliques of them both, were so dispersed and scattred abroade, that hardly they could be ever gathered together.

* Or Largesse.

* To famish his owne selfe wilfully.
* Or executioner.
* To strangle him, and drag him to the *Scala Gemoniæ*.
* Or bed.
* Bones and ashes which was done by him of spight.

55

Over and above his olde friends and familiars, hee had demaunded twenty out of the number of the best and principall Citizens, as Counsailours and Assistants unto him in publique affaires. Of all these, hee could hardly shewe twaine or three at the most alive: the rest, some for one cause and some for another he brought to confusion and killed: among whom (with the calamity and overthrow of many more) was ÆLIUS SEIANUS, whom hee had to the highest place of authoritie advaunced, not so much for any good will, as to be his instrument and right hand, by whose ministerie and fraudulent practises he might circumvent the children of GERMANICUS, and so establishe as heire apparent in succession of the Empire the Nephew he had by DRUSUS, as his naturall sonne.

56

No milder was he one iote unto the Greeke Professours and Artists, living and conversing daily with him, and in whom hee tooke most contentment. One of them named ZENO, as hee reasoned and discoursed very * exactly of a question he asked, *What harsh Dialect * that was, wherein he spake?* and when hee answered, *It was the Dorick*, he confined him for his labour into *Cynaria*, supposing that he twitted and reproached him for his olde vacation and absence from *Rome* because the *Rhodians* spake *Dorick*. Semblably, whereas his manner was out of his owne daily readings, to propound certaine questions as hee sate at supper: having intelligence, That SELEUCUS the Grammarian enquired diligently of his Ministers and Servitours, what Authors at any time hee had in hand, and so came prepared to assoile the saide questions, first hee forbad him his house and ordinarie Societie, afterwards hee forced him even to death.

* Or curiously.

His

His cruell, cloſe and unpliable nature was not hidden no not in his verie childhood: the which THEODORUS GADARÆUS his teacher in Rhetorick, ſeemed both at firſt to fore-ſee moſt wiſely, and alſo to expreſſe and reſemble as fitly, when by way of chiding and rebuke hee called him ever and anone *Pelon Haimati Pephuramenon*; *i.* * clay ſoaked * in bloud. But the ſame brake out & appeared ſomewhat more, when he became Emperour, at the very beginning: what time as yet he lay for to win the love and favour of men, with a pretence of civill moderation. A certaine *Buffon there was, who as a Funerall paſſed by, had willed the party whoſe body was caried forth, to report unto AUGUSTUS, *That his Legacies were not yet payed and delivered, which hee had left for the Commons of Rome.* Him, he cauſed to be haled and brought unto his preſence, to receive alſo the debt which was due: and then commaunded him to be led to execution, and ſo to relate the truth unto his father (AUGUSTUS). Not long after as he threatned to ſend unto priſon one POMPEIUS a Romaine Knight, for ſtoutly denying ſome thing, hee aſſured him, *That of a* POMPEIUS *he would make him a* POMPEIANUS, glauncing by this bitter and biting taunt, both at the mans name & alſo at the old infortunity of *that ſide. 57

*Or mire?
*Clay ſo tempered becommeth verie ſtrong, tough and ſtiffe.
* A ſcoffing ieſter.
* *Elato mortuo*, or *clare mortuo*, *i.* with a loude voice called upon the dead man, &c.
. The Pompeiani, that tooke part with Pompeius againſt Iulius Cæſar.
. High treaſon.

58 About the ſame time, when the Pretour came to know of him, whether his pleaſure was to holde the iudiciall Aſſizes, as touching the caſe of *Maieſtie, or no? he made anſwere, *That the Lawes muſt have their courſe and be put in execution*: and in very truth he executed them with extreame rigour. There was one who from the Statue of AUGUSTUS had taken away the head, for to ſet the ſame upon the Statue of another. The matter was debated in the Senate: and becauſe ſome doubt aroſe, Who did the deed? inquiſition was made by torture. The party delinquent being condemned; this kind of Calumniation by little and little proceeded ſo farre, that ſuch points as theſe alſo were made capitall crimes: Namely, to have beaten a ſlave, about the* image of AUGUSTUS. Item, if a man had ſhifted his (*a*) apparell & put on other clothes (about the ſaid Image). Item to have brought into any privie or brothelhouſe *his image imprinted either in money or ring. Laſtly, to have empaired any word or deede of his, in the leaſt credite and reputation that might bee. To conclude, it coſt one his life, for ſuffering in his owne Colonie, honours to be decreed unto him, upon the ſame day, that they had in times paſt beene decreed for AUGUSTUS.

* Fled thither for refuge as unto a Sanctuarie, or otherwiſe howſoever.
* Either of Tiberius or Auguſtus. Read *Seneca de beneficijs lib. 3 cap. 26*

Many parts beſides under the colour of gravity and reformation, but rather in deede following the courſe of his owne nature; hee uſed to play, ſo cruelly and with ſuch rigour, that ſome there were, who in verſes both upbraided by way of reproach the calamities preſent, and alſo gave warning of the future miſeries, in this manner. 59.

Aſper & immitis. Breviter vis omnia dicam?
Diſpeream, ſi te mater amare poteſt.
Harſh and unkind, (In briefe wilt thou I ſhould ſay all?) thou art:
God me confound, if mother thine can love thee in her hart.
Non es eques; quare? non ſunt tibi millia centum;
Omnia ſi quæras: et Rhodos exilium eſt.
No Knight thou art; and why? for hundred thouſands none;
(Search all) thou haſt in ſtore: & now at Rhodes exil'd do'ſt wone.

Aurea mutasti Saturni sæcula, CÆSAR;
Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.
Of Saturne King thou changed hast that age resembling gold,
For while thou, CÆSAR, liv'st, the world of yron shall ever hold.
Fastidit vinum quia iam sitit iste cruorem:
Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.
Wine doth he loath, because that now of bloud he hath a thirst,
He drinketh that as greedily, as wine he did at first.
(a) *Aspice fælicem sibi non tibi*, ROMULE SVLLAM;
Et MARIVM, *si vis, aspice; sed reducem,*
Nec non ANTONI *civilia bella moventis:*
Nec semel infectas, aspice cæde manus.
Et dic, Roma perit. Regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.
See SVLLA, happy for himselfe, O ROMULVS not for thee:
And MARIVS, in case thou wilt, but new returned, see;
Likewise behold of ANTONIE those hands in bloud embrew'd
Not once, I meane of ANTONIE, who civill warres renew'd.
The say, *Rome* goes to wrack. And he with blud-shed much wil raign
Who to a Kingdomes-state is come, from banishment againe.

Which verses at first, he would have had to be taken and construed as made by them who were impatient of any Lordly rule and absolute dominion at *Rome*: and as if they had beene framed and devised, not so much with any considerate iudgement, as upon Stomach and Choler. And evermore his saying was, *Oderint dum probent*, i. Let them hate me, so long as they suffer my proceedings to passe. But afterwards, even himselfe proved them to be very true and most certaine.

60 Within few dayes after hee came to *Capreæ*, when a Fisher-man, suddainly and unlooked for presented unto him (as hee was in a secret place doing somewhat by himselfe) a * Barble of an extraordinary bignesse, he caused his face to be rubbed all over with the same fish: as put in a fright, no doubt, for that from the backe side of that Iland, he had made meanes thorough the rough thickets and by-wayes, to creepe and get unto him where he was. And when the poore fellow amid this punishment seemed to reioyce yet, and said, *It was happy that he had not offred unto him* a lopstar also (which he had caught) of an huge greatnesse, hee commaunded that his face should be grated and mangled likewise with the said Lopstar. A Souldiour, one of his owne guard, for filching and stealing a Peacock out of an * Orchard hee put to death. In a certaine iourney that he made, the Licter wherein he was caried chaunced to be entangled and somewhat stayed with briars and brambles: Whereupon a Centurion of the formost cohorts in the Vaward, that had in charge to try and cleere thee waies, he caused to be laid along upon the ground, and there he all to beat him * untill he was well-neere dead.

* Being skaly and having a couple of barbels.

* Or garden.

* With cudgels: which punishment was called *Fustuarium*.

61 Soone after, hee brake out into all kindes of cruelty; as one who never wanted matter to woorke upon: persecuting the familiar friendes and acquaintance of his owne Mother first, then, of his Nephewes and daughter in lawe, and at the last of SEIANVS: after whose death hee grewe to be

be moſt cruell. Whereby eſpecially it appeared, that himſelfe was not wont ſo much to be provoked and ſet on by SEIANVS: as *SEIANVS to ſerve his turne and feede his humour, ſeeking as he did all occaſions: howſoever in a certaine commentarie which he compoſed ſummarily and briefely of his owne life he durſt write thus much, *That he executed* SEIANVS, becauſe he had found *that hee raged furiouſly againſt the children of* GERMANICVS his ſonne. Of whom to ſay a truth, the one himſelfe murdred, after he had firſt ſuſpected SEIANVS, and the other, not before he had killed him. To proſecute in particular all his bloudie deedes would require a long time. It ſhall ſuffice therefore to reherſe in generall the patternes as it were and examples of his cruelnie. There paſſed not a day over his head, no not ſo much as any feſtivall and (*a*) religious holieday, without execution and puniſhment of folke. Some ſuffered even uppon Newyeares day. Accuſed and condemned there were many together, with their children, and very wives. Straight commaundement and warning was giuen, that the nere kinsfolke of ſuch perſons as ſtood condemned to die, ſhould not mourne and lament for them. Eſpecially rewardes were by decree appointed for their accuſers: otherwhiles alſo for bare witneſſes. No informer and promoter was diſcredited, but his preſentmēt taken. And everie crime and treſpaſſe went for Capitall, and ſo was received: were it but the ſpeaking of a few ſimple words. Objected it was againſt a Poet, that in a tragædie hee had reviled and railed uppon (*b*) *AGAMEMNON; as alſo it was laide to an* *Hiſtorians* charge, for ſaying, (*c*) that *BRVTVS and CASSIVS, were the laſt of all the *Romains*. Preſently were the Authors and writers puniſhed, and their writings called in and aboliſhed: notwithſtanding certaine yeares before they had beene recited even in the hearing of AVGVSTVS, with his good liking and approbation. Some committed to ward, were deprived not onely of their Solace and comfort in ſtudying, but alſo of the verie uſe of talking with others. Of ſuch as were cited peremptorily by writ and proceſſe to aunſwere at the barre, ſome gave themſelues (mortall) wounds at home in their houſes (as ſure to be condemned, onely to avoyd torments and ignominy) others in the open face and middeſt of the Court dranke poyſon: and yet were they with their wounds bound up, and whiles they yet panted betweene alive and dead, haled away to priſon. There was not one executed but hee was throwne alſo into the *Aemoniæ*, and drawne with the drag. In one day were there (*d*) twentie ſo throwne and drawne: and among them boyes and women. As for young girles and maidens of unripe yeares, becauſe by auncient cuſtome and tradition, unlawfull it was to ſtrangle Virgins. (*e*) Firſt deflowred they were by the hang-man and afterwards ſtrangled. Were any willing of themſelues to die? ſuch were forced violently to live. For he thought ſimple death ſo light a puniſhment, that when he hard, how one of the priſoners, *CARNVLIVS by name, had taken his death voluntarily before, he cryed out in theſe wordes. CARNVLIVS *hath eſcaped my hands*. Alſo in overſeeing and peruſing the priſoners in Gaole, when one of them beſought to have his puniſhment with ſpeed, he made him this anſwere: *Nay marry, thou art not yet reconciled unto me, that I ſhould ſhew thee ſuch favour*. A certaine * Conſular writer hath inſerted this in his Annales: *That upon a time at a great feaſt (where himſelfe alſo was preſent,)* TIBERIVS *being on a ſodaine asked*, and that openly with a lowd voyce

* *Quū Seianus quærenti occaſiones ſubmiſſas.* *Straſſe.*

*The ſoueraine Captaine and Generall of the Greekes at Troye.

†*A. Cremutius Cordus, read Seneca Conſolat. ad Marcum.* cap 22 *who ſlew Iulius Cæſar and were accompted *Tyrannocteni.*

† Or Carnulius

*Who had beene ſometime conſul, and therefore to be credited.

by a dwarfe ſtanding at the Table among * other Buffons and Ieſters, *Wherefore* PACONIVS *being attaint of treaſon lived ſo long?* For that inſtant verily chid the partie for his ſaucie and malapert tongue: but after a few daies wrote vnto the Senate, *to take order with all ſpeede for the execution of* PACONIVS.

*Inter Capreas.

62 He increaſed and ſtrained ſtill more and more this crueltie, by occaſion that he was galled and fretted at the newes of his ſonne DRVSVS his death: For, having beene of opinion, that he died vpon ſome ſickenes & intemperate life, ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood at length, that he was poyſoned & ſo made away by the villanous practiſe of his wife *LIVILLA and SEIANVS together, he ſpared not to torment and execute any one whomſoever; ſo bent and addicted whole daies together to the inquiſition and tryall of this onely matter, as that when word came vnto him how an hoſt of his an inhabitant of *Rhodes* (whom by familiar letters he had ſent for to *Rome*) was come, he commanded him out of hand to be put to *torture, as if he had beene ſome neere freinde preſent at the foreſaid examination: but afterwards, when his errour was diſcovered, and ſeeing how he had miſtaken, he cauſed him alſo to be killed, becauſe he ſhould not divulge and make knowne the *former injury. The place is yet to bee ſeene at *Capreæ* of his butcherly cariage: From which he cauſed condemned perſons after long and exquiſite torments to be flung headlong before his face into the ſea: where were readie to receive them a number of mariners, who with their ſprits, poles, and oares ſhould beate and batt their carkaſſes: to the end that none of them might have any breath or wind remaining in the bodie: He had deviſed moreover, among other kinds of torment, what time as men by deceitfull meanes had their lode with large drinking of ſtrong wine, ſodainely to knit faſt and tie their privie members with (Lute) ſtrings, that hee might cauſe them to ſwell and be pent in moſt dolorous paines occaſioned at once as well by the ſtreight ſtrings, as the ſuppreſſion and ſtoppage of vrine. And had it not beene that both death prevented and* THRASYLLVS alſo enforced him of purpoſe, (as men ſay) to put of ſome deſignes in hope of longer life, he would haue murdred a good many more (as it is fully beleeved) and not ſpared thoſe verie nephewes of his that remained yet alive; conſidering he both had CAIVS in ſuſpition, and alſo caſt of TIBERIVS, as conceived in adulterie. And it ſoundeth to truth, that he was minded thus to do. For, ever and anon, he called PRIAMVS happie in that he overlived all his ſonnes and daughters.

*Daughter of *Germanicus* & *Agrippina*, and wife to the ſaid *Druſus*.

*among other examinates.

*Done vnto him.

*The Aſtrologer.

63 But, how amid theſe prankes he lived not onely odious and deteſted, but exceeding timorous alſo & expoſed to the contumelious reproches of the world, there be many evidences to ſhew. That any ſoothſayers ſhould be ſought vnto and conſulted with a part without witneſſes by, he forbad: As for the Oracles neere adjoyning to the Citie of *Rome*, he attempted to ſubvert them all. But being terrified with the maieſtie of thoſe *anſweres which were delivered* at *Præneſte*, he gave over: namely, when as he could not finde them, (ſealed vpp though they were and brought downe to *Rome*) within the chiſt vntil the ſame was carried backe againe vnto the *Temple. And not daring to ſend away & diſmiſſe from him one* or two Conſulare *L L. deputies, after hee had offered provinces vnto them, he detained them ſo long, vntill after certaine yeares expired, he ordained others to ſucceede them: whiles the other remained preſent with

*Fortunes or chances.

*In manner of a Lottery.

*Of Fortune at *Præneſte*.

**L. Aelius Lamia* and *L. Arruntius*.

**Or Præſidēs* that had beene Conſuls.

with him: whereas in the meane time, reserving still the title of the office: he assigned unto them many commissions and matters of charge: and they continually gave order for execution thereof, by the ministerie of their Legates, Lieutenants and Coadjutours.

His * daughter in law, and Nephewes, after they were once condemned, he never remooved from place to place otherwise than chained and in a close covered litter sowed up fast: setting his soldiers to prohibite all passengers that met with them, and waifaring persons travailing by, once to looke * backe thither, or to stay their pace and stand still. 64

*Agrippina, his adopted sonne Germanicus wife & widow, or Liuilla before named, wife to Drusus his naturall sonne.

*Because they should not aske who was within

65 When SEIANVS went about seditiously to worke alteration in the state: albeit he saw now that both his birth day was publikely solemnized, and also his Images of gold worshipped everie where; he overthrew him (I must needs say) at length: but with much adoo, by craftie sleights and guile, rather than by his princely authoritie and Imperiall power. For first, to the end that he might dismisse the man in shew of honour, he assumed him to be his Colleague in the fifth Consulship, which in his *long absence he had taken upon him for that verie purpose. Afterwards when he had deceived him with hope of * Affinitie and the Tribunes authoritie, he complained of the man (looking for noe such matter) in a shamefull and pitious Oration: beseeching the L L. of the Senate among other requests. *To send on of the Consuls to conduct him an aged and desolate man with some guarde of soldiours, into their sight.* And yet nevertheless, distrusting himselfe and fearing an * uprore, he had given commandement, that his nephew DRVSVS, whom still he kept in prison at *Rome:* should be set at libertie (if need did so require,) & ordained generall captaine. Yea & whiles his ships were readie rigged and prepared to what Legions soever he ment for to flie, hee stood looking ever and anon from the highest cliffe that was, toward the markes and signes, which he had appointed (least messengers might stay too long) for to be reared a great way off: thereby to have intelligence, as any occurrent (good or bad) fell out. Nay, when the conspiracie of SEIANVS was now suppressed, he was never the more secure and resolute: but for the space of 9. moneths next ensuing he stirred not out of the * village called *Ievis.*

*For he remained still at Capreæ.

*To be matched in marriage with on of his neipces.

*Or Epistle rather written unto the Senat, *in Rome, about Seianus who was so highly honored there.

*Or ferme house, in the Isle Capreæ.

66

Beside all this, diverse and sundrie reprochfull taunts from all parts netled and stung his troubled minde. For there was not a person condemned, that reviled him not in all sorts openly to his face, yea and discharged uppon him opprobrious termes by libels laid for the nonce in the verie * *Orcheſtra*, with which contumelies verily, affected he was after a most divers and contrarie manner: so that, one while he desired for verie shame of the world, that all such abuses might be unknowne and concealed: otherwhiles, hee contemned the same, and of his owne accorde broached and divulged them abroade. Furthermore, rated he was & railed at in the letters also of ARTABANVS K. of the *Parthians*, who charged him with parricidies, murders, cowardise and luxurious roiot: who gave him counsell likewise with all speede possible, to satisfie with a voluntarie death the hatred of his Citizens, conceived against him in the highest degree and most iustly. At the last, being even wearie of himselfe, in the beginning of such an Epistle as this, hee declared and confessed in manner the verie summe of all his miseries. *What shall I write? my* L L. *of the Senate,*

*Where the Senatours sat to behold the plaies.

Senate, or how ſhall I write? Nay, what is it, at a word, that I ſhall not write at this time? The Gods and Goddeſſes all plague and confound me utterly at once, feeling as I do my ſelfe dayly to periſh.

67 Some thinke, that he foreknew all this by the skill he had of * future events: that he foreſaw alſo long before how great a calamitie and infamie both, would one day betide him: And therfore it was, that he refuſed moſt obſtinately to take upō him the Empire & the name of PATER PATRIÆ, as alſo ſtood againſt the oath, to maintaine his Acts: for feare leaſt within a while after, to his greater diſgrace and ſhame he might be found inferiour, and unworthie of ſuch ſpeciall honours, which verily may be gathered out of the ſpeech hee made as touching both thoſe points, when he ſaith but thus. *That hee would be alwaies like to himſelfe, and never chaunge his manners, ſo long as he continued in his ſound wits. Howbeit, for example ſake, provided it would be that the Senate binde not themſelues to keepe and ratifie the Actions of any one, who by ſome chaunce might bee altered.* And againe, *Marie, if at any time, quoth hee, yee ſhall make doubt of my loyall behaviour and devoted mind unto you (which before it ever happen, I wiſh my dying day to take me from this minde and opinion of yours, once conceived of me and afterwards chaunged) the bare title of* PATER PATRIÆ *will adde no honour unto me, but upbraide you either with inconſiderate raſhneſſe, for impoſing that Surname uppon mee, or elſe with inconſtancie, for your contrary iudgements of mee.*

*For he was wonderfully addicted to the ſtudy of Aſtrologie and ſuch curious Arts.

68 Corpulent he was, big ſet and ſtrong, of ſtature (*a*) aboue the ordinarie, broad betweene the ſhoulders and large breaſted: in all other parts alſo of the bodie (from the crowne of his head) to the verie ſole of his foote, of equall making and congruent proportion. His left hand was more nimble & ſtronger than the right: and his ioynts ſo firme, that with his finger he was able to bore through a greene and ſound Apple: with a fillop alſo to breake the head of a boy, yea of a good ſtripling and big youth. Of colour and complexion he was cleere and white: wearing the haire of his head longe behind, in ſo much as it covered his very necke: which was thought in him to be a faſhion appropriate to his linage and familie. He had an ingenuous and well favoured face: wherein notwithſtanding appeared many ſmall (*b*) tumours or riſinges: and a paire of verie great gogle eyes in his head, ſuch as (whereat a man would marvaile) could ſee euen by night and in the darke: but that was onely for a little while and when they opened firſt after ſleepe: for in the ende they waxed dim againe. His * gate was with his (*c*) necke ſtiffe and ſhooting * forward: with a countenance bent and compoſed lightly to ſeveritie: for the moſt part he was ſilent: Seldome or never ſhould you have him talke with thoſe next about him: and if hee did, his ſpeech was exceeding ſlowe, not without a certaine wanton geſticulation and fimbling with his fingers. All which properties being odious and full of arrogancie, AVGVSTVS both obſerved in him, & alſo went about to excuſe & cloke for him before the Senate and people, aſſuring them, they were the defects and imperfections of nature, and not the vices of the mind. He lived moſt healthfull. And verily all the time well neere that he was Emperour not once in maner craſie: albeit from that he was thirtie yeares old he (*d*) governed his helth after his owne order and direction, without any helpe or counſell at all of Phyſicians.

*The *Claudij*.

*For ſuch prominent eyes are not commonly quicke of ſight.

*Manner of going.

*Or downeward into his boſome:

As

As little respect as hee had of the Gods, or had sence of any religion, (as one addicted to astrologie and calculation of nativities, yea and fully perswaded, *that all things were done and ruled by* * *fatall destinie*), yet feared he thunder exceedingly: and were the aire or wether any whit troubled, hee ever carried a chaplet or wreath of lawrell * about his necke: because that kinde of greene * branch is neuer, as they say blasted with lightning. 69

*The course of the stars.
*Or upon his head, in maner of a Coronet.
*As Plinie reporteth lib. 2. & 15.

The liberall Sciences * of both sorts he loved most affectionatly, in the latine * speech he followed CORVINVS MESSALLA; whom being an aged professour he had obserued from his verie youth: but with overmuch affectation and curiositie he marred all and darkened his stile: so as he was thought to do somewhat better * *ex tempore*, than upon studie and premeditation. He composed also a poem in lyricke (*a*) verses, the title whereof is, *a complaint of* * D. CÆSARS *death*. Hee made likewise Greeke poemes in imitation of EVPHORION, RHIANVS and PARTHENIVS: In which Poets being much delighted, their writings and Images he dedicated in the publike Libraries among the auncient and principall authors. A number therefore of learned men strove a vie to put forth many pamphlets * of them, and to present him therewith. But aboue all he studied for the knowledge of * fabulous historie, eve unto meere fooleries, & matters ridiculous. For, the verie Grāmarians (which kind of professours as we have said, he affected especially) he would assay and appose commonly with these and such like questions: namely, *Who was* HECVBAES *mother? What name* ACHILLES *had among the* * *Virgins? What it was that the* Mer-maides *were wont to sing?* The verie first day, (after the death of AVGVSTVS) that he entred into the *Curia*, as if he minded once for all to performe the dutie of pietie and religion: following the example of MINOS he sacrificed indeede, as the manner was with Frankin-cense and wine. but without a minstrell, as the saide MINOS sometime did at the death of his sonne. 70

*as wel greeke as Latine.
*Prose.
*Of a sodaine.
*One of *Augustus* sonnes, yet some expound it of Iulius Cæsar *Dictator*.
*do his.
*haply of their doing.
*Wherein many tales or fables are inserted.
*The daughters of King Lycomedes in the Isle Scyros where hee faigned him selfe to bee a maiden.
*Androgeus.

In the Greeke tongue, howsoever he otherwise was readie enough and spake it with facilitie, yet he used it not every where, but most of all forbare it in the Senate house: in so much verily, as when he came to name (*a*) MONOPOLIVM, he craved leave before hand: for that he was to use a strang and foraine worde; yea & in a certaine decree of the Senatours, when this word (*b*) EMBLEMA was red, he gave his opinion, that the saide word should be changed, and insteede of that strang terme some latine vocable sought out: and if such an one could not be found, then to utter and declare the thing, though it were in more words and by circumlocution. A certaine Greeke souldier also, being required for to depose and deliver his testimonie, he forbad to make answere, (*c*) unlesse it were in Latin. 71

All the time that he was retired and lived from the Cittie of *Rome*, twice and no more he assaied to returne thither: once he came by water embarked in a * gallie, as farre as to the hort-yards and gardens adioyning to the (*a*) *Naumachia*: but he had set guardes along the banks of *Tibre*, for to void & put backe such as went forth to meete him. A second time, by the streete or part way *Appia*, so farre as the (*b*) 7. miles end from *Rome*: but when he had onely seene the walles a farre of, without approching neerer unto the Citie hee returned. 72

*With three ranks of oares.
* *Ad septimum lapidem.*

For

For what cause he did so * at first, it was not certainely knowne: afterwardes, affrighted he was with this prodigious picture and straung sight. Among other delights he tooke great pleasure in a Serpent(c)Dragon, which, whē according to his usuall manner, he would haue fed with his owne hand and found eaten by pismires, he was warned thereupon to beware the violence of a multitude. In his returne therefore speedily into *Campania* he fell sicke at *Astura*: but being eased a little of that maladie he went forward as farre as to *Circeij*: and because he would give no suspicion of sickenesse, he was not onely present himselfe at the games exhibited by the garison souldiers there, but also, when there was a wild bore put foorth into the open shew-place for to be baited, he launced dartes at him from aboue, where he was: And presently therewith, by occasion of a convulsion in his side: and for that hee had taken the cold aire upon an exceeding heat, he fell backe by (d) relapse into a more dangerous disease: Howbeit, he bare it out a pretie while: notwithstanding that after he was come downe so farre as to *Misenum*, he pretermitted nothing of his ordinary and daily manner, no not so much as his feasting and other pleasures: partly upon an intemperate humour of his owne, and in part to dissimule and palliate his weakenesse. For, when CHARICLES his Physician, who by vertue of a pasport was licensed to depart and be absent, went foorth from the table and tooke hold of his hand to kisse it, he supposing that he had felt* his pulse, desired him to stay & sit downe againe, and so drew out the supper longer. Neither, gave he over his usuall custome, but even then standing in the midst of the banquetting roome with a lictor* by him he spake to every one by name* as they tooke their leave.

73

Meane while, when he had reade among the Acts passed in the Senate that certaine prisoners were enlarged and dismissed, but not so much as once heard: concerning whom he had written very breifly and no otherwise than thus, *that nominated they were by an appeacher*: chasing and frowning hereat, as if he had beene held in contempt, he fully purposed to go againe into* *Capreæ*, as one who lightly would attempt nothing, but where he was sure enough and without all daunger. But being kept backe, as well by tempest as the violence of his disease that grew still uppon him hee died soone after in a * village bearing the name *(a) *Luculliana*, in the 78. yeare of his age three & twentieth of his Empire, and the * seventeenth day before the Calends of Aprill: when Cn. ACERRONIVS PROCVLVS and C. PORTIVS NIGER were Consuls. Some thinke that* CAIVS had given him a poyson of slow operation: which should by little and little consume him. Others are of opinion, that when hee desired meat in the remission of an ague fit wherein he had swowned (* it was denied him) and therewith a* pillow throwne uppon his face to smudder him & stop his breath. Some againe, *that it was* when cōming soone to himselfe, he called for his Ring which was plucked frō his finger whiles he fainted. SENECA writeth that perceiving himselfe drawing on * and readie to die, he tooke of his Ring, as if he minded to give it unto some one, and so held it a pretie while: then afterwardes did it uppon his finger againe: and so keeping down and griping close his left *hand, lay still a long time without once stirring: but sodainely calling for his gromes and servitours; when none made aunswere, rose

†whē he came by the River.
* when he iourned by land.
*Venus, for Arteries by the trope *Catachresis*, for they onely beat.
*Who waited upon him.
†or upōwhom he leaned.
**Valere dicentes* or as they saluted him, after the Greeke phrase *Chairein Kaieuprattein. Gaudere & bene rem gerere: Horat.* All haile and faire cheere you.
*With full intent as it should seeme to bee revenged of the Senate.
†Or manner house.
* Of *Lucullus*, who either built it, or there dwelt.
*16. of march. A V.C 790: *Caligula*, Emperour after him:
*Some leave out this clause, and read thus, as he desired meat &c. a pillow was &c.
*Or cushin.
**Intellecta defectione.* Some expound this of the slinking away of his familiars and those that were about him,
*Upon which he ware the ring.

roſe up, and not farre from his pallet, his ſtrength failing him, fell downe dead.

Vpon the laſt Birth-dayes-feaſt of his that ever he ſaw, him thought as hee lay a ſleepe, that *Apollo Temenites* (an Idol of exceeding bigneſſe and moſt artificially wrought) which was newly brought from *Saracoſe* to be ſet up in the librarie of his new temple, aſſured him, *That he could not poſsibly by him be dedicated.* And ſome few daies before his death, the watch-tower that gave * light at *Capreæ* by an earthquake fell downe in the night: and at *Miſenum*, the aſhes remaining of the embers and coales brought into heate his refection parlour, being quenched quite and continuing cold a long time, ſuddainly brake forth into a light fire, at the ſhutting in of the evening, and ſo ſhone out a great part of the night and gave not over. 74

*Vnto Sea mẽ and paſſengers by night.

The people ioyed ſo much at his death, that running up and downe at the firſt tidings thereof, ſome cried out in this note, (Fling) * TIBERIVS into *Tiberis*: others in their prayers beſought the Mother Earth & the infernall Gods *To vouchſafe him now dead no place, but among impious wretches*: And a ſort there were, who threatned his lifeleſſe carkaſſe the *Drag* and the *Gemonia*: as who, over and above the remembrance of his former cruelty in times paſt, were provoked to anger with a freſh outrage newly committed. For whereas by an Act of Senate it was provided, *That the execution of condemned perſons ſhould be put off unto the tenth day after* (*ſentence given*), it happened ſo, that the day on which ſome of them were to ſuffer, fell out to be the very ſame, wherein newes came of TIBERIVS death. Theſe poore ſoules, notwithſtanding they piteouſly called for mans help (becauſe in the abſence yet of CAIVS no man was known, who might (in ſuch a caſe) be repaired unto and ſpoken with) the Goalers, for that they would do nothing againſt the Conſtitution aforeſaid ſtrangled them and flung their bodies into the *Gemonia*. Hereupon, I ſay, the peoples hatred againſt him encreaſed, as if the Tyrants cruelty remained ſtill after his death. His corpes, ſo ſoone as it began to bee removed from *Miſenum*, notwithſtanding the moſt part cried with one voice, To carie it rather to (*a*) *Atella*, & there to (*b*) halfe-burne it in the (*c*) Amphitheatre, yet was brought to *Rome* by the Soldiours and burnt in a publick funerall fire. 75

*Tiberium in Tiberim. Into Tiberis with Tiberius.

A two-fold * will he made two yeeres before: the one written with his own hand: the other by his freed-man: but both of them were of the ſame tenour: & ſigned he had them with the ſeales of moſt baſe perſons. By vertue of which will and teſtament, he left coheires and equall in portion CAIVS his nephew by GERMANICVS, and TIBERIVS by DRVSVS. Theſe he ſubſtituted & appointed to ſucceed one another. He gave legacies alſo to manie more, and among the reſt unto the ueſtall Virgins, and to the Souldiers of all ſorts in generall: as alſo to the commons of *Rome* by the poll: yea and to the Maſters of everie Street by themſelues ſeverally. 76

* He meaneth I ſuppoſe a counterpaire indented.

THE HISTORIE OF Caius Cæsar Caligula, vvritten by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus*.



Chap. I

GErmanicus father of Caius Cæsar, sonne of Drusus and * Antonia, no sooner was adopted by his Vncle Tiberius, but forthwith he bare the office of Questureship five yeeres before hee might by the * Lawes (*a*), and after it, the * Consulate. And being sent into *Germanie* to the Armie, when upon newes brought of Augustus death, the Legions all throughout stoode out most stifly & refused Tiberius for their Emperour, offring unto him the absolute government of the State (whether their constant resolution or kinde affection herein were greater it is as hard to say) he stikled & represſed thē, yea & soon after having subdued the enemie, triumphed. After this, being created Consul the second time, and (*b*) driven forth * perforce, (before he entred into that honorable place) to compose the troubles and to quiet the State in the East parts: when

A.V.C. 757
765
* Daughter of *Antonius* the Triumvir, by *Octavia*, Augustus sister.
* *Annaria.*
*7 yeeres after.
A.V.C. 767
770
771
*From the said armie, where with he was acquainted.

when hee had * deposed the King of *Armenia*, and brought *Cappadocia* into the forme of a Province, in the 34 yeere of his age, he died of a long disease at *Antiochia*, not without suspition of poison. For, besides the blackish and swert spots which were to be seene all over his body, and the frothie slime that ranne forth at his mouth; his heart also (after he was burnt,) they found among the bones all sound and not consumed: the nature whereof is thought to be such, that if it bee infected with poyson, it checkes all fire and cannot possibly bee burnt.

*Deiecisse: A.V.C.772.

But, as the opinion of the world went, his death contrived by the wicked plot of TIBERIUS, was effected by the ministerie and helpe of CN. PISO: who about the same time being President of *Syria*, and not dissimuling that hee was to offend either father or * sonne (as if there were no other remedie but needes he must so doe) made no spare, but beyond all measure dealt with GERMANICUS (sicke as hee was) most rigorously, both in word and deede. For which, so soone as he was returned to *Rome*, hee had like to have beene pulled in peeces by the people: and by the Senate condemned he was to die. 2

*Tiberius himselfe, or *Germanicus* his adopted sonne.

It is for certaine knowne and confessed, that there were in GERMANICUS all good parts and gifts as well of body as mind: and those in such measure, as never to any man befell the like: to wit, for shew full of passing beauty, favour and feature; with strength & valour answerable thereto: & for wit excellently well seene in eloquence and learning of * both kinds: The very attractive obiect, he was of singular * benevolence, endowed with a wonderfull grace and effectuall desire to win mens favour and deserve their love. The onely defect that he had in his making and personage, were his slender shankes: and yet the same also by little and little became replenished with continuall riding on * horseback after (*a*) his meate. Many a time wounded hee his enemie in close fight hand to hand He pleaded causes of great importance, even as touching the * Decree of Triumph. And among other monuments of his studies he left behind him in Greeke, Comædies also. Both at home and abroad (*b*) civile he was, in so much as he would goe to free and confederate Cities without any *Lictors. Where ever he knew any Sepulchers of brave and worthy men to be, there his use was to offer unto their ghosts. Being purposed to enterre in one tombe the olde reliques and bones dispersed of those that were slaine in that great overthrow with VARUS, he first gave the assay with his owne hand to gather and carie them together into one place. Moreover, to his slaunderers and backbiters (if he lighted upon them); of what quality so ever the persons were, or how great cause so ever they gave, so milde, so remisse and harmelesse hee was: that notwithstanding PISO reversed and canciled his Decrees, plagued and persecuted a long time his Dependants, yet could he not finde in his heart to be angry with him, before he had for certaine knowne, that hee attempted his person with poysons and sorcerous execrations: and even then verily, hee proceeded no farther against him, but, *more maiorum* to renounce all friendshippe with him, and to give his domesticall friendes in charge to bee revenged, if ought happened to himselfe otherwise than well. 3

*Greeke and Latine,

*The good wil and affection of men, counted among the gifts of fortune

*For they used the no stirrops and therefore the bloud and humours wold descend to the legges.

Triumphale, some reade *Triumphalis*: as if, he gave not over pleading when he had triumphed, or received triumphall Ornaments,

* Sergeants or officers.

Of these vertues hee reaped most plentifull fruite; so liked and loved of his kinsfolke and friendes, (for I let passe all other affinities and acquaintance 4

of his) as that AUGUSTUS after hee had continued a long time in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould ordaine him for his Succeſſor or no? recommended him at length unto TIBERIUS for to be adopted: ſo highly favoured of the Common people, as that many doe report and write; whenſoever hee came unto a place or departed from thence, divers times by reaſon of the multitude flocking to meete him and to beare him companie, he endangered his owne life in the preaſſe. As he returned out of *Germanie*, after the ſuppreſſing of ſeditious tumults and mutinies there, all the *Prætorian* cohorts every one went out to encounter him upon the way: albeit warning was given before hand by proclamation, *That no more than twayne of them ſhould goe forth*. But as for the people of *Rome*, of all ſexes, ages, and degrees, they ran out by heapes to meet him xx miles from *Rome*.

5 Howbeit, farre greater, and more aſſured teſtimonies of mens iudgement touching him appeared at, and after his death. The very day wherein he left this life, The * temples (*a*) were pelted with ſtones: the altars of the Gods caſt downe: the Domeſticall (*b*) Lares, by ſome flung out of dores into the ſtreet; yea, and new-borne (*c*) babes of wedded parents throwne forth to be deſtroied. And, that which more is, the report goeth, That the very Barbarians, notwithſtanding they were at variance and civill warre among themſelves, yea and had taken armes againſt us, yet, as it were in ſome * domeſticall and common ſorrow, agreed all to make truce and a ceſſation of armes for a time. Some of their Princes alſo and Potentates, to declare their extraordinarie mourning and regret, did cut off their owne beards and ſhaved their wives heads: Yea, the very King (*d*) of Kings himſelfe, gave over his exerciſe of hunting: and diſſolved the Societie of his great Peeres and Princes at his table: which among the Parthians is as much as a (*e*) * Law-ſteed.

* Or, the images of the Gods within the temples.

* Touching them all and every one privatly.

* At Rome, *i.* a ſtay of all Courts and Pleas, in token of a publick ſorrow.

At *Rome* verily, when as the Citie upon the firſt rumour of his ſickneſſe, in amazednes and heavie chere expected the meſſengers that came after; and all of a ſuddaine in the evening the voice went currant, (although the Authors were unknowne,) that now at length he was recovered: running there was every where from all parts with * lights and ſacrifices into the Capitoll: yea the very dores of the temple were like to have been burſt open, that nothing might ſtand in their way & hinder them, ſo deſirous and earneſtly bent with ioy to pay their vowes. In ſo much as TIBERIUS was awakened out of his ſleepe with the ſhoutes and voices of the people reioycing, and from every ſide with one accord reſounding this Note,

6

* Torches, Tapers, &c.

* Which they had made, pro *ſalute Germanici*, *i.* for the health and welfare of *Germanicus*.

Salva Roma, ſalva Patria, ſalvus eſt Germanicus.
Safe is Rome, ſafe is our Country, ſafe is GERMANICUS.

Alſo, when now at the laſt it was knowne abroad that he was departed this life, the publick ſorrow by no comfortable words nor edicts & proclamations could be repreſſed, but continued ſtill even all the feſtivall daies of (*a*) the moneth December. His glory and the miſſe of him thus deceaſed, was much augmented alſo, by the outrages of the times enſuing: whiles all men were of opinion (and not without good reaſon) That the fierceneſſe of TIBERIUS which ſoone after brake forth, was held in and kept downe by the reverent reſpect & feare that he had of him.

7 He wedded AGRIPPINA, daughter to M. AGRIPPA and IULIA: by whom he

he had nine children: of which faire issue twaine being yet Infants were taken away by untimely Death: one died when he was now waxen a lolly boy, passing full of lovely mirth and pretty talke; whose counterfait in the habite of CUPID, *LIVIA dedicated in the Chappell of *Venus Capitolina*: and the same AUGUSTUS was wont to kisse while it stood in his bed-chamber, so often as he entred into it. The rest survived their father: three of the female sex AGRIPPINA, DRUSILLA and LIVIA, borne all one after another in the space of three yeeres: likewise as many male children, NERO, DRUSUS and CAIUS CÆSAR: As for NERO and DRUSUS, the Senate upon imputations laid by TIBERIUS, iudged them to be enemies unto the State. * *Augusta.*

CAIUS CÆSAR was borne the day next* preceding the Calends of September, when his Father and C. PONTEIUS CAPITO were Consuls. The place of his Nativitie, by the disagreement of writers, is left uncertaine. CN. LENTULUS GÆTULICUS writeth, that hee was borne at *Tibur*: PLINIUS SECUNDUS, within the Country of the *Treviri*, in a towne called* *Ambiatinum*, upon the very * Confluents. For evidence and proofe whereof hee farther saith, That certaine Altars are there to be seene carying this Inscription, * *For the child-birth and deliverie of* AGRIPPINA. But these verses following, divulged soone after that he came to be Emperour, do plainly shew, that borne he was in the very Camp, where the Legions wintered. 8

* The last of August. A.V.C 765

*Or *Ambitium.*

* The meeting of two rivers.

* *Ob Agrippinæ puerperium.*

In castris natus patrijs nutritus in armis,
Iam designati principis, omen erat.

Borne in the Camp, in Fathers warres with souldiours rear'd was he;
A signe, that then ordain'd he was an Emp'rour for to be.

I my selfe do find among the Records, that *Antium* was the place of his birth. PLINIE refelleth GETULICUS, as if he made a lie by way of flattery, because to the praise of a young and glorious Prince, hee would fetch some argument & matter even out of a Citie consecrated to HERCULES: and was the bolder, as he saith to abuse the said Lie, for that, indeede, a yeere almost before, GERMANICUS had a sonne borne at *Tibur*, named likewise CAIUS CÆSAR: of whose amiable childhood and untimely death we have spoken before. And as to PLINIE himselfe, confuted he is by the Calculation of the times. For, they who have recorded the Acts of AUGUSTUS doe all agree, That GERMANICUS was sent into *Germanie* after the time of his Consulship expired, when as CAIUS was already borne. Neither can the Inscription of the Altar one iote make good his opinion: considering that AGRIPPINA was delivered of daughters twice in that Country. And what child-birth so ever it was, without respect & difference of sex, called it is *Puerperium*: For that in old time folk used to name little girles also PUERÆ, like as little boyes PUELLI. There is besides, an Epistle of AUGUSTUS written, not many moneths before he died unto AGRIPPINA his Niece as touching this CAIUS, (for there was not now living any other Infant of the like name) in these wordes. *I have no longer agoe than yesterday taken order with* TALARIVS *and* ASELLIUS, *that with the leave of God they bring the boy* CAIUS *upon the* 15 * *day before the Calends of Iune.* I send besides with him of mine owne servants a Physician whom GERMANICUS (as I have written unto him) may if he will retaine & keepe with him still. Farewell my AGRIPPINA and endeavour to come well & in health to thy GERMANICUS. It appeareth I suppose sufficiently that CAIUS could not in that place be

* 18 of May.

borne, unto which he was conveied from *Rome* not before he was well-neere two yeares old. And as for those verses, these selfe same evidences likewise discredite them: and the rather, because they have no Author. We are to follow therefore the onely authority that remaineth, of the Records & publick Instrument: seeing especially that CAIUS evermore preferred *Antium* before all other retiring places, and loved it no otherwise than his native soile: yea, and by report, was fully minded once (upon a tedious wearinesse that he had of *Rome* City), to transferre thither even the very seat and habitation of the Empire.

9 He gat his surname CALIGULA by occasion of a merry word taken up in the Camp, because he was brought up there in the habit of an ordinarie (*a*) and common souldiour among the rest. With whom, how much besides he was able to doe in love and favour by meanes of his education & daily feeding with them, was most of all knowne; when after the death of AUGUSTUS, he onely (no doubt) with * his very sight & presence quieted them; what time they were in an uprore & at the very point of furious outrage. For they ceased not to mutinie, untill they perceived that he was about to be sent out of the way for danger of the sedition, and appointed to the next City adioyning. Then and not before, turning to repentance, they staied and held back his coach, and so by prayer averted the displeasure that was toward them.

* He was then but a child, about 3 or 4 yeeres old.

10 He accompanied his Father also in the Expedition into *Syria*: From whence being returned, first hee abode in house with his Mother: and after that shee was banished and sent away, hee remained with his great Grandmother LIVIA AUGUSTA: whom deceased hee praised in a funerall Oration at the *Rostra*, when hee was as yet but a very youth in his *Prætexta*: and then removed he to his Grandmother ANTONIA. From her in the twentieth yeere of his age hee was sent for to *Capreæ* by TIBERIUS, and upon one and the selfe same day, he did on his virile (*a*) gowne and withall cut the first downe of his beard, without any honourable solemnitie, such as his brethren before him had at their Commencements. Heere, notwithstanding hee was tempted by all the deceitfull traines that they could devise, who would have drawne and foreed him to quarrels, yet gave hee never any occasion, having rased out and quite forgotten the fall and calamity of his mother, brethren and neere friends, as if nothing had befallen to any of them: passing over all those abuses which himselfe had endured with incredible dissimulation: so obsequious and double diligent besides, to his Grandfather and those about him, that of him it was said and not without good cause, * *A better servant and a worse Mr. there never was.*

* *Passienus* was the Author of this Apophthegm.

Howbeit, the cruell disposion and villainous nature of his owne, hee could not even then bridle and hold in: but both at all castigations and punishments of such as were delivered over to execution, most willing he was to be present: and also would haunt Tavernes and Brothel-houses, mens wives also suspected for adulterie, going about from place to place disguised under a (*a*) peruke of false haire, and in a side (womans) garment: yea, and most studiously gave his minde to learne the artificiall feate of dauncing and finging upon the Stage. And verily TIBERIUS was well content to winke heereat and suffer all, if haply thereby his fierce and savage nature might have been mollified and become tractable. Which the old man (as he was a Prince right prudent and one most quick of sent) had foreseene well enough long before: in so much as divers times he gave out & said openly, *That* CAIUS *lived to the destruction of him and*

11

them

them all: likewise, *That he cherished and brought vp a verie* *Natrix, *which is a kind of* Serpent, *for the people of Rome, and another* (*b*) *Phaethon to the whole world.*

*Commonly taken for a water snake.

Not long after, he took to wife IVNIA *CLAVDILLA, the daughter of M. SILANVS a right noble gentleman. And then, being nominated to succeede AVGVR in the roume of his brother DRVSVS, before his inuesture & installation therein, he was aduanced to the sacerdotall dignitie of a *Pontifie*: a notable testimonie of his pietie, and towardnesse, when as *The royall line and imperiall Court beeing desolate and destitute of all other* *helpes; SEIANVS *also suspected and soone after ouerthrowne, he should* thus by small degrees arise to the hope of succession in the Empire. Which hope, the rather to confirme, after his wife aforesaid IVNIA was dead in childbirth, he sollicited vnto filthie wantonnesse dame ENNIA the wife of NÆVIUS MACRO, then captaine of the guard and *Pretorian* cohorts: hauing promised her mariage also, in case he ever attained to the Empire: and for assurance hereof he bound it with an oath and a bill of his owne hand. By her meanes being insinuated once into the inward acquaintance of *MACRO, hee attempted, as some thinke, TIBERIVS with poison: and whiles he was yet living, but labouring for life, commanded his * ring to be plucked from his finger: but perceiving, that he gave some suspicion of holding it fast, hee caused a pillow to be forced vpon his mouth, and so with his owne hands stifled and strangled him: yea, and when * his freed-man made an outcrie at this cruell and horrible act, he gaue order immediatly to crucifie him. And verily this soundeth to truth, considering there bee some Authors who write, That himselfe afterwards professed, if not the murder done, yet at leastwise his intention, one day to doe it. For, hee made his boast continually, in reporting his owne pietie, *That to reuenge the death of his Mother and brethren, hee entred with a dagger into* TIBERIVS *bed-chamber whiles he lay asleepe; and yet upon meere pittie and commiseration bethought himselfe, flung away the weapon and so went backe againe.* Neither durst TIBERIVS although hee had an inkling and intelligence of his disguisement, make anie inquisition at all of the matter or proceede to reuenge.

*For *Claudia*: as *Liuilla* for *Livia*, after his ordinary maner, to name women *Hypocoristicos*, by their Diminutiues.

*A Bishop.

*Issew Male, except himself, and *Tiberius* a very child the sonn of *Drusus*.

**Ennium, Næuij Macronis*.

*who wrought the fall of *Seianus*.

*Signet.

Tiberius freed-man.

*Rapier or spud.

Thus having obtained the Empire he procured vnto the people of *Rome*, or (as I may so say) to all mankind their hearts desire: being a prince of all that euer were, most wished for of the greatest part of prouinciall Nations & of the souldiors, because most of them had known him an infant: and generally of the whole cõminalty of *Rome*; in remẽbrance of his father GERMANICVS, & vpon compassion they took of that house in manner ruinate & extinct. As he removed therfore frõ *Misenũ*, albeit he was clad in mourning weed & reuerẽtly did attend the corps of TIBERIVS, yet went he among the altars, (*a*) sacrifices and burning torches in a most thick throng & ioifull traine of such as met him on the way: who beside other luckie & fortunate names called him SIDVS. i. their starr: *Pullum*. i. their chick, *Pupum*. i. their babe, and *Alumnum*. i. their nurceling.

13 A.V.C. 790.

No sooner was he entred into the citie of *Rome*, but incontinẽtly with cõsent of the senate & the multitude rushing into the *Curia*, after they had annulled the wil of TIBERIVS, who in his testamẽt had adioyned coheire vnto him another of his Nephews *under age, & as yet in his pretexta, permitted he was alone, to have the full & absolute power of all, & that with such an vniuersall ioy, that in three moneths space next ensuing & those not fully expired, there were by report aboue 160000. Beastes slaine for sacrifice. After this, when as within some fewe dayes

14

*Tiberius the son of *Drusus*.

he passed over by the water but to the next Ilands of *Campania*, vowes were made for his safe returne: and no man there was who did let slip the least occasion offred, to testifie what pensive care he tooke, as touching his health and safetie. But so soone as he was once fallen sicke, they all kept watch by night about the Pallace: neither wanted some, who vowed to fight armed to the very outrance for his life thus lying sicke, yea and devoted* their (*a*) verie lives for him if hee recovered, professing no lesse in written bils set uppe in publike places. To this surpassing love of his owne Citizens and Countrie men, was adjoyned the notable favour also of foraine states. For, *Artabanns* King of the *Parthians*, professing alwaies his hatred and contempt of TIBERIVS, sought of his owne accord to him for amitie: yea he came in person to a conference with one of his legates (or Lieutenants) that had beene Consul, and passing over *Euphrates*, adored the * *Aegles* and other militarie ensignes of the *Romaines*, as also the Images of the CÆSARS.

*Offred to lay down their owne lives.

*The maine standards.

13 Himselfe also enkindled and set more on fire the affections of men by all manner of popularitie. When he had with many a teare praised TIBERIVS in a funerall Oration before the bodie of the people, and performed the complement of his obsequies most honorably, forthwith he hastened, to *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, for to translate from thence the ashes of his mother & brother, and that in foule & tempestuous wether, to the end that his pietie & kindnes might the more be seene. And being come to their reliques, very devoutly himselfe with his owne hands bestowed them in severall pitchers with no lesse shewe in pagent wise, having wafted them first to *Ostia* with a flag (or streamer) pitched in the poupe or sterne of a galley guided by two rankes of Oares and so foorth to *Rome* up the *Tiber*, by the ministerie of the most worshipfull gentlemen of *Rome*: he conveighed them within two *Fercules* (or frames) devised for the purpose into the *Mausoleum*, even at noone day whē people were assembled there in great frequencie. In memoriall likewise of thē he ordained yeerely dirges & sacrifices to be performed with religious devotion to their ghosts by the whole Cittie. And more thē that, he instituted for his mother solemn games within the Cirque; and a sacred Chariot withal wherin her Image to the ful proportiō of her bodie should be carried in the pompe. But in remembrance of his father he called the moneth September, GERMANICVS. These ceremoniall duties done, by vertue of one sole Act of the Senate, he heaped upon his grand-mother ANTONIA whatsoever honours LIVIA AVGVSTA had received in her whole time. His Vnkle CLAVDIVS, a knight of *Rome* untill that time and no better, he assumed unto him for his Colleague in the Consulship. His brother * TIBERIVS be adopted the verie day that he put on his Virile growne, and stiled him *Prince of the youth*: As touching his sisters, hee caused in all Oaths this clause to be annexed, * *Neither shall I prise my selfe and children more deere, than I do* CAIVS *and his sisters*. Item, he ordained that in mooving and propounding of matters by the Consuls unto the Senatours, they should begin in this forme, *Quod bonum, &c. i. That which may be to the good and happie estate of* CAIVS CÆSAR *and his sisters &c.* In the semblable veine of popularitie, he restored all those that had beene condemned, confined and exiled, yea he freely dispensed with them, pardoning whatsoever crimes or imputations remained still behinde * from before time. All the bookes and registers pertaining

*His cosin germaine. for such are called brethren.

*The forme of oth, that any man tooke.

*As we say, frō the beginning of the world to this day.

pertaining to the cauſes of his mother and brethren, becauſe no informer or witneſſe ſhould afterwardes neede to feare, he * brought together into the *Forum*: where proteſting before hand, and calling the Gods to record with a lowd voice, that he had neither red ought nor medled once therewith, he burnt them. A certaine pamphlet preſented unto him concerning his life and ſafety, he received not, but ſtood upon this point. *That he had done nothing wherefore he ſhould be odious to any perſon*: ſaying withall, *That he had no eares open for informers and Tale-bearers.* *Conuellos.

16

The *Spintriæ*, inventers of monſtrous formes in perpetrating filthie luſt, he expelled forth of *Rome*, being hardly & with much ado intreated not to drown them in the deepe ſea. The writings of TITVS LABIENVS, CORDVS CREMVTIVS and CASSIVS SEVERVS, which had beene called in and aboliſhed by divers Acts of the Senate, he ſuffered to be ſought out againe, to be in mens hands extant, and uſually to be red: ſeeing that it concerned him principally and ſtood him upon moſt, to have all actions and deedes delivered unto poſteritie. The Breviarie of the Empire, that by AVGVSTVS had beene wont to bee propoſed openly, but was by TIBERIVS intermitted, he publiſhed: Vnto the Magiſtrates he granted free Iuriſdiction, and that there might be no appealing to himſelfe. The Gentrie and knighthood of *Rome* he reviewed with ſeverity and great preciſeneſſe: yet not without ſome moderation of his hand. Hee openly tooke from them their * horſes, in whome was found any foule reproch or ignominie: as for thoſe, who were culpable in ſmaller matters, hee onely paſſed over their names in reading the Roll. To the ende, that the Iudges might bee eaſed of their labour, unto the foure former decuries hee added a fifth. Hee gave the attempt likewiſe to bring up againe the auncient manner of Elections, and to reſtore unto the people their free voices. The legacies due by the laſt will and teſtament of AVGVSTVS (although the ſame was aboliſhed): as alſo of LIVIA AVGVSTA, which TIBERIVS had ſuppreſſed, he cauſed faithfully and without fraud to be tendred and fully paide. The exaction called (*a*) *Ducenteſima* of all bargaines and ſales, he remitted throughout *Italie*. The loſſes that many a man had ſuſtained by fire he ſupplied: & if to any princes he reſtored their kingdomes, hee adioyned withall the fruicte and profits alſo of their rents, cuſtomes and impoſts growing to the Crowne in the middle time between: as namely, unto ANTIOCHVS COMAGENVS who had been confiſcate and fined in an hundred millians of Seſterces. And that he might the rather be reputed a fauourer of all good examples, hee gave unto a woman, (by condition a libertine) *800000 Seſterces, for that ſhe being under moſt grievous and dolorous torments, concealed yet & would not to die for it, utter a wicked fact committed by her Patron. For which things, among other honours done unto him there was decreed for him a (*b*) ſhield of golde, which upon a certaine day everie yeare, the colledges of the Prieſtes ſhoulde bring into the Capitoll, with the Senate accompanying them, and Noble mens children as well boyes as girles, ſinging the praiſes of his vertues in muſicall verſe tuned ſweetely in meeter. Moreover, there paſſed a decree, that the day one which hee beganne his Empire ſhould be called (*c*) *Palilia*, imploying thereby, as it were a ſecond foundation of the Cittie.

† Publike horſes of ſervice.

*Some read Centeſimam

**Oſtingenta ſeſtertia*. Some read *Oſtogies*: i. 80000, and this commeth neerer to the truth.

He

17 A.V.C. 790. 791. 793. 794. He bare foure Conſulſhips: the firſt, from the Calends of Iulie for ij. monethes: the ſecond from the Calends of Ianuarie, for 30 dayes: the third unto the Ides of Ianuarie: and the fourth unto the ſeventh* day before the ſaid Ides. Of all theſe, the ij. laſt he held joyntly together. The third, he alone entred upon at *Lions*: not, as ſome deeme, upon pride or negligence: but becauſe, being abſent, he could not have knowledge that his Colleague died juſt againſt the very day of the Calends. He gave a *largeſſe to the people twice, to wit, 300 ſeſterces to them a peece, and a moſt plenteous dinner he made as oft unto the Senate and degree of gentlemen, as alſo to the wives and children of them both. In the latter dinner of the twaine, he dealt over and above, among the men garments to be worne abroad: unto the women and children, *gardes welts, or laces, of purple and violet colour. And to the ende, he might augment the publike ioy of the Cittie with perpetuitie alſo, hee annexed unto the feaſt *Saturnalia* one daye more, and named the ſame *Invenalis*.

* The ſeuenth of Ianuarie.
* In France.
* Congiarium
* *Faſcias*: Some expound theſe to be ribbands garters and gorgets.

18 He ſet foorth games of Sword-fencers, partly in the Amphitheater of TAVRVS, and partly within the *Septa* in *Mars feild*, into the which he inſerted and brought in, certaine troupes of *African* and *Campane Champions* to skirmiſh by companies. even the very beſt, ſelected out of both Countries. Neither was he alwaies himſelfe preſident at theſe ſolemnities and publike ſhewes, but otherwhiles enjoined the Magiſtrates or elſe his freinds to take the charge of preſidencie. As for ſtage plaies, he exhibited them continually in diverſe places and in ſundrie ſorts: once alſo in the night ſeaſon, burning lights throughout the Cittie. He ſkattered likewiſe and flung (among the common people) miſſils, of many and ſundry kinds to ſkamble for: and dealt man by man, paniers with viandes therein. At which feaſting, to a certaine gentleman of *Rome* who over againſt him plyed his chawes full merily, and fedde right hartily with a greedie ſtomacke, he ſent his owne part: as alſo to a Senatour for the ſame cauſe, his letters patents, wherein he declared him extraordinarily, Prætour. He repreſented beſides, many Cirq-games, which held from morne to euen: interpoſing one while, the baiting of *Panthers; another while the Troie-juſting and Turnament. But ſome eſpeciall ſports there were aboue the reſt, and then the Cirq-place was laide all over with* vermillion and *Borax Minerall: Where none but of Senatours degree ruled and drave the Chariots. Some alſo he put foorth upon a ſodaine, namely when as he beheld from out of the houſe GELOTIANA, the preparation and furniture of the Cirque, ſome few from the (*a*) next* open galleries jettying out, called unto him for the ſame.

* *Miſſilia* ſmall gifts:
* Or Leopards
* Red & greene
* *Mæniani.*

19 Furthermore, he deviſed a new kind of ſight, and ſuch as never was hearde of before: For, ouer the middle * Space betweene Baiæ and the huge piles or dammes at *Puteoli* containing three miles and 600 paces well neere, hee made a bridge: having gotten together from all parts ſhips of burden, and placed them in a duple courſe at *Anchor*, with a banke of earth caſt thereupon, direct and ſtraight after the faſhion of the high way *Appia*. Vppon this bridge he paſſed to and fro for two dayes together: the firſt day mounted one a courſer richly trapped, himſelfe moſt brave and goodly to be ſeene with a chaplet of Oke-brances: armed with a battaile axe, a light ſargnet and a ſword,

* A narme of the ſea.

clad

clad also in a cloke of gold: the morrow after he appeared in the habit of a Chariotier, ryding in a chariot drawne with two goodly steedes of an excellent race: carrying before him DARIVS a boy, one of the *Parthian* hostages with a traine of the *Prætorian* souldiers marching after in battaile raie: and accompanied with the Cohort of his minions in **Britisb* wagons, Most men I wote well, are of opinion that CAIVS inuented such a kind of bridge, in emulation of XERXES, who not without the wonder of the world, made a bridge, of planks over Hellespont an arme of the Sea, somewhat narrower than this: others, that by a bruite blazed abroad of some huge and monstrous peece of worke, hee might terrifie *Germanie* and *Britaine*, upon which countries hee meant to make warre. But I remember well that beeing a boy, I heard my Grandfather report and tell the cause of this worke, as it was deliuered by his owne Courteours, who were more inward with him than the rest: namely, *That* THRASYLLVS the great *Astrologer* assured TIBERIVS when hee was troubled in minde about his successour, and more enclined to his naturall and lawfull* nephew indeede by lineall descent, *That* CAIVS *should no more become Empetour than able to runne a course to and fro on horse-backe, through the gulfe of Baiæ.*

*Essedis, Belgick or French.

*Tiberius, the sonne of Drusus Tiberius the Emperors sonne.

He set forth shewes also euen in forraine parts, to wit in *Sicilie* at *Saracose*, the games called * *Actiaci*: Likewise at Lions in *Fraunce*, playes of a mixt nature and argument: as also a solemne contention for the prise in Eloquence both *Greeke* and *Latine*. In which tryall of maisteries, the report goeth, that those who were foiled and ouercome, conferred rewards upon the winners, yea and were forced to make compositions in their praise. But looke who did worst, they were commanded to wipe out their owne writings, either with a spunge or els with their tongues, unlesse they would chuse rather to be chastized with ferulars or els to be ducked ouer head and eares in the next riuer.

20

* Some reade *Hastiæos*, as running at tilt.

*Rhodanus Rhosne.

21

The buildings left halfe vndone by TIBERIVS, namely, the Temple of AVGVSTVS, and the Theatre of POMPEIVS, he finished. He began moreover a conduict in the Tiburtine territorie: and an Amphitheatre neere unto the Enclosure called *Septa*: Of the two works, the* one was ended by his successor CLAVDIVS, the other was forlet and given over quite. The wals at *Saracose* by the injurie of time decaied and fallen downe were by him reedified: and the temples of the gods there, repaired. Hee had fully purposed also to build a new the palace of *Polycrates* at *Samos*: to finish APOLLOES temple called *Didymeum* at *Miletum*: as also to found and build a Cittie upon the top of the *Alpes*: but before all, to dig through the Isthmus in *Achaia*: and thither had he sent alreadie one of purpose, who had beene a principall Captaine of a Cohort in the Vaward, to take measure of the worke.

*The Cõduict

Thus farre forth as of a Prince: now forward, relate we must as of a Monster. Hauing assumed into his Stile many surnames, For called he was PIVS. i. kind. CASTRORVM *filius*. i. the sonne of the camp. *Pater exercituum*. i. *Father of hosts*, and *Optimus Maximus* CÆSAR. i. themost gracious and mightie CÆSAR, when he hapned to heare certaine *Kings (who were come unto the Cittie for to do their duties and to salute him) contend as they sate with him at supper, about the Nobilitie of their birth and parentage, hee cryed foorth

22

*Vsurping the Attributes of *Iupiter*.

*Agrippa and Antiochus

Εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς:
One Soueraigne Lord, one King let there be.

and there lacked not much but that presently he had taken the *Diademe* upon him and conuerted wholly the shew of * Empire, into the (*b*) forme of a *Kingdome*. But being told that he was mounted alreadie above the heigth and state both of * *Emperours* and also of *Kings*, thereupon from that time forward hee began to challenge unto himselfe a divine Maiestie: and having given order and commission, that the images of the gods, which either for deuout worship done unto them, or for curious workemanship seene upon them, excelled the rest, (among which was that of IUPITER OLIMPICUS) should bee brought out of *Greece* unto *Rome*, that when their heads were taken of, he might set his *owne in the place: he enlarged the* *Palatium* and set out one part therof as far as to the *forum*. Transfiguring likewise and turning the *Temple* of* *Castor* and *Pollux* into a *porch or entrie, he stood manie times in the middle between the said two gods, brethren, and so exhibited himselfe to be adored of all comers. And some there were who saluted him by the name of IUPITER LATIALIS. Moreover he ordained a Temple peculiarly appropriate to his owne godhead as also priests and most exquisite * Osts. In his saide Temple stood his owne image all of gold, lively portraied and expressing his full proportion: the which was daily clad with the like vesture as himselfe wore. The masterships of the priest-hood by him instituted, the richest men that were, every time of vacancie purchased: such as made greatest suite and offered most therefore. The Osts or sacrifices aforesaid were these foules, (*b*) *Phœnicopteri*, *Peacocks*, (*d*) *Tetraones*, (*e*) *Numidicæ*, (*f*) *Meleagrides* and (*g*) *Phesants*, and those to be sorted by their kinds; and so every day killed. And uerily, his usuall manner was in the night to call unto the Moone when she was at full and shining bright out for to come and ly with him in his armes: but in the day time, he talked secretly and apart with IUPITER CAPITOLINUS: one while by whispering and rounding one another in the eare, otherwhiles speaking more lowde and not without chiding: For he was heard in threatning wise to utter these words Εἰς χοῖαν Δαναῶν περάω σε, I will remove and translate thee into the lande of the *Greeks*: untill such time as being intreated (according as he tolde the tale himselfe) and inuited first by him for to cohabite, he made a bridge over the temple of AUGUSTUS of sacred memorie and so ioyned the *Palatium* * and Capitol together. And soone after, to the end that he might be nearer unto him hee layed the foundation of a newe house in the voide base-court of the Capitoll.

*Vnder Cæsars, *Principum, for the Romaine Emperours were called *Principes*.

*The portraict an! proportiõ of his owne

*The Palace in that Mount, that stood in *Forum Romanum*.

*To his Palace.

*Sacrifices,

From the *Palatium* to the Capitoll.

23 Hee could in no wise abide to be either reputed or named the nephew of AGRIPPA by reason of his base and obscure parentage: yea and angrie hee would be, in case anie man either in Oration or Verse inserted *him among the images of the CÆSARS. But he gave it out openly, that his *owne mother was begotten by incest which AUGUSTUS committed with his owne daughter IULIA. And not content with this infamous imputation of AUGUSTUS, the *Actiack* and * *Sicilian* victories by him atchieved, hee streightly forbad to be celebrated yeerely with solemne holidaies, as beeing vnluckie and hurtfull to the people of *Rome*. As for LIVIA AUGUSTA his great Grand-mother, he called her ever and anon VLISSES in a womans habite: yea and in a certaine Epistle

*Agrippa.

*Agrippina supposed to be the daughter of M. *Agrippa* and *Iulia*.

*Simulasq; not Singulasq;

Epiſtle unto the Senate he was ſo bold as to lay unto her, *Ignobility as deſcended from a Decurian * of FUNDI who was her Grandſire by the mothers ſide, whereas it is evident and certaine by publick records that AUFIDIUS *LINGO bare honourable Offices in *Rome* When his Grandame *ANTONIA requeſted ſecret conference with him, he denied her, unleſſe MACRO Captaine of the Guard might come in betweene to heare their talke. And ſo, by ſuch indignities and diſcontentments as theſe, hee was the cauſe of her death: and yet, as ſome thinke, he gave her poiſon withall. Neither when ſhee was dead daigned hee her any honour, but out of his dining chamber beheld her funerall fire as it was burning. His brother TIBERIUS he ſurpriſed ſuddainly at unwares, ſending a Tribune (*a*) of Souldiours, who ruſhed in upon him and ſo ſlew him. Likewiſe *SILANUS his Father in law hee forced to death, even to cut his owne throate with a Razour, picking quarrels to them both and finding theſe cauſes: to wit, that the * one followed him not when hee tooke ſea beeing very rough and much troubled, but ſtaied behind in hope to ſeize the Cite of *Rome* into his owne hands, if ought hapned but well unto him by occaſion of tempeſts: * the other ſmelled ſtrongly of a Preſervative or Antidote, as if hee had taken the ſame to prevent his poiſons. Whereas, in very truth SILANUS avoided thereby the unſufferable paine of being Sea-ſick and the grievous trouble of ſayling: and TIBERIUS for a continuall cough that grew ſtill upon him uſed a medicine. For, his Vnkle *CLAUDIUS he reſerved for nothing elſe but to make him his laughing-ſtock.

*i. Baſenes of birth.

*Auſidius Lingo, or Lurco.

*Or Lurco.

*By the father ſide, to wit, the mother of *Germanicus*.

*VVhoſe daughter hee had maried.

*Silanus.

*Tiberius.

*His Succeſſour in the Empire.

24

With all his ſiſters, hee uſed ordinarily to be naught: and at any great feaſt hee placed evermore one or other of them by turnes beneath himſelfe, while his wife ſat above. Of theſe ſiſters (as it is verily thought) he defloured DRUSILLA being a virgin, when himſelfe alſo was yet under age and a very boy: Yea, and one time above the reſt hee was found in bed with her and taken in the manner by his Grandmother ANTONIA; in whoſe houſe they were brought up both together. Afterwards alſo when ſhee was beſtowed in mariage upon LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, a man of Conſulare degree, hee tooke her from him and kept her openly, as if ſhee had beene his owne lawfull wife. Alſo when he lay ſicke, he ordained her to be both heire of all his goods and Succeſſour alſo in the Empire. For the ſame ſiſter deceaſed, hee proclaimed a generall ceſſation * of Law in all Courts. During which time, a capitall crime it was for any man to have laughed, bathed, or ſupped together with parents, wife or children. And being impatient of this ſorrow, when hee was ſted ſuddainly and by night out of the Citie, and had paſſed all over *Campania*, to *Saracoſe* hee went; and ſo from thence returned ſpeedily againe with his beard and haire of head overgrowne. Neither at any time ever after, in making a ſpeech before the people or to his Souldiours concerning any matters were they never ſo weighty would hee ſweare otherwiſe than by the * name of DRUSILLA. The reſt of his ſiſters, (LIVIA and AGRIPPINA) hee loved neither with ſo tender affection nor ſo good reſpect as whō he oftētimes proſtituted & offred to be abuſed by his own ſtale catamites. So much the more eaſily there-

*To ſignifie a ſolemne mourning.

*Per nomen, ſome reade *Numen*, the godhead or divine power: For he equalled her with *Venus*, and women were compelled to ſweare by her, as by *Iuno*.

and commaunded that ſhe ſhould be worſhipped as a Goddeſſe; and as *Dion* writeth, named ſhe was *Panthea*,

fore condemned he them in the caſe of ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, as adultereſſes and privie to his treaſons and waite-layings addreſſed againſt his perſon. And he not onely divulged the hand-writings which were ſought out by guile and adulteries, but alſo conſecrated unto MARS REVENGER thoſe three daggers prepared * for his death, with a title over them, containing the cauſe of his ſo doing.

*By them, to wit *Lepidus* and his two ſiſters: or by him, for their death.

25

As for his mariages, a man may hardly diſcerne, whether hee contracted, diſſolved, or held them ſtill with more diſhoneſty. LIVIA ORESTILLA, what time ſhe was wedded unto C. PISO, himſelfe, (being one who came in perſon to the Solemnization of the mariage), commaunded to be brough home unto him as his owne wife: and having within few daies caſt her off, two yeeres after he baniſhed and ſent her away; becauſe in the middle time betweene, ſhee was thought to have * had the company againe of her former husband. Some report, that being an invited gueſt at the Nuptiall ſupper, he charged PISO ſitting over againſt him, in theſe termes, *Sirra, ſee you ſit not too cloſe unto my wife*: and ſo, preſently had her away with him from the table: and the next day publiſhed by Proclamation, *That hee had met with a mariage after the example of* (a) ROMULUS *and* AUGUSTUS. As touching LOLLIA PAULINA maried already to C. MEMMIUS, a man of Conſular degree and ruler of Armies: upon mention made of her Grandmother as the moſt beautifull Lady in her time, he all of a ſuddaine ſent and called her home out of * the Province: and taking her perforce from her husband, wedded her and ſhortly turned her away: forbidding her ſtraightly for ever the uſe of any mans body whatſoever. CÆSONIA, for no ſpeciall beauty and favour of her owne above others, nor yet becauſe ſhe was in the flower of her youth, (conſidering ſhee had beene the mother already of three daughters by another man): but onely for that ſhee was a moſt laſcivious woman and of unſatiable luſt he loved with more ardent affection and conſtancie: in ſo much as many a time he would ſhew her to his Souldiours in her haire, clad in a Souldiours * Caſſocke with a light Target and an helmet riding cloſe unto him: but to his friends, * ſtarke naked alſo. When ſhe brought him a * childe, hee vouchſafed her then, the name of his wife and not before; profeſſing and making it knowne, that in one and the ſelfe ſame day, he was become both her husband and alſo father of the Infant of her body borne. This babe he named IUNIA DRUSILLA: whom hee caried about with him through the temples of all the Goddeſſes; and beſtowed at length in the lap of * MINERVA, recommending it to her for to be nouriſhed, brought up and taught. Neither had hee any ſurer ſigne and evidence to believe ſhe was his owne and of his naturall ſeede conceived, than her curſtneſſe and ſhrewdneſſe: and that qualitie had ſhee even then at the firſt, in ſuch meaſure; as that with her perilous fingers ſhee would not ſticke to lay at the face and eyes of other ſmall Children playing together with her.

†Or ſought againe for the company &c. *repetiſſe.*

*Where ſhe was with her husband aforeſaid.

*Short cloake or horſemans coats chlamyde.

*Like as *Candaules* King of *Lydia*, did to his friend *Gyges*.

*A daughter.

26

Vanitie it were and meere folly, to adioine hereunto, how he ſerved his kinſfolke and friends, to wit PTOLEMÆUS K. IUBAES ſon & his owne couſin * ger-

†Remoued.

man

man (for hee alſo was the Nephew of M. ANTONIUS by his daughter SILLANA (a): but eſpecially MACRO himſelfe yea and ENNIA likewiſe, who were his chiefe helpers & aduanced him to the Empire. All of thē, in right of their neere affinity, and in conſideration of their good deſerts were highly rewarded, even with bloudy death. No more reſpective was hee one whit of the Senate, nor dealt in gentler wiſe with them: Some, after they had borne the higheſt honours, hee ſuffred to runne by his * Wagon ſide in their gownes for certaine miles together: and as he ſat at ſupper, to ſtand waiting one while at the head, another while at the foote of the table, girt with a white linnen towell about them. Others, whom hee had ſecretly murdred, he continued never the leſſe calling for, as if they were alive: giving it out moſt untruly ſome few daies after, that they had wilfully made themſelves away. The Conſuls had forgot by chaunce to publiſh by proclamation his Birth-day; For which, hee deprived them of their magiſtracie: and ſo for three daies ſpace the Common-wealth was without the ſoveraine (b) authoritie. His owne Queſtour, who hapned to be nominated in a conſpiracie againſt him, hee cauſed to be ſcourged: and the cloathes out of which hee was ſtripped to be put under the Souldiours feete, that they might ſtand more ſteedily whiles they were whipping him. In ſemblable pride and violence hee handled other States and degrees of Citizens. Beeing diſquieted with the ſtirre and noiſe that they kept, who by midnight tooke up their ſtandings in the * *Cirque*, which coſt them nothing; hee drave them all away with cudgels: in which tumult and hurliburly, there were twenty Knights of *Rome* and above, crowded and cruſhed to death; as many matrones and wives alſo; beſides an infinite number of the common multitude. At the Stage Plaies, being minded to ſow diſcord, and miniſter occaſion of quarrell betweene the Commons and Gentlemen of *Rome*: he gave his (c) Tallies forth ſooner than ordinarie: to the end that the * *Equeſtria* might be poſſeſſed afore-hand even by the baſeſt Commoners that came. At the ſword-fight, he other whiles commaunded the Curtaines to be folded up and drawne together, during the moſt parching heate of the ſunne: and forbad that any perſon ſhould be let * forth: and then, removing and ſending quite away the ordinarie furniture of ſhewes provided to make paſtime, he put forth unto the people for to behold, poore wild-beaſts and carian-leane, to bee baited: the baſeſt ſword-fencers alſo and worne with age, to combat: yea, and appointed * houſholders ſuch as were of quality and well knowne, but yet noted for ſome ſpeciall feebleneſſe and imperfection of body to goe under the (d) * *Pegmes* and carie them. And divers times hee * brought a dearth and famine among the people, by ſhutting up the garners and Store-houſes from them.

* *Eſſedum*, or carroch.

* Or ſhew-place.

* Or Tickets.

* Roomes and ſeates in the Theater appointed for the Gentlemen.

* *Emitti*, ſome read *amictui*, i. to be covered with Hat, veile, benet or Bongrace againſt the ſunne.

* i. Citizens.

* *Pegmatis*, in the dative caſe. or frames for Pageants.

* *Induxit.*

27

The crueltie of his nature he ſhewed by theſe examples moſt of all. When Cattell which were to feede wilde beaſts prepared for baiting, grew to be ſold very deere, he appointed malefactours found guilty to be ſlaughtered for that purpoſe. And in taking the review of Goales and priſoners therein, as they were ſorted according to their offences: he, without once looking upon the title & cauſe of their impriſonment, ſtanding only within a gallerie, cōmaunded al in the mids, *a calvo ad calvū* (a) i. from one bald-pate to another, to be led forth to execution. He exacted of him the performance of a vow, who had promiſed

* *Medios, a calvo ad calvum.*

to doe his devoir in publick ſword-fight for the recoverie of his health: and him he beheld fighting at ſharpe: neither diſmiſſed he him before he was victour, and after many prayers. Another there was, who for the ſame cauſe had vowed to die. This man being not very forward to pay his vow, hee cauſed to be dight with ſacred hearbs, and adorned with * Infules, like a ſacrifice; and ſo delivered him into the hands of boyes: who calling hard vpon him for the diſcharge of his vow, ſhould courſe and drive him through the ſtreets of the City, untill he were throwne headlong downe the ſteepe * Rampier. Many honeſt Citizens of good calling and eſtate, after he had firſt diſfigured with markes of branding yrons, he condemned to dig in mines, and to make high-waies, or to encounter with beaſts: or kept them creeping with all foure like brute beaſts within a cage for the nonce: or elſe ſlit them through the mids with a ſawe. And thoſe whom hee thus ſerved, were not all of them guilty of any grievous offences: but ſufficient it was, if they had a baſe conceite and ſpake but meanly of ſome ſhew that he exhibited: or becauſe they had never ſworne ſtoutly by his * *Genius*. Parents he forced to be preſent at the execution of their owne children. And when one Father excuſed himſelfe by reaſon of ſickneſſe, hee ſent a Licter for him: another of them immediatly after the heavie ſpectacle of his ſonne put to death, he invited to his own (*c*) bourd; made him great cheere, and by all manner of courteſie provoked him to iocondneſſe and mirth. The Maiſter of his ſword-fights and beaſt baitings, he cauſed for certaine daies together to be beaten with (*d*) chaines in his owne ſight: but killed him not quite, before himſelfe could no longer abide the ſtench of his braine by this time putrified. A Poet, the Author of *Atellane Enterludes*, for a verſe that he made implying a ieſt, which might be doubly taken, he burnt at a ſtake in the very middle ſhew-place of the *Amphitheatre*. A Gentleman of *Rome*, whom he had caſt before wild beaſts, when he cried out, *That he was innocent*, he commaunded to be brought back: and after hee had cut out his tongue, ſent him among them againe, (to fight for his life or to be devoured).

*Ribbands.

* Of *Tarquinius*, as ſome thinke.

* Theſe *Genij*, are of a middle eſſence, betweene men & Gods, called therefore, *Mediaxumi*. It ſignifieth here, the *Damon*, *Tutelar* angel or ſpirit of the Prince. For the maner of the *Romaines* was in flattering wiſe, thus to ſweare, as alſo by the helth the life, the honour of their Emperours.

28

Having recalled one from exile which had been long baniſhed, he demaunded of him, *what he was wont to do there?* who made anſwere thus by way of flatterie, *I praied* quoth he, *to the Gods alwaies that* TIBERIVS * (*as now it is come to paſſe*) *might periſh, and you become Emperour*. Hereupon CALIGVLA weening that thoſe whom he had baniſhed praied likewiſe for his death, ſent about into the * Ilands, to kill them every one. Being deſirous to have a Senatour torne & mangled peecemeale, he ſuborned certaine of purpoſe, who all on a ſuddaine as he entred into the *Curia*, ſhould call him enemie to the State, & ſo lay violent hands upon him: and when they had with their (*a*) writing yrons all to pricked and ſtabbed him, deliver him over to the reſt, for to be diſmembred and cut in peeces accordingly. Neither was hee ſatisfied, untill he ſaw the mans limmes, ioints and inwards drawne along the ſtreetes, and piled all on an heape together before him.

* Who had baniſhed him.

* Where they were wont to live baniſhed.

29

His deeds moſt horrible as they were, hee augmented with as cruell words. His ſaying was, That he commended and approved in his owne nature nothing more, than (to uſe his own terme) *adiatrepſian*, *i.* unmoveable rigour. Whē his Grandmother ANTONIA ſeemed to give him ſome admonitiō, he (as though it were not enough to diſobey her), *Go to dame*, quoth he, *remēber I may do what I wil againſt all perſons whōſoever*. Being minded to kill his owne brother, whom

for

for feare of poiſon he imagined to be fortified afore-hand with *Preſervatives; *What* quoth he, *is there any Antidote againſt* CÆSAR? When he had baniſhed his ſiſters, he threatned them in theſe termes, ſaying, *That hee had not (a) Hands onely at commaund, but ſwords alſo.* A certaine Citizen of Pretours degree, deſired oftentimes frō the retiring place where he was at *Anticyra*, (*b*) (into which Iſle he went for his health ſake) to have his licence * continued. But hee gave order he ſhould be killed outright: adding theſe words therewith, that *Bloud-letting was neceſſary for him, who in ſo long time had found no good by* * HELLEBOR. Once every ten daies, his manner was to ſubſcribe and write downe a certaine number out of the Goale to be executed, and ſaid withall, That hee caſt up his reckonings, and cleared the booke of accompts. When hee had at one time condemned a ſort of French-men and Greekes together, hee made his boaſt *That he had ſubdued* * GALLOGRÆCIA.

*Or Counterpoiſons.

* By letters or friends that he made.

*Renewed.

*.i. By purging

* A Nation mixt, of French and Greekes.

He would not lightly permit any to ſuffer death, but after many ſtrokes given and thoſe very ſoftly; with this rule and precept evermore, which now became rife and well knowne, * *Strike ſo, as they may feele that they are dying.* Hee executed on a time one whom he had not appointed to die, by error onely and miſtaking his name: *But it makes no matter*, quoth he, *for even he alſo hath deſerved death.* This ſpeech of the * Tyrant out of a Tragædie, hee often repeated *Oderint dum metuant .i. Let them hate me ſo they feare me.* Many a time hee inveighed bitterly againſt all the Senatours at once, as the Dependants and adhærents of SEIANUS, or the Informers againſt his mother and brethren; bringing forth thoſe evidences which hee had made ſemblance before were burnt: And therewith excuſed & iuſtified the cruelty of TIBERIUS as neceſſary: ſeeing he could not otherwiſe chuſe but beleeve ſo many that made preſentments unto him. The degree of Gentlemen he railed at continually, as devoted wholly to the Stage and ſhew-place. Being highly diſpleaſed upon a time with the multitude favouring as they did the contrary * faction to * his, *Would God*, quoth he, *that the people of Rome had but one neck.* And when TETRINIUS (*a*) LATRO was by them called for to fight at ſharpe, he ſaid, *That they alſo who called for him were* * TETRINII every one. It fortuned that five of theſe * RETIARII, fighting in their ſingle coates, and * together by companies, had without any combat yeelded themſelves as overcome to as many other Champions or Fencers called * *Secutores*. Now when commaundement was given (by the people) *That they ſhould be killed*, one takes me up his Trout-ſpeare againe into his hand and ſlew all the other five who were thought the Conquerours. This ſlaughter he both bewailed in an Edict as moſt cruell, and alſo curſed them that endured to ſee the ſight.

* *Iuſſeri, &c.*

* *Atreus.*

*Of *Charioteers*

*For he favoured the greene Liverie.

*Worthy and meet to be put to ſword-fight.

*So named of a net that they uſed in fight to catch their adverſarie with: they handled alſo a weapon with three tines or pikes like a Trout-ſpeare. They were called *Threces.*

**Gregatim dimicantes*: for deſtruction of thoſe that were called *Monomachi*, & imployed in ſingle fight.

*Otherwiſe, *Mirmillones*, Theſe were armed, whereas the *Retiarij*, were lightly appointed, and *Tunicati*, traverſing their ground nimbly, and ſeeming otherwhiles to flie whereupon the others took their name, *Secutores*, as following them.

31 Hee was wont moreover to complaine openly of the condition of his time wherein he lived, as not renowmed by any publick calamities: Whereas the raigne of AUGUSTUS was memorable for the overthrow of VARUS: that of TIBERIUS ennobled by the fall of ſcaffolds in the Theater at *Fidenæ*. As for himſelfe, like hee was to be forgotten, (ſuch was the proſperity in his daies). And evermore he wiſhed the carnage and execution of his armies: Famine, Peſtilence, and Skarfires, or ſome opening chinks of the ground.

32 Even whiles he was at his recreations and diſports, whiles he ſet his mind upon gaming and feaſting, the ſame cruelty practiſed he both in word & deed.

Oftentimes as hee ſate at dinner or banquetted, were ſerious matters examined in his very ſight by way of torture: and the Souldiour that had the skill and dexterity to behead folke, then and there uſed to cut off the heads of any priſoners indifferently without reſpect. At *Puteoli*, when he dedicated the bridge, which as we noted before, was his owne invention: after hee had invited many unto him from the ſhore and ſtrond, ſuddainly hee turned them all headlong over the bridge into the water. And ſeeing ſome of them taking hold of the* helmes for to ſave themſelves, he ſhooved and thruſt them off, with poles and oares into the ſea. At a* publick feaſt in *Rome*, there chaunced * a ſervant to pluck-off a thin * plate of ſilver from the * table: and for this, immediatly hee delivered him to the hang-man for to be executed; namely to have his hands cut off, and hung about his neck iuſt before his breſt with a written Title caried before him declaring the cauſe of this his puniſhment: and ſo to be led round about all the companies as they ſat at meate. One of theſe Fencers called * MIRMILLONES, comming out of the Fence-ſchoole plaied at wooden waſters with him; and there tooke a fall for the nonce, and lay along at his feete: him he ſtabbed for his labour, with a ſhort yron skeine that hee had: and withall, after the ſolemne manner of Victors, ranne up and downe with his garland of Date tree branches. There was a beaſt brought to the Altar ready to be killed for Sacrifice: he comes girt in habite of theſe * *Beaſt-ſlayers*, and with the axe head that he lifted up on high, knocked downe the Miniſter himſelfe, who was addreſſed to cut the ſaid beaſts throat, and ſo daſhed his braines out. At a plenteous feaſt where there was great cheere, he ſet up all at once an unmeaſurable laughter: And when the Conſuls who ſate iuſt by him asked gently and with faire language, *Whereat he laughed ſo?* *At what elſe*, quoth hee, *but this, That with one nod of my head, I can have both your throats cut immediatly.*

* For this bridge was made of barks.
* A great dinner.
* waiting at the bord.
* Or leafe.
* For tables in thoſe dayes were laid & couered ouer with ſiluer plates. *Plin. lib.* 33.
* Or *ſecutores*, aforeſaid.
* At ſacrifice.

33

Among divers and ſundry ieſts and merie conceites of his, as he ſtoode once hard by the image of IUPITER, he demaunded of APELLES an actour of Tragædies, whether of the twaine he thought to be the greater and more ſtately, IUPITER or himſelfe? And whiles he made ſome ſtay ere he anſwered, he all to tare and mangled him with whipping cheere, praiſing ever and anone his voice crying unto him for mercy, as paſſing ſweet and pleaſant, even when he groned alſo under his laſhes. So often as he kiſſed the neck of wife or * concubine, he would ſay withall, *As faire and lovely a neck as this is, off it ſhall goe if I doe but ſpeake the word.* Moreover, he gave it forth many a time, *That he would himſelfe fetch out of his wife* CÆSONIA, *though it were with Lute-ſtrings, what (a) was the reaſon that he loved her ſo entirely?*

* Or *Paramour*.
* By cramping and torturing her therewith.

34

Neither raged he with leſſe envie and ſpiteſull malice, than pride and cruelty, againſt perſons, in manner, of all times and ages. The Statues of brave and worthy men brought by AUGUSTUS out of the Capitoll Courtyard for the ſtraightneſſe of the place, into *Mars*-field, he overthrew and caſt here and there in ſuch ſort, as they could not be ſet up againe with the Titles and Inſcriptions whole: forbidding that ever after there ſhould be any where Statue or Image erected unto any perſon living, without his advice asked and graunt paſſed. He was of minde alſo to aboliſh HOMERS verſes: *For why may not I*, quoth he, *doe that*,

that which PLATO *lawfully did? who baniſhed * him out of the Cittie that he framed and ordeined.* The writings likewiſe and images of VIRGIL and T. LIVIVS, he went within a little of remooving out of all libraries. The * one of theſe he carped, as a man of no witte and uerie meane learning: the *other, for his verboſitie and negligence in penning his Hiſtorie. Moreouer, as touching Lawiers, (as if he meant to take away all uſe of their skill and knowledge) he caſt out theſe words many times, *That he would ſurely bring it to paſſe, They ſhould bee able to give none other anſwere nor councell than according to reaſon and æquitie.*

*Being a Poet.

*Virgill.
*Livie.

He took from the nobleſt perſonages that were, the olde armes and * badges of their houſes: Frō TORQUATUS the *collar: frō CINCINNATUS the curled lock of haire: & from CN. *POMPEIUS, of an ancient ſtocke deſcended, the ſurname of MAGNUS belonging to that linage. As for King PTOLEMEUS, (of whom I made report before) whē he had both ſent for him out of his realme and alſo honorably intertained him he ſlewe all of a ſodaine, for no other cauſe in the World but for that as he entred into the Theatre to ſee the ſhewes and games there exhibited, hee pereeived him to haue turned the eyes of all the people upon him, with the reſplendent brightneſſe of his purple caſſocke. All ſuch as were faire, and caried a thick buſh of haire growne long, ſo often as they came in his way, he disfigured by ſhaving their heads all behind. There was one ESIUS PROCHLUS (whoſe father had beene a principall captaine of the formoſt cohort) for his exceeding tall perſonage and louely fauour withall named (*a*) COLOSSEROS, Him hee cauſed ſodainly to be pulled downe from the ſcaffold where he ſat, and to be brought into the plaine within the liſts: where he matched him in fight with a ſword-fenſer of that ſort which be called *Threces*, and afterwards with another, all *armed. Now when he had giuen the *foile twice, & gotten the upper hand, he commanded him forthwith to be pinniond & bound faſt, & being put into foule and overworne clothes to be led round about the ſtreets to be ſhewed unto wome, & ſo to have his throat cut in the end. To conclude there was none of ſo baſe & abiect condition, nor of ſo mean eſtate, whoſe commodities & good parts he depraved not. Againſt the great Prelat ſtiled by the name K. NEMORENSIS, becauſe he had many yeares already enioyed his ſacerdotall dignitie he ſuborned under hand a concurrent and aduerſarie mightier than himſelfe. When as vpon a certaine day of *publike games, there was greater applauſe & more clapping of hands than ordinarie at POPIUS the *fenſer, manumiſing his ſlave for ioy of the fortunate cōbate which hee had made, he ſiung out of the Theatre in ſuch haſt, that treading vpō his own gown skirt he came tumbling down the ſtaires with his head forward: chafing and fuming yea and crying out *That the people of Reme, Lords of all nations, yeelded more honour, and that out of a moſt vaine and frivolous occaſion unto a ſword-fenſer, than to conſecrated Princes, or to himſelfe there in perſonall preſence.*

35

*Or Enſignes.
*Or Cheine.
*Who afterwards, married the daughter of *Claudius* the Emperour.

**Hoplomachos*, with ſhield and helmet.
*To the *Threx* & *Hoplomachus*.

*To wit, ſword fight.
**Eſſedario*, or Champion that vſe to fight ar d play his prizes out of a British or Frēch Chariot called *Eſſeda*.

No regard had he of chaſtitie and cleanneſſe, eyther in himſelfe or in others. M. LEPIDUS MNESTER the **Pantomime*, yea & certain hoſtages he kept and loved as the ſpeech went, by way of reciprocall cōmerce in mutuall impunity. Doing & ſuffering againſt kind. VALERIUS CATULLUS, a yong gentleman deſcēded from a familie of Conſuls degree, cōplained & openly cried out, that

36

*A player counterfeiting all partes, and kindes of geſture.

hee was unnaturally by him abuſed; and that his uerie ſides were weried, and tyred out with his filthie companie. Over and above the inceſts commited with his owne ſiſters, and his love ſo notorious of PIRALLIS that common and proſtitute ſtrumpet, there was not lightly a dame or wife of anie worſhip and reputation, that hee forbare. And thoſe for the moſt part would he inuite together with their husbands to ſupper: and as they paſſed by at his feete, peruſe and conſider curiouſly; taking leaſure thereto after the maner of thoſe that cheapen and buy wares in ouvert market: yea and with his hand chocke them under the chin and make them to looke up, if happily any of them in modeſty and for baſhfulneſſe held downe their faces. And then ſo often as he liſted, out he goes from the refection roome, and when he had called her unto him apart that liked him beſt, hee would within a little after: (even whiles the tokens were yet freſh teſtifying their wanton worke) returne: and openly before all the cõpanie, eyther praiſe or diſpraiſe her: reckoning up everie good or bad part of bodie and action in that brutiſh buſineſſe. To ſome of them, himſelfe ſent bils of divorſement in the name of their husbands abſent and commanded the ſame to be ſet upon the file and ſtand in publike record.

37 In riotous and waſtfull (*a*) expenſe, he outwent the wits and inuentions of all the prodigal ſpendthrifts that ever were; as having deviſed a new found manner and uſe of baines, together with moſt ſtrange and monſtrous kinds of meats and meales: namely, to bath with hote and cold *ointments: to drinke off and quaffe moſt pretious and coſtly pearles diſſolued in vinegar: to ſet upon the bourd at feaſtes loaves of bread and other viands to them before his gueſts, all of golde, ſaying commonly withall, That a man muſt either be frugall or els CÆSAR. Moreover for certaine dayes together, he flung and ſcattered among the common people from the Lovuer of the ſtately Hall IULIA, mony in peeces of no meane ualew. He built moreover tall galliaſſes of ceder (*b*) timber, with poupes and ſternes beſet with precious ſtones, carying ſailes of ſundrie colours conteining in them barnes, large galleries, walking places, and dining chambers of great receit: with vines alſo and trees bearing apples and other fruit in as much varietie: wherein he would ſit feaſting in the uery day time among quires of muſicians and melodious ſingers, and ſo ſaile along the coſts of *Campania*. In building of ſtately Pallaces and mannor houſes in the countrey he caſt aſide all rules and orders as one deſirous to do nothing ſo much as that which was thought unpoſſible to be done. And therfore he laid foundations of piles where the ſea was moſt raging and deep withal, and hewed rocks of moſt hard flint & rag: plains alſo he raiſed even with mountaines & by digging down hill tops levelled them equall with the plaines: all with incredible celeritie: as puniſhing thoſe who wrought but ſlowly even with death. In ſumm, (and not to reckon vp euerie thing in particular) That infinite wealth and maſſe of Treaſure which TIBERIUS CÆSAR left behind him valued at * 2700. millians of Seſterces, hee conſumed to nothing, before one whole yeare was gone about.

*Or Oiles

*Vicies ac ſeptieſmillies.

38 Being exhauſt therefore and growen exceeding bare, he turned his mind to rapine and polling by ſundrie and moſt nice points; of forged calumniation, of ſales, of impoſts and taxes. He affirmed plainely, that thoſe held not by lawe and rightfully the freedome of Rome Cittie, whoſe Auncеſtours had obtained the

the grant thereof in theſe tearmes, *to them and their poſteritie*: unleſſe they were ſonnes: For, by *Poſteri* .i. *Poſterity* quoth he, ought to be underſtood none beyond this degree of deſcent. And when the Letters-pattens and graunts of Iulius and Augustus, (late Emperours of ſacred memorie) were brought forth as evidences, he *bewailed the ſame as olde, paſt date and of no validitie. Hee charged thoſe alſo with falſe valuation and * wrong certificate of their eſtates, unto whom there had accrued afterward (upon what cauſe ſoever) any encreaſe of ſubſtance. The laſt willes and teſtamentes of ſuch as had beene principall *Centurions* of the formoſt Cohorts, as many I ſay, as from the beginning of Tiberius Empire, had left neither the ſayd Tiberius, nor himſelfe Heire, he canciled for their unthankfulneſſe: of all the reſt likewiſe, he held the wils as voide, and of none effect: in caſe any perſon would come forth and ſay, that they purpoſed and intended, at their death to make Cæsar their Heire. Vpon which feare that hee put men in, beeing now both by unknowen perſons unto him, nominated Heire among their familiar friends, and alſo by parents among their children, he tearmed them all mockers and couſiners, for that after ſuch nuncupative wils they continued ſtil alive: and to manie of them he ſent certaine * dainties empoiſoned. Now ſuch cauſes as theſe above-ſaide he heard judicially debated: having before hand ſet downe a certaine rate and ſumme of money, for the raiſing whereof he ſat iudicially in Court: and when that ſumme was fully made vp, then and not before hee would ariſe. And (as he was one who in no wiſe could abide any little delay) he condemned vpon a time by uertue of one definitive ſentence above fortie perſons, liable to judgement for divers and ſundry crimes: making his boaſt withall unto his wife Cæsonia newly wakened out of her ſleepe, *What a deale he had done, while ſhe toooke her noones repoſe.* Having publiſhed an open port ſale of the reſidue remaining of furniture provided to ſet out all ſhews and games, he cauſed the ſaid parcels to be brought forth and ſold: ſetting the prices thereof himſelfe and enhaunſing the ſame to ſuch a prick, that ſome men enforced to buye certaine things at an extreame and exceeding rate (whereby they were empoveriſhed and ſtript of all their goods) cut their owne veines and ſo bled to death. Well knowen it is that whiles Aponius Saturninus tooke a nap and ſlept among the ſeats and ſtauls where theſe ſales were held; Caius put the *Bedell in mind not to let ſlip and overpaſſe ſuch an honorable perſon of Pretours degree as he was: conſidering quoth he, that with his head he had ſo often nodded and made *ſignes unto him, and thus taking that occaſion, he never reſted raiſing the price whiles he ſat and nodded ſtil, untill there were faſtened upon the man, (ignorant God wote, altogether of any ſuch matter) thirteene ſword-fenſers, at nine millians of Seſterces.

In *Gaule* likewiſe, when he had ſould the jewels, ornaments, and houſhold-ſtuffe of his *ſiſters by him condemned; their ſeruants alſo and uerie children at exceſſive high prices: finding ſweetneſſe in the gaine growing thereupon and thereby drawen on to proceede in that courſe, looke what furniture belonged to the old imperiall Court, hee ſent for it all from the Cittie of *Rome*. For the cariage whereof, hee tooke vp even the paſſengers wagons that uſually were hired, yea the uery jades which ſerued *mils and backe-houſes: In ſo much, as manie times there wanted bread in *Rome*: and a number of Termers, ſuch

*Deflebat, or deflabat i. he reiected and deſpiled.

*Perperam editi Cenſus.

*Mathes or Matyas, ſuch as Marchpanes

*Or Crier.

*As it were, to buy this & that

39

*Livilla and Agrippina.

*In grinding Corne, and carrying bread

ſuch as had matters depending in lawe, for that they could not make their appearance in Court at their dayes appointed, by abſence loſt their ſuits. For the ſelling of which furniture, there was no fraude, no guile, no deceitful allurement to be deviſed that he uſed not: one while checking each one for their auarice, and rating them becauſe they were not aſhamed to be richer than he: otherwhiles making ſemblance of repentance, in that he permitted perſons to have the buying of ſuch things as belongd to the Empire. Intelligence was given vnto him, that a certaine wealthy and ſubſtantiall man in that province, had paide 200000. ſeſterces unto his officers (who had the bidding of gueſts unto his owne table) that by ſome ſuttle ſhift, himſelfe might be foiſted in among other gueſts: neither was he diſcōtēted that the honor of ſupping with him was prized ſo high. The morrow after therfore, as this provinciall man was ſitting at a publike portſale, hee ſent one of purpoſe ro tender and deliver unto him ſome frivolous trifle (I wot not what) at the price of 200000 ſeſterces: and withall to ſay unto him, *That take a ſupper he ſhould with* CÆSAR, *as a gueſt inuited by his owne ſelfe.*

40 He levied and gathered new tributes and impoſts, ſuch as never were heard of before: at the firſt by the hands of Publicanes; and afterward (by reaſon of the exceſſive gaines that came in) by the Centurions and Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts. For he omitted no kind of thing, no manner of perſon, but he impoſed ſome tribute upon them. For all cates that were to be ſolde throughout the Citie, there was exacted a certaine taxation & ſet paiment, For actions for ſuits, for judgemēts wherſoever cōmenſed or drawn in writing, the fortieth part of the whole ſumme in ſuite went to his ſhare in the name of a tribute: not without a penaltie, in caſe anie one were conuinced, to have eyther growen to compoſition or given the thing in queſtion. The eighth part of the poore porters and Cariers daies-wages: out of the gets alſo and takings of common ſtrumpets, as much as they earned by once lying with a man, was payed *nomine tributi.* Moreover to the chapter of the law, this branch was annexed, that there ſhould bee liable to this tribute, not onely the parties themſelues that by trade of harlotry gat their living, but even they likewiſe who kept houſes of bawderie: As alſo that *wedded perſons ſhould paye for their vſe of mariage.

*Necnon et matrimonia obnoxia eſſent. Some interpret this of wedded folke playing falſe & cōmitting adulterie.

41 After theſe and ſuch like taxes were denounced by proclamation, but not yet publiſhed abroad in writing, when as through ignorance of the written lawe (*a*) many treſpaſſes and tranſgreſſions were committed: at length, upon inſtant demaund of the people, he propoſed indeede the act, but written in very ſmall letter and within as narrow a place, ſo that no man might exemplifie the ſame or copie it out. And to the end that there might bee no kinde of ſpoile and pillage which he attempted not, he ſet up a ſtewes and brothelhouſe in the verie *Palace*, with many roomes and chambers therein diſtinguiſhed aſunder, and furniſhed according to the dignity and worth of that place. In it there ſtood to proſtitute themſelues, maried wives, youths and ſpringals free borne. Then ſent he all about to the frequented places as well markets as Halles of reſort, certaine *Nomenclatours*, to inuite and call thither by name, young men and olde, for to fulfill and ſatisfie their luſt. All comers at their entrance payde money (as it were) for uſurie and intereſt. Certaine perſons alſo were appoin-

ted

ted to take note in open ſight, of their names, as of ſuch as were good friends increaſing the revenewes of CÆSAR. And not diſdeining ſo much as the lucre and vantage ariſing out of hazard and dice-play, hee gained the more by cogging, lying, yea and forſwearing (of gameſters). And upon a time, having put over to his next fellow gameſter his owne courſe, to caſt the dice for him in his turne: out he goes into the court-yeard and foregate of the houſe: where, having eſpied two wealthy gentlemē of *Rome* paſſing by, he commanded them to be apprehended incontinently, and condemned in the confiſcation of their goods: which done he returned in againe, leaping for joy & making his vaunt, *That he never had a luckier hand at dice.*

42 But when he had once a daughter borne, complaining then of his povertie and the heavie charges that lay upon him not onely as Emperour, but alſo as a father, he gently tooke the uoluntarie contributions and benevolence of men toward the finding of the girle her food, as alſo for her Dowry another day. He declared alſo by an edict, that he would receive newyeares gifts: and ſo he ſtood the firſt* day of Ianuarie, in the porch or entrie of his houſe PALATINE, readie to take what peeces ſoever of money came, which the multitude of all ſorts and degrees, with full hands and *boſomes poured out before him. Finally, ſo farre was he incenſed with the deſire of handling money, that oftentimes he would both walke bare-footed up & down, yea & wallow alſo a good while with his whole body upō huge heapes of coyned gold peeces, ſpred here and there in a moſt large and open place.

* Or a *Kalendis* i the firſt day, &c.

* Or laps of their clothes

43 In militarie matters and warlike affaires he never dealt but once: and that was not vpon any intended purpoſe: but what time as he had made a progreſſe to *Mevania*, for to ſee the ſacred grove & river of *Clitumnus*; being put in mind to ſupply & make up the number of the *Batauians* whom he had about him for his guard, it tooke him in the head to make an expedition into *Germanie*. Neither deferred he this diſignement, but having levied from al parts a power conſiſting of legions and auxiliarie forces; and taken muſters moſt rigorouſly in every quarter, as alſo raiſed & gathered together uictuals & proviſion of al ſorts in that quantity, as never any other before him the like, he put himſelfe on his journey. Wherein he marched, one while in ſuch hurrie and haſte, as that the *Pretorian* cohorts were forced (againſt the manner and cuſtome) to beſtowe their enſignes vpon the ſumpter beaſts backs & ſo to follow after: otherwhiles, after ſuch a ſlow and delicate manner, as that he would be carried in a litter vpon eight mens ſhoulders, and exact of the common people inhabiting the neighbour cities adioyning, that the high waies might be ſwept & watered for the duſt, againſt his comming.

44 After that he was arrived once at the campe, to the end that he might ſhew himſelfe a ſharpe and ſevere Captaine. Thoſe Lieutenants who had brought aid with the lateſt, out of divers and diſſituate parts, he diſcharged with ignominie and ſhame. But in the reuiew of his armie the moſt part of the Centurions who had alreadie ſerued out their complete time, yea and ſome whoſe terme within nery few dayes would have beene fully expired, he deprived of their places: to wit, the leading of the formoſt bands, finding fault forſooth with the olde age and feebleneſſe of every one. As for the reſt, after hee had given them a rebuke for their avarice, he abridged the fees and availes due for

their

their ſeruice performed; and brought that ſame downe to the valew of 6000. ſeſterces. And having atchieved no greater exploit, than taken to his mercie, ADMINIUS the ſonne of CINOBELLINUS King of the *Britains, who being by his father baniſhed, was fled over ſea with a ſmall power and traine about him, be ſent magnificent and glorious letters to *Rome*, as if the whole Iſle had beene yeelded into his hands: warning and willing the carriers euer and anon, to ride forward in their wagon directly into the market place and the Curia, and in no wiſe to deliver the ſayd meſſives but in the Temple of MARS vnto the Conſuls, and that in a frequent aſſembly of the Senate.

*Batavorum, .i. the Batavorians.

45 Soone after, when there failed matter of warre, he commanded a few *Germanes* of the *Corps de guard, to be tranſported & hidden on the other ſide of *Rhene*, and that news ſhould be reported unto him after dinner in moſt tumultuous manner, *That the enemy was come*: which done, he made what haſte hee could, and together with ſome of his friends and part of the Pretorian horſemen he entred the next wood: where after he had cut off the heads of trees and adorned their bodies in manner of *Tropæes*, hee returned into the Campe by torch-light. As for thoſe uerily who followed him not in this ſeruice; he reproved and checked them for their timorouſneſſe and cowardiſe: But his companions and partners in this douty uictorie, he rewarded with a new kind and as ſtrange a name of *Coronets*: which being garniſhed and ſet out with the expreſſe forme of *Sunne*, *Moone*, and *Stars* he called (a) *Exploratorias*. Againe, when as certaine hoſtages were had *away perforce out of the *Grammer* ſchoole, and privily ſent before, he ſuddenly left his ſupper, and with his men of armes purſued them as runawaies, and beeing overtaken and caught againe he brought them backe as priſoners bound in chaines; ſhewing himſelfe even in this enterlude alſo, beyond all meaſure inſolent and intemperate. Now after he was come backe to ſupper, thoſe who brought him word that the battailes were rallied and come forward in ſafetie, hee exhorted to ſit downe to meate armed as they were in their Corſelets: yea and aduertiſed them out of that moſt vulgar Verſe of VIRGIL. *Durarent, Secundisque rebus ſe ſeruarent.* .i.

Still to endure in all aſſayes
And keepe themſelues for better dayes.

*De Caſtodia, or that were priſoners and in vward

*By his means,

Moreover, amid theſe affaires, he rebuked moſt ſharply in a proclamation, the Senate and people both, in their abſence: For *that whiles* CÆSAR *fought battailes and was expoſed to ſo many perils, they could ſo unſeaſonably celebrate feaſtes, haunt alſo the Cirque, The Theatres, and their reſyring places of ſolace and pleaſure.*

46 Laſt of all, as if he meant now to make a finall diſpatch for ever of the warr having embattailed his armie upon the Ocean ſhore, planted his baliſts and other engins of Artillerie in their ſeuerall places, (and no man wiſt the while or could imagine what he went about) all at once he commanded them to gather fiſh-ſhels, and therewith to fill their headpeeces and laps, tearming them the ſpoiles of the Ocean, *due to the Capitol, and the Palatium.* In token alſo and memoriall of this brave uictorie, he raiſed an exceeding high turret, out of which as from a watch-towre, there might ſhine all night long lights and fires for the better direction of ſhips at ſea in their courſe. And after hee had pronounced

nounced publikely a donative to his Souldiours, even an hundred good Deniers a peece; as if thereby hee had surmounted all former precedents of liberality, *Now goe your waies*, quoth hee, *with ioy, Goe your wayes I say, enriched and wealthy.* * As if with 3 l. 2 s 6 pence, they had beene made for ever,

47

Turning his minde after this to the care of his Triumph, hee selected and set apart for the pompe (over and above the Captives and runnagate Barbarians) the tallest men of Stature also that were to be found in Gaule: and everie one that (as hee saide himselfe) was *axiothriambentos*, that is, worthy to be seene in a Triumph, yea and some of the Nobles and principall persons of that Nation: Whom hee compelled not onely to colour the haire of their heads yellow like burnished gold, and to weare the same long: but also to learne the Germaines language, and to beare barbarous names. He gave commaundement also; that the Gallies with three rankes of Oares, wherein hee had embarqued and entred the Ocean, should bee convaied to *Rome*, a great part of the way by land. Hee wrote likewise unto his procuratours and Officers, *To provide the furniture of his triumph, with as little cost as might be: but yet the same in as ample manner as never before was the like, seeing they had both might and right to seize all mens goods into their hands.*

48

Before his departure out of that Province, hee intended the execution of an horrible and abhominable designement; even to put to sword those Legions, which long a goe upon the decease of Augustus, had made a commotion: because, forsooth, they had beset both his father Germanicus their Captaine, and himselfe also, then an Infant. And being hardly and with much a-doe reclaimed from such a rash and inconsiderate proiect, yet could hee by no meanes be stayed: but stifly persisted in a full minde and will to * tith them. When hee had summoned them therefore to a publique assembly, unarmed, and without their swords which they had put off and bestowed heere and there, he environed them with his Cavallerie all armed. But seeing once, that many of them suspecting where-about he went, slipped away in sundry places for to resume their weapons if any violence were offred, himselfe abandoned the assembly and fled, taking his direct way immediatly to the Citie of *Rome*; diverting all his bitternesse and crueltie upon the Senate: Whom, (to avert from himselfe the odious rumours of so great and shamefull villanies) hee openly threatned; complaining among other matters that he was by them defrauded and put by his iust and due triumph: whereas, himselfe but a little before, had intimated and denounced upon paine of death, that they should not make nor meddle in any matter about his honours. * i. To kill every tenth man of them:

49

Being encountred therefore and met upon the way by Embassadours from that most honourable* Order, entreating him to make speed: with a most loud voice, *Come I will*, quoth he, I *will come, I say and this with me heere*, beating oft upon the swords * hilt which he ware by his side. He made it knowne also by an Edict, *That he returned in deede, but it was to them alone who wished it*, namely, *The degree of Gentlemen and the cõmon people. For himselfe would be no longer a Citizen or Prince to the Senate.* He commaunded moreover, *That not one of the Senatours* * Of Senators * Or hafte

should meete him. And thus, either omitting quite or putting of his triumph, hee entred the Citie riding ovant, upon his very birth-day: and within foure moneths after came to his end, having attempted and done notable outrages and very great villanies, but plotting ſtill and practiſing much greater. For hee had purpoſed to remove his imperiall Court to *Antium*, and afterwards to *Alexandria*: but having maſſacred firſt the moſt choiſe and chiefe perſons of both * degrees. And that no man may ſeeme to doubt heereof, there were in his ſecret Cabinet found two bookes bearing divers titles. The one had for the Inſcription *Gladius i. the ſword*: the other, *Pugio*, that is to ſay, *the dagger*. They contained both of them the markes and names of ſuch as were appointed to death. There was found beſides, a bigge cheſt full of divers and ſundry poiſons, which ſoone after being by CLAUDIUS drowned in the Seas, infected and poiſoned the ſame, not without the deadly bane of fiſhes killed therewith, which the tide caſt up to the next ſhores.

*Or Alexandrea is *Antiochea*, in old *Manuſcripts*.

*Senatours & gentlemen.

50

Of Stature hee was very tall, pale and wan-coloured: of body groſſe and without all good making: his necke and ſhanks exceeding ſlender: his eyes ſunke in his head, and his temples hollow, his forehead broad, and the ſame furrowed and frowning: the haire of his head growing thinne, and none at all about his crowne: in all parts elſe hairie he was and ſhagged. It was therefore taken for an hainous and capitall offence, either to looke upon him as he paſſed by from an higher place, or once but to name a Goate upon any occaſion whatſoever. His face and viſage being naturally ſterne and grim, hee made of purpoſe more crabbed and hideous: compoſing and dreſſing it at a looking-glaſſe, all manner of waies to ſeeme more terrible and to ſtrike greater feare. He was neither healthfull in body nor ſtoode ſound in minde; Being a child, much troubled with the falling ſickneſſe. In his youth, patient of labour and travaile: yet ſo, as that ever and anone upon a ſuddaine fainting that came upon him, he was ſcarce able to goe, to ſtand, to ariſe, to recover himſelfe and to beare up his head. The infirmitie of his minde, both himſelfe perceived, and oftentimes alſo was minded to goe aſide (unto * *Anticyra*), there to purge his braine throughly. It is for certaine thought, that poyſoned he was with a Potion given unto him by his wife CÆSONIA: Which in deede was a love * medicine, but ſuch an one, as crackt his wits and enraged him. He was troubled moſt of all with * want of ſleepe; For, he ſlept not above three houres in a night: and in thoſe verily hee tooke no quiet repoſe, but fearefull; and skared with ſtrange illuſions and fantaſticall imaginations: as who among the reſt, dreamed upon a time that hee ſaw the very forme and reſemblance of the ſea talking with him. And heereupon for a great part of the night, what with tedious wakefulneſſe and wearineſſe of lying, one while ſitting up in his bed, another while roaming and wandering too and fro in his Galleries (which were of an exceeding length) hee was wont to call upon and looke ſtill for the day-light.

*An Iſle, where grew the beſt Ellebor, a purgatiue meete for lunaticke & diſtracted perſons.

*Or drinke.

*Inſomnia

51

I ſhould not doe amiſſe, if unto this mindes ſickneſſe of his I attributed the vices which in one and the ſame * ſubiect were of a moſt different nature: to wit, exceſſive confidence, and contrariwiſe, overmuch feareſulneſſe.

*Or perſon

For,

For, hee that ſet ſo light by the Gods and deſpiſed them as hee did, yet at the leaſt (*a*) thunder and lightning, uſed to winke cloſe with both eyes, to enwrap alſo and cover his whole head: but if the ſame were greater and ſomewhat extraordinarie, to ſtart out of his bed, to creepe and hide himſelfe under the bedſteede. During his peregrination verily and travaile through *Sicilie*, after hee had made but a ſcorne and mockerie at the miracles and ſtrange ſights in manie parts there, he fled ſuddainly by night from *Meſſana*, as affrighted with the ſmoake and rumbling noiſe of the top of *Aetna*. And hee that againſt the Barbarians was ſo full of threats and menaces, when as beyond the river Rhene he rode in a Germaines Chariot betweene the Streights, and the Armie marched in thicke ſquadrons together: by occaſion onely that one ſaide, *There would be no ſmall trouble and hurliburly*, in caſe the enemie from any place appeared in ſight: forth-with hee mounted on horſebacke and turned haſtily to the bridges: but finding them full of Camp-ſlaves and cariages wherewith they were * choaked as one impatient of any delay, he was from hand to hand and over mens heads conveied to the other ſide of the water. Soone after likewiſe, hearing of the revolt and rebellion of Germanie, hee provided to flie; and for the better meanes of flight, prepared and rigged ſhippes: reſting and ſtaying himſelfe upon this onely comfort; That hee ſhould yet have Provinces beyond ſea remaining for him, in caſe the Conquerours following the traine of their victorie, either ſeized the Hill tops of the Alpes (as ſometimes the Cimbrians), or poſſeſſed themſelves of the very Citie of *Rome*, as the Senones in times paſt did. Heereupon I verily beleeve that the murderers of him afterwards deviſed this ſhift, namely to hold up his Souldiours with a loude lie when they were in an uprore, and to beare them in hand that hee laide violent hands on himſelfe, affrighted at the fearefull newes of the field loſt.

* Or guarded.

52

As for his apparrell, his ſhooes and other habite, hee wore them neither after his owne Country-guiſe, nor in a civile faſhion, no nor ſo much as in manlike manner, nor yet alwaies, I may tell you, ſorting with the ſtate and condition of a mortall wight. Beeing clad oftentimes in cloakes of needleworke and embroidred with divers colours, and the ſame ſet out with pretious ſtones: in a coate alſo with long ſleeves: and wearing bracelets withall, hee would come abroade into the Citie. Sometime you ſhould ſee him in his ſilkes, and veiled all over in a looſe mantle of fine * Sendall with a traine: one while going in Greekiſh * ſlippers, or elſe in buskins: otherwhiles in a ſimple paire of broges or high ſhooes, ſuch as common Souldiours emploied in eſpiall uſed. Now and then alſo was he ſeene ſhod with womens * pumps. But for the moſt part he ſhewed himſelfe abroade with a golden (*a*) beard carying in his hand either a (*b*) thunderbolt or a three-tined (*c*) mace, or elſe a warder or rod called (*d*) *Caduceus* (the enſignes all and ornaments of the Gods) yea and in the attire and array of VENUS. Now, for his triumphall robes and enſignes hee uſed verily to weare and beare them continually, even before any warlike expedition: and ſometime the cuirace withall of K. ALEXANDER the great, fetcht out of his Sepulcher and monument.

* Lawne or Tiffanie.
* Or Pantofles
* Or pinſons.
* With three graines like an eleſpeare.

Of all the liberall Sciences, hee gave his minde leaſt to deepe literature and 53

ſound learning: but moſt, to eloquence: * albeit he was (by nature) faire ſpoken and of a ready tongue. Certes if it had beene to pleade and declame againſt one, were he angred once, he had both words and ſentences at will. His action, geſture and voice alſo ſerved him well: in ſo much as for very heate and earneſtneſſe of ſpeech, uneth was he able to ſtand his ground and keepe ſtill in one place, yet might hee bee heard nothleſſe of them that ſtoode a farre off. When he was about to make an Oration, his manner was to threaten in theſe termes, Namely, *That he would draw forth and let drive at his adverſarie the keene weapon and dart of his night-ſtudie by candle light*; contemning the milder and more piked kinde of writing ſo farre forth, as that hee ſaid of SENECA, a writer in thoſe daies moſt accepted, *That his compoſitions which he made were plaine exerciſes to bee ſhewed onely: and was no better himſelfe, than ſand without lime.* His wont was alſo, to anſwere by writing the Orations of thoſe Oratours who had pleaded well and with applauſe: to meditate and deviſe as well accuſations and defences of great perſons and waighty matters in the Senate; and according as his ſtile framed, either to over-charge and depreſſe, or to eaſe and relieve every man with his ſentence: having called thither by vertue of his Edicts, the degree alſo of Gentlemen to heare him ſpeake.

* *Quantumvis facundus*: Or, beeing very faire ſpoke. &c

54 The Arts moreover and maiſteries of other kinds hee practiſed right ſtudiouſly, even thoſe of moſt different nature. A profeſſed * Sword-fencer he was and a good Chariotier: A ſinger withall and a dauncer. Fight hee would even in earneſt with weapons at ſharpe: and runne a race with chariots in the open Cirque, which he built in many places. As for chaunting and dauncing, he was ſo hotly ſet thereupon, that hee could not forbeare ſo much as in the publick Theaters and Shew-places, but that hee would both fall a ſinging * with the Tragædian as he pronounced, and alſo counterfaite and openly imitate the geſture of the * player, as it were by way of praiſe or correction. And verily, for no other cauſe proclaimed hee (as it is thought) a wake or *Vigile* all night long, that very day on which hee was murdred, but that by taking the opportunity of the nights licentiouſneſſe, he might therewith begin to enter upon the Stage. And divers times daunced he by night: But once above the reſt, having raiſed out of their beds three honourable perſons that had beene Conſuls, and ſent for them at the reliefe of the ſecond watch into the Palace; whiles they were much afraid and doubted ſome extremity he cauſed them to be placed aloft upon a ſcaffold, and then ſuddainly with a great noiſe of hantbors and ſound of ſhawlmes or Cimbals, out commeth he leaping forth with a palle and caſſocke reaching downe to his ankles; and after hee had daunced out the meaſures to a ſong, vaniſhed & went his way againe. Now, this man ſo apt a ſchollar as hee was to learne all other feates, had no skill at all in * ſwimming.

* *Thrax.*

* Or, to

* Or Actour.

* A laudable exerciſe in Rome, as may appeare before in *Auguſtus.*

55 Looke, whom he tooke a love and liking unto, he favoured them all exceedingly and beyond all reaſon. MNESTER the famous * PANTOMIME he affected ſo much, as that he baſhed not to kiſſe him even in the open Theater; and if any man whiles * he was dauncing or acting a part, made never ſo little noiſe and interrupted him, hee commaunded the party to be pulled out of his place, and with his owne hand ſcourged him. A Gentleman of *Rome* chaunced to keepe ſome ſturre whiles the ſaid MNESTER was upon the Stage: unto him

* A Geſturer or dauncer that counterfaited all parts.

* The ſaid *Mneſter.*

him hee ſent word peremptorily by a Centurion to depart without delay, and goe downe to *Oſtia* (there to take Sea) and ſo to carie unto King PTOLOMÆUS as farre as into *Mauritania* his letters in writing tables, The tenour whereof was this, *To this bearer, whom I have ſent hither to you, ſee you doe neither good nor harme.* Certaine Fencers called * THRACES hee made Capitaines over thoſe Germaines that were of his Guard and Squires to his body. As for the * *Mirmillones*, hee deprived them of their armour. One of them named COLUMBUS, fortuned to foile his concurrent, howbeit hee had gotten before ſome ſmall hurt: He made no more adoe but put poiſon into the wound, which thereupon he called COLUMBINUM. So much addicted and devoted was he, to the * greene faction of Chariotiers, that day by day hee would take his ſuppers and make his abode in their * hoſtelrie. Vpon EUTYCHUS a * Chariot-driver, he beſtowed in hoſpitall gifts at a certaine banquer, two millions of ſeſterces. To one of their Chariot-ſteedes named *Incitatus*, for whoſe ſake (becauſe he ſhould not be diſquieted), he was wont the day before the games *Circenſes*, by his Souldiours to commaund the neighbours there adioyning to keepe ſilence, beſides a Stable all built of marble ſtone for him, and a manger made of Ivorie: over and above his capariſon alſo and harnois of purple, together with a brooch or pendant Iewell of pretious ſtones at his poictrell: he allowed an houſe and familie of ſervants, yea and houſhold-ſtuffe to furniſh the ſame: all to this end, that gueſts invited in his name might be more finely and gaily intertained. It is reported moreover that he meant to preferre him unto a Conſulſhip.

56 As he rioted thus and fared outragiouſly, many there were who wanted no hart & good will to aſſault his perſon. But after one or two conſpiracies detected, when others for default of opportunitie held of and made ſtay, two at length complotted and imparted one unto the other their deſignment, yea and performed it; not without the privitie of the mightieſt freed-men about him, and the Capitaines of his Guard. The reaſon was, for that they alſo, beeing nominated (although untruly) as acceſſarie to a certaine conſpiracie, perceived themſelves ſuſpected and odious unto him therefore. For, even immediatly, by ſequeſtring them a part into a ſecret place he brought upon them great hatred, proteſting with his ſword drawne, *That die he would upon his owne hand, if they alſo thought him worthy of death.* Neither ceaſed hee from that time forward to accuſe one unto the other, and to ſet them all together by the eares. Now when theſe Conſpiratours were reſolved and agreed to aſſaile him during the *Palatine* (*a*) games, as he departed thence out of the Theater at noone-tide, GASSIUS CHEREA Tribune of the *Pretorian* Cohort tooke upon him to play the firſt part in this Action: even hee, whom being now farre ſtept in yeeres * CAIUS was wont to frump and flout in moſt opprobrious termes as a wanton and effeminate perſon: and one while, when he came unto him for a watch-word, to give him PRIAPUS or VENUS; another while, if upon any occaſion he rendred thanks, to reach out unto him his hand, not onely faſhioned but wagging alſo after an obſcœne and filthy manner.

Many prodigious ſignes were ſeene, preſaging his future death and murder. The image of IUPITER at *Olympia*, which his pleaſure was to bee diſiointed and tranſlated to *Rome*, did ſet up all on a ſuddaine ſuch a mighty laughter that

* Or *Retiarij*, as ſome think. Others take it to be a generall name of all Sword-fencers.

* A faction or crew of fencers oppoſite to the *Thraces* or *Retiarij*, whom in reſpect of the *Thraces*, he favoured not.

* *Prafinæ factioni.*

* Or lodging.

* Of that green livery.

* *Incitato, cuius equi cauſa*, ſome interpret it otherwiſe thus. To *Incitatus*, for whoſe horſe ſake taking *Incicatus* to be the name of the Maiſter, & not of the horſe, becauſe in the Poet Martiall, there is mention made of *Incitatus* a famous Chariot-riuer & a muliter. Yet *L. Verus Antoninus* erected an Image of gold for on horſe that he had named *Volucer* whiles he lived: and a ſepulcher when he was dead. And why might not this braine-ſicke Prince be as abſurd?

* *Caligula.*

57

the workmen about it, let their Engines and Vices slip and so ranne all away. And straight-waies came there one in place whose name also was CASSIUS, that avouched, *he had warning and commaundement in a dreame to sacrifice a Bull unto* IUPITER. The (*a*) Capitol in *Capua* upon the Ides of March was smitten with lightning. Likewise at *Rome* the Porters lodge belonging to the Princes Palace. And there wanted not some who gave their coniecture, that by the one Prodigie was portended danger to the Master of the house from his Guard and the Squires of his person: by the other some notable murder againe, such as in times past had beene committed upon (*b*) the same day. Also, SULLA the Astrologer, when CAIUS asked his counsell and opinion, as touching the Horoscope of his Nativitie, told him plaine, *That most certaine and inevitable death approached neere at hand.* Semblably the Oracle at *Antium*, gave him a caveat, to beware of CASSIUS. For which very cause, hee had taken order and given expresse commaundement, That CASSIUS LONGINUS Proconsull then in *Asia*, should bee killed: not remembring that the fore-saide CHÆREA had to name CASSIUS. The day before he lost his life, he dreamt that he stoode in heaven close unto the throne of IUPITER: and that IUPITER spurned him with the great toe of his right foote, and therewith threw him downe headlong to the earth. There went also for currant prodigies and fore-tokens of his fall; even those occurrents that hapned unto him that very day, a little before he was murdred. As himselfe sacrificed, besprinct he was with the bloud of the foule *Phœnicopterus*. And MNESTER the skilfull Actour above named, represented that very * Tragædie which whilome NEPTOLEMUS the Tragædian acted at the solemnitie of those games, wherein PHILIP * King of the Macedonians was killed. And when as in the shew or Enterlude entituled (*c*) LAUREOLUS, wherein the chiefe plaier making haste to get away out of the * ruine, vomited bloud, many more of the Actours in a second degree strived a vie to give some triall and experiment of the like cunning; the whole stage by that meanes flowed with bloud. Prepared there was likewise against night another shew, wherein the darke fables reported of Hell and the Infernall Spirits there, were to be exhibited and unfolded by Ægyptians and Æthiopians.

58 Vpon the * ninth day before the Kalends of Februarie, about one of the clocke after noone: Doubting with himselfe, whether he should rise to dinner or no? (for that his stomacke was yet rawe and weake upon a surfait of meate taken the day before), at last by the perswasion of his friends hee went forth. Now, when as in the very * cloisture through which hee was to passe certaine boyes of noble birth sent for out of *Asia* (to sing Himnes, and to skirmish martially upon the Stage) were preparing themselves, he stood still and staied there to view and encourage them. And but that the leader and chiefetaine of that crew, said, *He was very cold*, hee would have returned and presently exhibited that shew. But what befell after this, is reported two manner of waies. Some say, that as he spake unto the said boies, CHÆREA came behind his back, and with a drawing blow grievously wounded his neck with the edge of his sword, giving him these words before, *Hoc age i. Mind this*: Wherupon, CORNELIUS SABINUS, another of the Conspiratours, encountred him a front, and ranne him through in the brest. Others write, that SABINUS, after the multitude about him was voided by the Centurions (who were privie to the Conspiracie) called

*Cinyra.
* The sonne of Amyntas.
* Of some house represented upon the Stage.
* Fit actours & expositours of such an argument.
* 24. of Ianuarie.
A.V.C. 794.
* Or Vault.

called for a watch-word, as the maner is of ſouldiers, and when CAIUS gave him the word, IUPITER, CHÆREA cryed out alowde, *Acciperatum*.i. Here take it ſure: and with that, as he looked behind him, with one ſlaſh cut his chaw quite thorough: Alſo as he lay on the ground and drawing up his limmes together cryed ſtill, *That he was yet alive*, the reſt of their complices with thirtie wounds diſpatched and made an end of him. For, this mot, *Repete*.i. Strike againe, was the ſignal of them all. Some of them alſo thruſt their ſwords through his privie members. At the very firſt noiſe and outcrie, his lictor-bearers came running to helpe, with their lirter ſtaves: Soone after, the *Germans* that were the ſquires of his bodie came in: & as they ſlew ſome of the murderers, ſo they killed certaine Senatours alſo that were meere innocent.

He lived 29. yeares, and ruled the Empire three yeares 10. moneths and 8. dayes. His dead corps was conueyed ſecretly into the Lamian hortyards, where being ſcorched onely, or halfe burnt in a tumultuary and haſty funerall fire, covered it was with a few turfs of earth lightly caſt over it: but afterwards, by his ſiſters now returned out of exile, taken up, burnt to aſhes and enterred. It is for certain knowen and reputed; that before this Complement was performed, the keepers of thoſe hortyards were troubled with the walking of ſpirits and ghoſts: and in that uery *houſe wherin he was murdred there paſſed not a night without ſome terror or fearefull object, until the uery houſe it ſelfe was conſumed with fire. There dyed together with him, both his Wife CÆSONIA, ſtabbed with a ſword by a Centurion, and alſo a daughter of his, whoſe braines were daſhed out againſt a wall. 59

*Which hee called a vaut or cloyſter, before.

What the condition and ſtate was of thoſe dayes, any man may gather, even by theſe particulars. For neither, when this maſſacre was divulged and made knowen abroad, men gave credite by and by thereto; but there went a ſuſpicion, that CAIUS himſelfe had feigned and given out a rumour of this murder, by that meanes to ſound mens minds, and find, how they ſtood affected unto him: nor yet had thoſe conſpiratours deſtined the Empire to anie one. And the Senators in recovering their antient freedome againe accorded ſo, as that the conſuls aſſembled them not at the firſt into the *Curia, becauſe it bare the name *IULIA, but into the Capitol: yea and ſome of them, when their turnes came to ſpeake, *opined, That the memorie of the* CÆSARS *ſhould be utterly aboliſhed and razed out*, giving aduiſe to pull downe their temples. Moreover, this hath beene obſerued and noted eſpecially, *That the* CÆSARS, *who had to their forename* *CAIUS, *beginning at him firſt who was ſlaine in the troubleſome dayes of* CINNA, *dyed all of them a violent death.* 60

*A new Senate houſe in liew of Curia Hoſtilia.

*For now the name of the *Cæſars* and their race became odious, as oppreſſers of the cõmon weale.

* And yet wee reade not ſo much of *Caius* one of *Auguſtus* ſonne, brother of *Lucius*.

THE HISTORIE OF Tiberius Claudius Druſus Cæſar, written by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



A.V.C. 714.

AS touching Drusus father to this Claudius Cæsar, which Drusus was in times paſt forenamed Decimus and afterwards Nero; dame Livia wedded unto Augustus even whē ſhe was great with child, brought him into the world within three moneths after the ſaid mariage & folke ſuſpected, that begotten he was in adulterie by his (ſuppoſed) *father in law himſelf. Certes preſētly after his birth, this verſe wēt rife in every mans mouth, τοῖς θυτυχῶσι καὶ τρίμηνα παιδία,

Augustus: and not by *Tiberius Nero* his mothers ſonne.

On perſons great this fortune doth attend,
That children they may have at three moneths end.

This Drusus in the honorable place of queſture and pretureſhip, being L. Generall of the *Rhætian*, and ſo foorth of the *Germane* warre, was the firſt Romane Captaine that ſayled in the North Ocean: and on the farther ſide of *Rhene* caſte thoſe trenches of a ſtraung and infinite worke which yet at this

this day be called *Drusinæ. Many a time he put the enemy to sword, and when he had driven him as farre as to the inmost deserts, gave not over chasing and pursuing, untill there appeared unto him the likenesse of a *Barbarian woman, more portly than a mortall wight, which in the latine tongue forbad him to follow the traine of victorie anie farther. For which acts atchieved, he enioyed the honour of a *pety Triumph, and had the Triumphall ornaments graunted unto him. After his pretureship, he entred immediatly upon the Consulate: and having enterprised a second expedition thither, fell sicke and dyed in his summer campe, which therupon tooke the name of *Castra (a) Scelerata. His corps by the principall Citizens and Burgesses of the free-burrowes and colonies, by the decuries also and orders of the *Scribes (who met them in the way and received it at their hands) was conueied to *Rome* and buried in Mars-fielde. Howbeit the armie reared in honour of him an honorarie *tombe (or stately herse) about the which every yeare afterwards upō a certain set day, the souldiers should runne at tilt, keepe iousting and turnament: the Cities likewise and States of *Gaule*, sacrifice and make publike supplications to the gods. Moreover the Senate among many other honors, decreed for him a Triumphant arch of marble, with Tropees thereto in the * street *Appia*: as also the surname of Germanicus to him and his posterity for ever. Furthermore he is thought to have caried a mind no lesse glorious than civil & popular. For over and above the conquests gained of his enemies, he wan also from thē *Royall spoyles: & oftentimes to the uttermost hazard of his life coursed and chaced the General of the *Germans* all over the field: neither dissembled he, but gave it out, *that one day he would restore unto the Commen-wealth their antient state and libertie againe*. Whereupon, I suppose, some presume to write, that Augustus had him in jelousie and suspicion: called him home out of his Province: and becaus he lingred and delayed his returne, made him away by poyson. Which uerily put downe I have, becaus I would not seeme to pretermit such a matter, rather, than for that I thinke it either true or probable: considering that Augustus both loved him whiles hee was alive so entirely, as that he alwayes ordained him fellow-heire with his sonnes, (like as he openly professed upon a time in the Senate house) and also commended him after his death so highly, that in a solemne oration before the bodie of the people he prayed unto the gods. *To vouchsafe his owne* Cæsars *to be like unto him: and to grant himselfe one day such an end as they had given him*. And not contented with this that he had engraven upon his tombe an Epitaph in verse which he himselfe composed, he wrot also the historie of his life in prose. By Antonia the yonger, he became father uerily of many children, but three onely hee left behind him at his death, namely, Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius.

+ Or *Drusiana* Tacit.

* Representing Germanie.

*Called Ovation

*The wicked and mischieuous camp.

*Or Chancellors.

*Which the Greeks call *Cenotaphium* i. an empty tomb

*Or port way.

*Which he tooke frō their cheife generals

This Claudius was borne at *Lyons*, in the yeare when Iulius Antonius and Fabius Africanus were Consuls, upon the Calends of *August*, that uery day on which the altar was first dedicated there unto Augustus: and named he was Tiberius Claudius Drusus: and a while after, when his elder brother was adopted into the family Iulia, hee assumed into his stile the surname of Germanicus. Being left an infant by his father, all the time in manner of his child-hood and *youth, piteously handled

2 A.V.C. 744.

*Or growing age.

handled he was with ſundrie diſeaſes, and thoſe tough and ſuch as ſtucke long by him: in ſo much as being dulled and enfeebled thereby both in mind and bodie, he was not thought in the very progreſſe of riper age, ſufficient and capable of any publike office or private charge: yea and many a day after that hee came to full yeares and had ſued out his liverie, hee was at the diſpoſe of another, even under a pedagogue and governour; whom in a certaine booke himſelf complaineth of, terming him a barbarous fellow, and no better ſometime than a* mulitier, ſet over him of purpoſe to chaſtice and puniſh him moſt cruelly for everie light cauſe & occaſion whatſoever. By reaſon of this his ſickneſſe, both at the ſword-play which he and his brother ioyntly exhibited in memoriall of their Father, he ſat as preſident (not after the accuſtomed manner) lapt in a cloake; and alſo upon his commenſement day, when he was to put on his virile gowne, about midnight without anie honorable attendance and ſolemne traine, brought he was in a licter into the (a) Capitoll.

*Olim ſuperiumentarium, rather a maiſter of mulitiers.

3

Howbeit, from his very child-hood, he employed no meane ſtudie in the liberall ſciences: And oftentimes gave good proofe even in publike place of his proceedings in them all: yet could he never for all that reach to any degree of dignity, or yeeld better hope of himſelfe for the time to come. His mother ANTONIA, was wont to call him *Portentum hominis*. i. *The Monſter and fantaſticall ſhewe of a man*, as if hee had not beene finiſhed but onely begunne by nature: and if ſhee reprooved anie one for his fooliſhneſſe ſhe would ſaie, *Hee was more ſottiſh then her Sonne* CLAUDIUS. His *Grandmother* *AUGUSTA thought alwaies moſt baſely of him, as who uſed neither to ſpeake unto him but very ſeldome, nor to admoniſh him, unleſſe it were in ſome ſharpe and ſhort writing, or els by meſſengers going between. His ſiſter LIVILLA, when ſhe heard that he ſhould be one day Emperour, openly & with a lowd voice deteſted and wiſhed farre from the people of *Rome* ſo hard and miſerable a fortune.

*Otherwiſe called *Livia* & *Iulia* the mother of *Druſus*.
*His Grandmothers brother by the mothers ſide.

4

And no meruaile: For to the end that it might be more certainly knowen what opinion his great Vncle AUGUSTUS had of him both *wayes, I have ſet downe certaine Articles and principall pointes gathered out of his owne Epiſtles. *I have quoth he, my good* LIVIA *talked and conferred with* TIBERIUS *as you charged me, about this point, namely, What is to be done to your Nephew* TIBERIUS, *at the ſolemnity of the* **Martiall Game*? *Now, wee are both agreed that it muſt be determined and ſet down once for all what courſe we ſhould take and follow with him: For, if he be* *ἄρτιος, and as I may ſo ſay* *ὁλόκληρος, *what doubt need wee to make, but that he is to bee trained and brought by the ſame opertunities of time and degrees by which his brother was? But if we perceiue him* *ἠλαττῶσθαι καὶ βεβλάφθαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρτιότητα; *we muſt not miniſter matter to men,* *τὸ τοιαῦτα σκώπτειν καὶ μυκτηρίζειν ἐωθόσι, *for to deride both him and us. For we ſhall ever find trouble and vexation inough, in caſe of every occaſion of time preſented unto us, we ſhould deliberate,* *μὴ προὔπομνήσου ἡμῶν, *whether wee thinke him able to menage honorable Offices in the State or no? Howbeit for the preſent (concerning ſuch things whereof yonle aske mine aduiſe) I miſlike it not, that he have the charge of the Prieſts dyning chamber, during theſe Martiall ſolemnities aforeſayd*

*Sufficient.
*Sound throughout & perfect.
*Or ſteps.
*To be impaired or diſabled and maimed, as wel for the ſufficiencie of body as integrity of mind
*Who are wont to make good game & ſcoffe at ſuch things.
*If it be not reſolved upon and ſet downe aforehand by us.

foresayd, so that he wil suffer himselfe to be admonished and schooled by SILANUS some, a man allyed unto him, that he do nothing, which may be *noted, or derided. That he should behold the games Circenses from out of the * Puluinar, in no wise can I allow. For being exposed so, to the sight of men in the very forefront of the Theatre, he wil be eyed and obserued: Neither like we in any hand, that he should goe up the Albane mount, or abide at Rome During the Latine Holy-dayes. For if he be able to accompany and follow his brother to that mountaine, why is he not as wel made Provost of the Cittie the while? Thus, my LIVIA, you have our opinions delivered, as who are fully resolued, that once for al somewhat must be put downe as touching the whole matter, least we be evermore wavering between hope and feare. You may also if it please you impart unto our (niece) ANTONIA thus much of this our letter. Againe, in another Epistle. As for young * TIBERIUS, I for my part whiles you are absent, wil dayly inuite him to supper, that he may not suppe alone with his Sulpitius and Athenodorus. And I could wish with al my hart that, he would more soundly and lesse μετεώρως make choice of some special one, whose gesture habite & gang, hee might, silly soule as heis, imitate

ΑΤΥΧΕῖ λίαν ἐν τοῖσι σωφρονοῦσι πάνυ,

He comes farre short (when he is matched) with men of deepe vnderstanding.

But looke, when his mind is not wandering out of the way, the generosity of his heart appeareth sufficiently. Likewise in a third letter. Your Nephew TIBERIUS my sweet LIVIA, If I doe not wonder, that when he declamed that he could please and content me, I pray God I be dead. For how he that in his dayly talke speaketh so* ἀσαφῶς should be able when he declameth, to deliver his mind and what he hath to say *σαφῶς I cannot see. Neither is there anie doubt to be made, but that after all this, AVGVSTVS ordained and left him indued with no honorable office, save only the Sacerdotall dignitie of Augurs: nay he nominated him not so much as his Heire, but in a third degree and descent, even among those that were well neere Strangers: and that in a sixth part onely of his substance: and by way of legacie bequeathed unto him not above 800000. sesterces.

* Conspici or disput'd, spectat.
* A Pedestal at the Games Circenses, whereon the images of the gods are layed.
* In the absence of the Consuls attending the sacrifice upon the Albane Hill.
* Claudius.
* Superficially
* Darkly and confusedly.
* Cleerely and plainely to bee vnderstood.

5

TIBERIUS his unkle conferred upon him when he sued for honorable dignities the Ornaments of Consuls. But when he instantly demaunded still, not imaginary but true magistracies indeede, he wrote backe unto him in his writing tables thus much onely, *That he had sent unto him* fortie peeces of golde to spend at the feast Saturnalia, and to bestow in puppets and trifling gaudes, at the same time.* Then, and not before, casting aside all hope of preferment and reall dignities, hee betooke himselfe to rest and quietnesse of life, lying close, one while within hortyardes of pleasure and in a manner house without the Cittie: and lurking other whiles in a withdrawing place out of the way in *Campania*: And by his daily acquaintance and companie keeping with most base and abject persons besides the olde infamous note of sluggardie and foolishnesse hee incurred an ill name for drunkennesse and dice-play: notwithstanding, that all the while he thus led his life, he never wanted the publike attendance and reverent regard of men seeking unto him.

* Every one worth 15, s. 7, d ob, or one hundred sesterces

6

The order of Gentlemen elected him twice for their patrone, in an embassage that was to bee sent & delivered in their owne behalfe: once when the Consuls

Consuls required to have the cariage of AUGUSTUS his corps upō their own shoulders to *Rome*: a 2. time when they were to cōgratulate with the same Consuls for the suppressing of *Seianus*, Moreover, they were wont in shewes, and in the Theatre, when he came in place, to arise up and lay off their mantels in respective honour of him. The Senate also ordained, that to the ordinarie number of the Priests or Guild-brethren called AUGUSTALES, who were by lot chosen, he should be admitted extraordinarily: and soone after, *That his house, which by misfortune of a skare-fire he had lost*, should at the Cities charges be reedified; as also the priviledge to deliver his minde and opinion in the Senate, among those who had beene Consuls; which decree of theirs was reversed & annulled: whiles * TIBERIUS alleadged by way of excuse his imbecillity, and promised to repaire the foresaid losse out of his owne private purse and liberality. Yet when hee laye upon his death-bed, he both named him among his heires in a third raunge, and in a third part of his estate, and also bequeathed him a legacie of two millions of Sesterces: yea recommended him besides by name unto the armies, to the Senate likewise & people of *Rome* in the ranke of other his especiall friends and kinsfolke.

*As wee vse to veile bonet or do of our hats.

*The Emperour.

7

At length under *CAIUS his brothers sonne, who at his first comming to the Empire sought by all manner of enticing allurements, to gaine the good opinion of a bountifull and gracious prince, he began first to beare office of state, and continued Consul together with him for the space of two moneths: and it fortuned at his first entrance into the *Forum* with his knitches of rods, that an Eagle soaring thereby, setled upon his right shoulder. He was pricked also and allotted unto a second Consulship, against the 4. th yeare following. Divers times he sat as president of the solemne shewes in CAIUS his turne: what time, the people with great applause *cryed *Feliciter*, partly to the *Emperours Vncle, and in part to GERMANICUS *his brother*.

*Caligula.

*All haile or happinesse, *Caligula

8

Yet lived hee nevertheless subiect to the contumelious reproches of the World: For if at anie time, hee came somewhat with the latest and after the houre appointed to a supper, hardly & with much adoe, was there any roome made for to receive him, and not before hee had gone round about the tables where guests were set, for to finde a place: Likewise, whensoever he tooke a nap, and fel a sleepe after meate (which was an ordinarie thing with him) the *buffons and jesters about him, made good sport, pelling him with olive and date stones: other whiles also they would by way of merriment awaken him with the clappe of a ferula or lash of some whip. They were wont likewise to glove his hands (as he lay snorting a sleep) with *his shoes, that as he suddenly awaked hee might rub his face and eyes therewith.

* A Copreis: See *Tiberius Nero Cæsar, cap. 61. vel a Tropæis* such as would play Bospeepe and hide themselves when they had done some unhappinesse.

*For whiles they sat or leaned upon pallets at their meat they put off their shoes. *Cum Caligula.

9

Neither verily could he avoide divers dangerous troubles: First in his very Consulship: for, beeing behind hand and over slacke in taking order with the workmen for the making and erecting of NERO and DRUSUS Statues, who were *CÆSARS brethren, hee had like to have beene remooved and put out of that honorable office: afterwards, as eyther anie stranger, or one of his own house informed ought against him, he was continually and sundry manner of

wayes

waies moleſted. But when as the Conſpiracie of LEPIDUS & GETULICUS came to light, being ſent among other Embaſſadours to congratulate CAIUS in the name of the City, hee was in ieopardy of his very life: whiles CAIUS chafed and fumed with great indignation, that his Vnkle chiefly of all others was ſent unto him, as it were to governe a child: In ſo much, as ſome have not ſtuck to report on writing, that hee was turned alſo headlong into the river in his cloathes and all as he came apparailed. From which time forward, never ſpake hee to any matter propoſed in the Senate, but laſt of all thoſe, that had beene Conſuls, as being in reproachfull wiſe and to his diſgrace asked his opinion after them all. There was received likewiſe againſt him the examination of a forged will, wherein himſelfe alſo had beene a witneſſe and put-to his ſeale. Laſt of all, hee was forced to diſburſe eight millions of Seſterces for a fine or Income at his entrance into a new Prieſthood: by occaſion whereof, his eſtate being ſo much decaied, driuen he was to thoſe ſtreights, that for his diſability to keepe credit and ſatisfie the debt due unto the Chamber of the City by an (a) Edict of the Citie Treaſurers according to the law *Prædiatoria* hee * hung up to be ſold in *vacuum*.

*His lands and goods were forfeited and ſo were publiſhed in table as voide and vacant,

10

Having paſſed the greateſt part of his time in running thorough theſe and ſuch like troubles, at length in the fiftieth yeere of age, hee attained to the Empire, and that by a ſtrange and wonderfull hap. Being among others excluded by the Conſpiratours that layed waite for CAIUS life, what time they voided all the Companie about his perſon, under a colour as if he deſired to be a part himſelfe alone in ſome by-place, this CLAUDIUS had ſtept a ſide and retired into a lodging or parlour called *Hermæum*: And not long after, being affrighted at the rumour of that murder ſlily crept forth and conveied himſelfe up into a Solar next adioyning, and there hid himſelfe betweene the hangings that hung before the dore. Whiles hee lurked cloſe there, a common Souldiour chauncing to runne too and fro that way, eſpied his feete, and by earneſt enquirie and asking who he was? hapned to take knowledge of him: who having drawne him forth of the place (when as for feare hee fell downe humbly at his feete and tooke hold of his knees) ſaluted him by the name of Emperour. From thence he brought him immediatly to his other fellow Souldiours, who as yet ſtoode wavering and wiſt not what to doe but fare and fume. By them was he beſtowed in a Licter: and for that his owne ſervants were fled ſcattering heere and there they alſo by turnes one after another ſupported the ſaid Licter upon their ſhoulders: and ſo was he brought into the (*Prætorian*) Camp, all ſad and amazed for feare: pitied alſo by the multitude that met him on the way; as if ſome innocent had been haled to execution. Being received within the trench & rampire, lodged he was alnight among the ſouldiours-watch with leſſe hope of his a good deale than confidence. For the Conſuls together with the Senate and the cohorts of the citie-ſouldiers, ſeized the *Forũ* & the Capitol, with a purpoſe to claime & recover the cõmon libertie: and when himſelfe was ſent for, by a tribune of the commons into the *Curia* to ſit in conſultation & give his aduiſe about thoſe matters that were thought good to be propounded: he made anſwere; *That deteined he was perforce and by conſtraint*. But the next morrow, when as the Senate grewe more colde and ſlacke in following and

*A garret,

A,V,C,794

executing their foresaid proiects, (by reason of their tedious trouble and discord who dissented in opinion) · whiles the multitude also standing round about, demaunded by this time one Ruler & *him by name, he called the Souldiours in *armour to an assembly, and suffred them to take their oath of alleageance, and sweare to maintaine his imperiall dignity: therewith promised unto them *1500 Sesterces a peece: the first of all the CÆSARS, that obliged unto him the Souldiours fealty by a fee and reward.

*Claudius.
*Armatos, or armatus, i. himselfe armed.
*Quinquies Sestertia. See Iosephus.

11 Having once established his Empire, hee thought nothing more deere and behovefull, than to abolish the remembrance of those two daies, wherein there was some doubtfull question about the change and alteration of the State. Of all deedes and words therefore, which had passed during that time he made an Act there should be a generall pardon and perpetuall oblivion: which also hee made good and performed accordingly. Onely, some few Colonels and Centurions, out of that crew which conspired against CAIUS, he put to the sword: as well for example sake, as for that he had certaine intelligence, they required to have him also murdered. Then presently turning and bending his minde to the duties of pietie and kindnesse, hee tooke up no forme of oath, either with more devout religion or oftener, than by the name of AUGUSTUS. He gave order, that for his Grandmother LIVIA, there should by Decree be graunted Divine honours; as also in the stately pompe of the Cirque Solemnities, a Chariot drawne with Elephants, like unto that of AUGUSTUS: Semblably, for the soules of his owne parents departed, publick Dirges and Funerall feasts: and more than so, particularly in the honour of his father Cirque-Plaies and games every yeere upon his birth-day: and in memoriall of his mother, a coach to be led and drawne along through the Cirque: and the surname of AUGUSTA, which by his Grandmother was refused. In remembrance of his *brother (to celebrate whose memoriall hee omitted no occasion) hee exhibited a Greeke Comædie at the solemne Games held in *Naples*: Where, by sentence of the Vmpiers and Iudges he received a coronet therefore. Hee suffered not so much as M. ANTONIUS to passe unhonoured, nor without a thankfull mention and remembrance: protesting one time, and that by an Edict, *That so much the more earnest he was, to have men celebrate the Birth-day of his father* DRUSUS, *because upon the same day, his Grandfather* ANTONIUS *also was borne.* The Marble Arch, decreed verily in times past by the Senate to be erected for TIBERIUS *neere unto the Theater of POMPEIUS, but for let, hee finished. And albeit hee abrogated and repealed all the Acts of CAIUS, yet the day of his death, although it were the beginning of his Empire, he forbad to be registred among feasts in the Kalendar.

*Germanicus.
*His Vnkle.

12 But in honouring himselfe he was sparie, and caried a civile modestie. The fore-name of Emperour he forbare: excessive honours hee refused: the *Espousals of his owne daughter, the birth-day also of his Nephew her sonne, he passed over in silence, onely celebrating it with some private ceremonie and religious complements within house. He restored no banished person, but by the authority and warrant of the Senate. That hee might bring with him into the *Curia*, the Capitaine of the Guard and *Tribunes of the Souldiours: Item, that those Actes might bee ratified and stand in force, which his Procuratours had set downe in iudging of causes, hee obtained by intreatie.

*Or solemnity of nuptiall contract.
*Colonels.

He

He made ſuite unto the Conſuls for a licence, to hold Faires and Markets, for his owne private Manors and Lands. In Commiſſions and Examinations of cauſes held by the Magiſtrates, he would oftentimes be perſonally preſent and ſit as one of the Commiſſioners. To the ſame Magiſtrates, when they exhibited any Plaies or Games, himſelfe alſo with the reſt of the multitude would ariſe up, and both with * hand and * voice doe them honour. When the Tribunes of the Commons repaired unto him before the Front of his Tribunall, he excuſed himſelfe unto them, for that by reaſon of ſtraight roome hee could not give audience unto them otherwiſe than ſtanding upon their feete. Therefore, within a ſmall time hee purchaſed ſo much love and favour, as that when newes came (to *Rome*) that forlaied and ſlaine hee was in his iourney to *Oſtia*, the people in a great tumult and uprore, fell to banning and curſing both the Souldiours as Traitours, and the Senate alſo as Paricides: neither ceaſed they thus to force againſt them, untill firſt one meſſenger, and then another, yea and ſoone after many more were produced by the Magiſtrates to the publick ROSTRA, who aſſured them that he was alive and approached homeward.

* By applauſe and acclamation.

13

Yet continued hee not for all this ſecured every way from the danger of ſecret practiſes and wait-laying: but aſſailed hee was as well by private perſons, as whole factions and conſpiracies, yea and ſore troubled in the end with civill warres. For there was a man, one of the Commons, taken about midnight neere unto his bed-chamber with a dagger. Found there were likewiſe twaine of the Gentlemens degree, in the open ſtreete with a ſtaffe having * a blade in it, and a Hunters wood-knife waiting for him: the one to aſſault his perſon when he was gone forth of the Theater: the other as hee ſacrificed at the temple of *Mars*. Now there had conſpired to make an inſurrection and to alter the State, GALLUS ASINIUS and STATILIUS CORVINUS, the Nephewes of POLLIO and MESSALLA the Oratours, taking unto them for their Complices many of his owne freed-men and ſervants. As for civile warre, kindled it was and begun by FURIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS, Lieutenant generall of *Dalmatia*: but within five daies quenched cleane and ſuppreſſed; by reaſon that the Legions, which had chaunged their oath of alleageance, in remorce of conſcience and touch of religion repented; after that upon ſignification given of a iourney to their new Generall, neither the * Æagles could bee dight and trimmed, nor the militarie enſignes plucked up and removed.

* Some cal this a Iacobs ſtaffe.

* Ominous & unlucky ſignes.

14

To his firſt Conſulſhip he bare foure more: of which, the two former iointlie and immediatly one after another: the reſt enſuing, with ſome time betweene, to wit, each one in the fourth yeere: and as for the third, hee had no precedent for it in any other Prince, as being ſubſtituted in the voide place of a Conſull deceaſed. A preciſe Iuſticer he was, miniſtring Iuſtice, both when hee was Conſull, and alſo being out of that Office, moſt painfully; even upon the ſolemne daies inſtituted for him and his: yea, and otherwhiles upon the auncient feſtivall daies and ſuch as were religious. He followed not alwaies the preſcript rule of lawes, moderating either the rigour or the lenity of penalties, by equity & reaſon, according as he ſtood affected to a cauſe: for, both unto thoſe he reſtored their actions & gave leave to cõmenſe thẽ a new, who in the Court

A.V.C. 794 795 800 804

before private * Iudges had once loſt their ſuites, by claiming more than was due: and alſo, ſuch as were convict of ſome greater deceite and couſenage, he condemned to be caſt unto wilde beaſts: exceeding therein the ordinarie puniſhment by law appointed.

* Of private matters, as Prætours and Centumvirs.

15

Moreover, in the examination, triall, and deciding of controverſies, he was wonderous variable: one while circumſpect, wary, and of great inſight: otherwhiles as raſh and inconſiderate: now and then alſo fooliſh, vaine, and like to one without all reaſon. When hee reviewed upon a time the Decuries of Iudges, and put whom hee thought good from their Iuriſdiction: one of them, who had anſwered to his name, and concealed the immunity and priviledge that he had by the benefit of children, he diſcharged quite, as a man deſirous * to be a Iudge. Another of them being moleſted and called into queſtion by his adverſaries before him, as touching a matter betweene him and them, and pleading withall for himſelfe, That it was a caſe to be tried not extraordinarily (by CÆSAR) but by the common courſe of Law, and in an ordinary Court of deputed Iudges: he compelled immediatly to handle & decide his owne cauſe before him: as who in his proper buſineſſe ſhould give proofe how indifferent a Iudge he would be hereafter in the matter of another. There was a woman that would not acknowledge her owne ſonne. Now, when by evidences and arguments alleadged *pro et contra* on both ſides; the queſtion reſted in equall ballance doubtfull; he awarded, *that ſhe ſhould be wedded to the young* * *man*: and ſo forced her to confeſſe the truth and to take him for her child. Moſt ready he was to give iudgement on their ſide, who made appearance in Court when their adverſaries were abſent: without any reſpect and conſideration, whether a man ſlacked and ſtaied by his owne default, or upon ſome neceſſitie? One cried out upon a forger of writings, and required, *That both his hands might be cut off*. Hee made no more a-doe, but forthwith called inſtantly, to have the hangman ſent for, with his chopping knife and butchers block, to do the deed. There hapned one to be called iudicially to the barre, *For that being a forainer he bare himſelfe as a Romaine Citizen*: and when the advocates of both ſides grew to ſome little variance about this circumſtance, namely, *Whether the party Defendant ought to make his anſwere and plead his owne cauſe in a gowne* * *or a* * *cloake?* he then, as if hee would make exceeding ſhew of pure and uncorrupt equitie, commaunded him to ſhift and change his habite often in the place, according as he was either accuſed or defended. Moreover, ſitting in iudgement to decide a certaine controverſie, When he had heard what could be ſaid, hee pronounced ſentence out of a written table, as it is verily thought; to this effect, *That hee iudged on their ſide, who had alleadged the truth*. For which prankes hee became baſe and contemptible, in ſo much as every where, and openly he was deſpiſed. One, to excuſe a * witneſſe, whom CÆSAR * had called for out of a Province, alleadged in his behalfe, and ſaid, *Hee could not poſſibly come in time and be preſent, diſſimuling the cauſe thereof a great while*: at length, after manie long demaunds, *what the reaſon might be*? *Why*, quoth hee, *the man is dead at PVTEOLI*. Another when hee gave him thankes, for ſuffering a perſon accuſed to have the benefite of a triall and to bee defended, added more-over theſe wordes, *And yet this is an uſuall and ordinarie thing*.

* And therfore, ambitious.

* The plaintife himſelfe.

* As a Citizen of Rome.
* As a forainer

* Or deponent
* Claudius.

Further-

Furthermore, I my ſelfe have heard olde folke ſay, That theſe Lawyers and Barriſters were wont to abuſe his patience ſo much, that as hee was going downe from the* Tribunall, they would not onely call upon him to come backe againe, but alſo take hold of his gowne lappet and skirt, yea and otherwhile catch him faſt by the foote, and ſo hold him ſtill with them. And that no man need to mervaile heerеat, there was one of theſe Greeke Lawyers, who pleading before him, hapned in earneſt altercation to let fall theſe words, Καὶ συ γερων εἰ καὶ μωρος, *i. Thou art both old, and a foole beſides.* And verily it is for certaine knowne, that a Gentleman of *Rome*, accuſed before him for his obſcene filthineſſe and unnaturall abuſe of women, (although untruly) as having an enditement framed againſt him by his enemies that were mighty: when he ſaw common ſtrumpets cited and their depoſitions heard againſt him, flung his writing ſteele and the bookes which he had in his hand, with great ubraiding of him alſo for his fooliſhneſſe and cruelty, even at his very face, ſo as he rippled and hurt therewith his cheeke not a little.

*Or iudgement ſeat.

He bare alſo the Cenſureſhip: an office that a long time had beene diſcontinued, after PAULUS and PLANCUS the Cenſours: but even this very place he held with an uneven hand and as variable a minde, as the event and ſucceſſe enſuing. In the review taken of Romaine Gentlemen, hee diſmiſſed without ſhame and diſgrace, a young man charged with many infamous villanies, howbeit one whom his owne father teſtified upon his knowledge and triall to bee right honeſt: ſaying withall, *That he had a Cenſor of his owne.* To another youth, who was in a very bad name for ſpoiling of maidens, and adulteries committed with wives, he did no more but give warning, *Either more ſparily to ſpend him ſelfe in theſe young and tender yeeres of his, or elſe more warily at leaſt-wiſe, to goe to worke*: adding thus much beſide, *For why know I*, quoth hee, *what wench thou keepeſt?* And when upon the intreaty of his familiar friends he had taken of the infamous note which was ſet upon the name of one, *Well*, quoth he, *let the blot yet remaine ſtill to be ſeene.* An honourable man and a principall perſonage of the Province Greece, howbeit ignorant in the Latine tongue, he not onely raſed out of the ranke & roll of Iudges, but alſo deprived of his freedom in *Rome*, and made him a meere alien. Neither ſuffred he any man to render an accoumpt of his life, otherwiſe than with his owne mouth, as well as every one was able, and without a patrone to ſpeake for him. Hee noted many with diſgrace, and ſome of them without their knowledge, as miſtruſting no ſuch thing: yea, and for a matter that had no precedent, namely, becauſe without his privity and a paſport obtained they went forth of *Italy*: one alſo among the reſt, for that in the Province he accompanied a King in his traine: alledging for example, That in his Auncеſtours daies RABIRIUS POSTUMUS for following of K. PTOLOMÆUS into *Alexandria* to ſave & recover the monie which he had lent him, was accuſed before the Iudges, of Treaſon to the State. Having aſſaied to put many more to rebuke with great imputation of the Inquiſitours negligence, but with greater ſhame of his owne: looke whomſoever he charged with ſingle* life, with childleſſe eſtate or poverty, thoſe lightly he found guiltleſſe; as who were able to prove themſelves husbands, fathers, and wealthy. Certes, one there was, who being accuſed to have laied violent hands upon himſelfe, and wounded his owne body with a ſword, ſtript himſelfe naked, and ſhewed

16 A.V.C. 800 804.

*Liturateamen cætes Some read extat, i. yet the blotte maineth: meaning the filthineſs of the fact.

*For theſe matters would beare action

the ſame whole and ſound, without any harme in the world. Many other Acts he did of ſpeciall note whiles he was Cenſour as namely theſe; He commaunded a ſilver Chariot ſumptuouſly wrought and ſet out to ſale in the ſtreete *Sigillaria*, for to be bought and broken all to peeces openly. Item, in one day he publiſhed 20 Edicts or Proclamations: and ij among the reſt: In the one whereof hee gave the people warning, *That when their Vineyards bare Grapes plentifully, they ſhould* pich their veſſels very well within: in the other*, he did them to underſtand, *That there was nothing ſo good againſt the ſtinging of a Viper, as the iuice of the Vgh tree.*

*Or enhuile:

17 One expedition and no more hee undertooke, and that was very ſmall. When the Senate had by Decree allowed him Triumphall ornaments, hee ſuppoſing that a bare title of honour was inferiour to the maieſtie of a Prince and Emperour, willing alſo to enterpriſe ſome exploit, whereby he might win the due glorie of a complet triumph, made choiſe before all other Provinces of *Britaine*; attempted by none ſince IULIUS (CÆSAR) of famous memorie, and at that time in a tumultuous uprore, for that certaine revolts and rebels fled from thence, were not rendred. As he ſailed from *Oſtia* thitherward, twice had he like to have beene caſt away and drowned, by reaſon of the ſtrong bluſtring Southerne winde *Circius*, neere unto *Ligaria*, hard by the Ilands (*a*) *Stoechades*. Having therefore travailed by land, From *Maſſiles* as farre as to the Cape* *Geſſoriacum*, he croſſed the ſeas frō thence into *Britaine*: and in very *few daies, without battaile or blouſhed, part of the Iland yeelded to his devotion. So, in the ſixth moneth after his firſt ſetting forth hee returned to *Rome*, and triumphed with moſt ſumpteous pompe therefore prepared. To the ſight of which Solemnitie, hee ſuffred not onely the Preſidents and Governours of Provinces to have recourſe into the Citie, but alſo certaine baniſhed perſons. And among the enemies Spoiles, hee ſet up a navall Coronet, and faſtened it to the Finial of his houſe Palatine, hard by another civick guirland, in token and memoriall of the Ocean by him ſailed over and ſubdued. After his triumphant Chariot rode MESSALLINA his wife in a Coach: then followed thoſe gallants alſo*, who in the ſame warre had attained to triumphall ornaments: the reſt went on foote and in their rich robes garded with purple: onely CRASSUS FRUGI mounted upon a brave Courſer trimly trapped, and arraied himſelfe in a triumphant mantle of eſtate, for that now twice hee had atchieved that honour.

*Where *Calais* ſtandeth, or *Bullon*, as ſom thinke.

* 16 Accordīg to *Dio*. A:V:C:797

*Mounted likewiſe.

18 Hee was at all times moſt carefull and provident for the* Citie, eſpecially that the market might bee well ſerved with victuals: what time, the Æmilian Ædifices (or Tenements) were on fire and continued ſtill burning, hee remained two nights together in the place called *Diribitorium*: and when the multitude of Souldiours and houſholde ſervants failed, hee called together by meanes of the Magiſtrates, the Commons of the Citie out of all the ſtreetes and Pariſhes to come in and helpe, ſetting before him his cheſts full of money: exhorting them to doe their beſt for the quenching of the fire: and readie for to pay preſently every one a good reward according to the paines hee tooke. Now, when corne and victuals were growne very ſcarce, (ſuch was the continuall unſeaſonable weather that brought barrainneſſe) hee was upon

*When ſo ever you read in Suetonius (City) abſolutely, underſtād thereby Rome: *Kat' exochen*: as one would ſay, The City of all Cities: A ordinarie phraſe in other Romain writers: according as *Virgil* hath fitly expreſſed in this verſe. *Eclog.* 1. *Vrbem quam dicunt, Romam, &c.*

pon a time in the middes of the *market place deteined by the multitude and so assayled and pelled what with reviling taunts & what with peeces of broken bread, that hardly & with much adoe he was able to escape, and no otherwise than by a posterne gate, unto the Pallace. Wherupon he devised all the means he possibly could to bring into the Citie provision of corne & victuals, even in the winter season. For, he not onely proposed certaine set gaines to all corne-masters, that would venture for graine, undertaking himselfe to beare all the losse that should happen unto anie of them by tempest: but ordained also great fees and availes for those that would builde ships for such traffique and merchandise, according to the condition and quality of each one. Namely for everie Romane Citizen exemption from the lawe PAPIA POPPÆA: For enfranchised latines, the freedome of Romane Citizens: and for womē, the priviledge and benefit of those that had [illegible] children, which constitutions stand in force and be observed at this day.

* Or *Forum.*

20

Many works he finished, and those rather for greatnesse, huge; then for use, needfull. But the chiefe and principall were these. The conduit of water begun by CAIUS. Item a *scluse to let out and draine the lake Fucinus: and the *haven at Ostia: although he knew well enough, that *the one (of the twaine) AUGUSTUS had denied unto the Marsians who cōtinually entreated him about it: and the * other intended oftentimes in the designment of IULIUS CÆSAR of sacred memorie, was for the difficultie thereof layde aside: The two colde & plenteous *fountaines of the water *Claudia*, of which the one beareth the name of CÆRULEUS, the other of CURTIUS or ALBUDINUS, as also the *new river of *Anio* he conueied and brought to *Rome* all the way, within stone-work: and then derived and deuided the same into many and those right beautifull *pooles. He went in hand with the mere *Ficinus* in hope of gaine as well as of glorie: when some there were, who would have bound themselues in covenant and promise, to draine the sayd marrish at their owne private charges, in case the grounds being once made drie might be graunted unto them in free-hold. Now, for the length of three miles, partly by digging through the hill, and partly by hewing out the rocke before him, hee finished the channell at last with much adoe and after eleven yeares labour: albeit thirty thousand men were at worke continually about it and neuer rested between. The Pere at *Ostia* beforesayd he made, by drawing an arme of the sea about, on the left and right hand both: and with all, at the mouth and entrance thereof, where now the ground lay deepe, raising an huge dam or pile against it. For the surer foundation of which pile, he drowned before hand that ship, wherein the great Obelisk had beene transported out of Ægypt: and when hee had supported it with buttresses of many stones, hee planted aloft upon the same an exceeding high watch-towre to the patterne of that PHARUS at *Alexandria*, to the end that by the fires burning there, in the night season, vessels at sea might direct their course.

* Or *Gott.*
* Or *Pere.*
* The drawing of the lake Fucinus

* *Alterum*, i. the Pere at Ostia. But because there is no mētion made in *Iulius Cæsars* life of this Pere or haven, some read for *Alterū* in this place *Ceterum*: and then the word *Alterum* before, is meant of the second worke of these three, denied unto the Marsians &c. *Ceterum*, i. but intended oftentimes in the designement of *Iulius*, &c.

* Or heads.
* *Noui anionis*, some read *nouo opere*, i. within new stone-wrok
* Or Cisternes

21

Hee dealt often among the people great doles and Congiaries. Manie shewes and games likewise hee exhibited, and those magnificent: not such onely as were usuall and in accustomed places: but those that

were, both newly deuiſed and alſo brought into ure againe, whereas they had of auntient time beene diſcontinued: yea and where no man elſe before him had ever ſet forth anie. The games for the dedication of POMPEIUS Theatre, which *being halfe burnt hee had reedified. he gave a ſignall to begin from out of his *Tribunall erected in the Orcheſtra: ſeeing that before time, when hee had ſacrificed and done his devotions in the houſes above and came downe from thence through the mids of the Theatre and aſſembly, not one would once ariſe and give applauſe, but ſat ſtill and kept ſilence. He ſet out alſo the *Secular games and playes, as if they had beene exhibited by AUGUSTUS over ſoone, and not reſerued unto their full and due time: and yet himſelfe in his owne hiſtories writeth; *That whereas the ſayd ſolemnities had beene intermitted*, AUGUSTUS *long after by a moſt exact calculation of the yeeres reduced them into order againe*. By occaſion whereof, *The voice of the cryer was then ridiculous and laughed at*, when after the ſolemne manner he called the people, *To behold thoſe games and playes, which no man had once ſeene alreadie, or ſhould ever ſee againe*: Whereas there ſurvived yet many who had ſeene them before: yea and ſome of the actours, who in times paſt had beene produced, were then likewiſe brought forth upon the ſtage. Oftentimes alſo he repreſented the Circenſian games in the vaticane, and otherwhiles after every 5. *courſes hee brought in the baiting of wild beaſtes. But in the greateſt Cirque of all which was beautified with barr-gates of marble ſtone and goales all guilded (whereas before time they had beene made of ſoft ſand-ſtone and wood,) hee appointed proper and peculiar places for the Senatours, who had wont before time to behold the ſame ſports here and there. Beſide the races for the priſe of Chariots drawen with foure ſteeds. He repreſented alſo the warlike *Troie* paſtime, & the baiting of Leopards: which the troup of the Pretorian horſe men ſlew, having for their leaders the Tribunes and the Captaine himſelfe. Moreouer, hee brought into the ſhewplace Theſſalian men of armes, whoſe manner is to chaſe about the cirque, wild buls; until they be tyred: then to mount them, and by the hornes to force them downe to the ground. As for ſhewes of ſword-fenſers, hee exhibited them in many places, and after divers and ſundrie ſorts. One, that was kept every yeare within the *Pretorian* camp, without anie baiting and ſumptuons proviſion of furniture. As for that, which was ordinarily ſet out and formally with baiting and other preparations in mars field at the *Septa*: in the ſame place likewiſe, another extraordinary one and of ſhort continuance, which he began to call *Sportula*, becauſe he proclaimed at firſt when he exhibited it, *That he invited the people thereto, as it were to a ſodaine ſupper and ſhort pittance, ſuch as men uſe to bid themſelues unto*. And in no kind of ſport or gaming repreſented unto them, was he more civile, familiar and better diſpoſed to paſſe the time away: in ſo much as putting forth his left hand, he togither with the commou ſort, would both by word of mouth tell, and with his fingers alſo number the peeces of gold as he tendred them unto the winners; and many a time by way of exhortation and entreaty provoke the people to mirth: ever and anon calling them Sirs: yea, and betweene whiles intermingling bald, and far fetcht jeſts. As for example, when the people called for one (a) PALUMBUS to play his priſes, *Hee promiſed to let them have him, if he were once caughs*. This alſo was but a ſimple plaine jeſt although to good purpoſe and in

ſeaſon

*For, the ſtage therof was cõſumed w th fire

*Or ſeate of ſtate.

*Which were ſolemnized once in the revolution of one hundred yeeres or one hundred and tone as ſome write, A,V,C,800,

*Of Chariot running.

*Or, my maiſters *Domini*,

*The name of a fenſer.

ſeaſon delivered: when he had by a ſpeciall indulgence, granted unto a Champion who fought out of a Britiſh chariot, (for whome his foure children made earneſt ſuite and entreaty) *That he ſhould bee freed from that profeſſion of ſword-fight*; and that with the great favour and liking of all men, he ſent preſently an admonition in writing: wherein he aduertiſed the people, *How much they ſhould endeauour to get children, ſeeing, as they did, in what good ſtead they ſerued, and how they procured grace even unto a very ſword-ſenſer.* He repreſented alſo in Mars field a warlike ſhew of the winning and ſacking of a towne: Likewiſe the yeelding of the Princes of *Britaine*; where he ſat himſelfe as preſident in his rich Coat-armour. When he was about to let out the water of the *mere: *Ficinus.* he exhibited in it a navall fight before: And as they who were to fight this battaile, cryed out unto him, *Aue Imperator, &c.* i. *All haile O Empereur*; *They ſalute thee and wiſh thy life who are ready to dye*: and he againe made anſwere, ** Avete vos.* After which word given, as if he had pardoned them this skirmiſh, there was not one of them would fight: he, ſitting a good while in doubt and ſuſpenſe with himſelfe, whether he ſhould deſtroy them al with fire and ſword? at length leapt forth of his throne, and running to and fro about the circuit of the ſayd lake (not without foule faltering of his legs under him) partly with threats, and in part by way of exhortation conſtrained them to skirmiſh. At this brave ſhew, the Sicilian and Rhodian fleetes encountred: eyther of them conſiſting of *twelue gallies ruled with three rankes of oares a peece. To give the ſignall of battaile, there was a *Triton of Syluer ariſing out of the mids of the lake by a fabricke artificially deuiſed, to ſound the trumpet and ſet them togither.

*Or Lake

*This Verbe (*Avete*) ſignifieth here, farewell or adieu. But the ſouldiours conſtrued it in the better ſenſe for theyr owne turns, (as they had uſed it before in ſaluting him) All haile ye alſo.

**Duodenarum.* Some read *undenarum*, devicenats i, 19. and out of *Dio, quinquagenarum* i, 50

*Reſembling Neptunes Trumpetter.

22

Certaine pointes about religious Ceremonies, touching the ſtate likewiſe of civill and militarie affaires, as alſo concerning all degrees of perſons both at home and abroad. he eyther reformed, or after long diſuſe forgotten, brought into practiſe againe, or els inſtituted and ordained new. In the election and admiſſion of Prieſts throughout their ſeverall Colledges, hee nominated not one but he tooke his oath firſt. He obſerued alſo preciſely that ſo often as there was an Earthquake in the Citie, the Pretour for the time beeing ſhould call a publike aſſembly, of the people and proclaime certain holydaies: Semblably, that upon the prodigious ſight of an unlucky *foule in the Capitol, there ſhould be held a ſolemne proceſſion and ſupplication: wherein himſelfe perſonally in the right of *High prieſt*, after warning giuē unto the people from the *Roſtra*, did read & pronounce a forme of prayers & they ſay after him. But from this congregation hee ſequeſtred & removed the baſe multitude of mechanicall labourers and ſlaves.

*Whether it were an Owle, or the birde named *Incendiaria*. See *Plin. lib.* 10. *cap.* 13. & 12.

23

The handling of cauſes and iudiciall pleading in Courts, devided before time into certaine moneths for winter and ſummer, he conioyned altogether. The iuriſdiction as touching feofments upon truſt which was wont yeere by yeere, and onely within the Citie to bee commited unto the magiſtrates, hee ordained to hold by patent for ever: and betooke the charge thereof unto the rulers and governours alſo of ſtate in every province. That *branch annexed to the lawe PAPIA (*a*) POPPÆA, which emplyeth thus much, That men threeſcore

*That a Woman under 50. yeares of age, ſhould not bee wedded to a man that was threeſcore.

*Edicto abrogauit. *Grãting that men threescore yeeres olde might mary women vnder fiftie. +Wards under age.

threescore yeeres of age are disabled for generation, he *altered by an *edict. He ordeined that unto *Pupils, the Consuls should extraordinarily appoint Tutors and Guardians. That they also who by the head-Magistrates were forbidden to make abode within any provinces, should bee debarred likewise from the Citie of *Rome* and *Italie*. Himselfe confined some after a strange fashion and without any precedent, inhibiting them to depart above three miles from the City. When he was to treat of any great affaire in the Curia, his manner was to sit in the Tribunes pue just in the midst betweene the Consuls chaires. As for *pasports which the Consuls were wont to be sued unto for, he would have the Citizens to bee beholden unto himselfe onely therefore, and to crave the same at his hands.

*Licẽces to be absent a time from Rome.

24

*Who received 200000 sesterces for salarie or might despend so much by the place. *i. The Senatours robe studded with purple.

The badges and ornaments belonging unto the Consuls he granted unto the *Ducenarie Procuratours and Seneschals of Provinces. From as manie as refused the honorable dignitie of Senatours; he tooke away also the worship of the gentlemens degree. The right to weare the *Laticlave, (although hee promised at first not to chuse anie one Senatour who could not reckon 4. lineall descents from a Citizen of *Rome*,) he allowed also to a libertines sonne: but with this condition, *if he were adopted before by a Gentleman of Rome*. And fearing for all that, least he should be blamed, he proved and shewed, *That evẽ* Appius Cæcus *the cheife auncitour and Auctor of his owne race, being Censor, elected and admitted* into the Senate the sonnes of Libertines: ignorant as hee was, that in the dayes of the sayde Appius, and in the times long after ensuing, those were called Libertines, *not onely who themselues were manumised and enfranchised, but such also, as were free borne of their progeny*. The Colledge of Questours, insteede of pauing the streets and high wayes he enioyned to exhibite a game or shew of sword-fensers: and in the lieu of the Provinces, Ostia and *gaule which he tooke from them hee restored the charge of the publike Treasure in the temple of Saturne; which office in the meane space *betweene, the Pretours for the time being, or those verely who had been Pretours before had borne. Vnto Silanus espoused and betrothed unto his daughter, before he was undergrowen and 14. yeeres of age hee granted triumphall ornaments: but of elder persons to so many, as there is an Epistle extant written in the common name of the Legions wherein they make petition, *That unto the Consuls Lieuetenants there might be granted together with the conduct of the armie, the sayde triumphall honours: to the end that they should picke quarrels and seeke occasions of warre, they cared not how nor what way*? Moreover to A. Plantius he gave by a decree the pety triumph Ovatio: and as he entred so into the Citie himselfe met him upon the waie: and both when he went into the Capitoll & returned also from thence againe, gave him the better hand. Vnto Gabinius Secundus, who had vanquished the Cauci a nation in *Germanie*, he permitted and gave leave to assume the surname Caucius in his style.

+Cisalpina which therupõ was called Provincia Quæstoria +Frõ Augustus dayes.

*Latus tenuit. i. Leuus ei incubuit, he gave him the right hand, and went on his left side, *Vide Eutropium*

25

The horsemens seruice and their places he ordered so by degrees, as that after the charge of a cohort, he granted the leading of a wing: and after the cõmaund thereof, the Tribuneship or regiment of a Legion: he ordained their stipends also: and a kind of imaginary warrefare called *Supra-Numerum* (which they

they that were abſent might execute) and in name or title onely. By vertue of a decree that paſſed even from the Nobles them ſelues, he prohibited all ſouldiours profeſſed, to enter into any Senatours houſes for to do their dutie and ſalute them. Thoſe Libertines who bare them ſelues for *Romane* gentlemen he cauſed to forfeit their goods and bodies to the ſtate. Such of them as were unthankeful and of whom their patrons complained, he deprived of freedome and made them bound againe: Yea and denied unto their aduocates, for to heare any plea and to ſit in iudgment againſt their owne freed men. When ſome Maſters there were, that put forth their ſick & diſeaſed ſlaves into the Iſle of* *Aeſculapius*, for to avoid the tedious trouble of their cures at home, he made an act and ordained, *That all ſuch ſlaves ſhould be free and not returne againe into the hands of their Maſters, in caſe they ever recovered: and if anie Maſter choſe to kill them outright, rather then thus to put them forth, they ſhould be guilty of murder.* He gave warning by an edict, that no waifaring men ſhould travaile through anie towne in *Italie*, but either on foot or (*a*) borne in a chaire, or els carried in a licter. In *Puteoli* and in *Oſtia* he placed ſeverall cohorts, to put by all miſchances of skare-fires. He forbad all perſons by condition aliens and forrainers, to take upon them Romane names; thoſe I meane onely that diſtinguiſhed houſes and families. As manie of them as uſurped the freedome of *Rome-Citie* he beheaded in the *Eſquiline fielde. The two provinces *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, which TIBERIUS (the Emperour) had appropriated to * him ſelfe, hee yeelded up againe into the hands and diſpoſe of the Senate. The *Lycians* hee deprived of their freedome, by occaſion of the mortall diſcord and variance among them. To the *Rhodians*, who repented for their olde treſpaſſes hee reſtored their libertie which they had loſt. Hee forgave all tribvtes to the *Ilienſes* for ever, as to the firſt founders and ſtocke-fathers of the Romane Nation: And to that purpoſe hee red an olde letter in *Greeke* written unto K. SELEUCUS by the Senate and people of *ROME*: wherein they, promiſed to entertaine amitie and league with him upon this condition, that hee would graunt unto the *Ilienſes*, their naturall kinsfolke, immunitie from all taxes and tributes. * The (*b*) Iewes who by the inſtigation of one CHRESTUS were evermore tumultuous, he baniſhed *ROME*. The Embaſſadours of the *GERMANES* hee permitted to ſit in the (*c*) *Orcheſtra* (with the Senatours) beeing mooved ſo to doe at their ſimplicitie and confident boldeneſſe for that beeing brought into the (*d*) *Popularia* and perceiving *PARTHIANS* and *ARMENIANS* ſitting among the Senatours, they of their owne accord had remooved and paſſed to that quarter: giving out theſe words withall, that their valour and condition of eſtate was nothing inferiour to the others, The religion of the *Druida* among the French-men, practiſing horrible and deteſtable cruelty and which under AUGUSTUS, Romane Citizens onely were forbidden to profeſſe and uſe, he quite put downe and aboliſhed. Contrariwiſe, the ſacred rites and holy Cæremonies (of CERES) called *Eleuſinia*, hee attempted to tranſferre out of the Territorie Attica to *ROME*. The Temple likewiſe of VENUS (*e*) *Erycine* in *Sicilie*, which in continuance of time was decayed and fallen downe, hee cauſed to bee repayred and built againe at the common charges of the people of *ROME*: Hee made Covenants and league with forraine Kings

Otherwiſe called Tiberina.

*Without the gate Eſquilina.

**And his ſucceſſours.

*This ſome thinke is to bee underſtood of Chriſtians who we find in the Eccleſiaſticall writers to bee miſnamed by the Ethnicke Infideſs, *Chreſtians*, like as Chriſt himſelfe *Chreſtos*, in ſkorne.

Kings, by the complements of killing a *ſowe in the *Forum*, and uſing withall the ſentence or preface that the *Heraulds in old time pronounced: But both theſe affaires and others beſides, the whole Empire alſo in a manner or a great part thereof he managed not ſo much after his owne minde, as by the direction and wil of his Wives and children: beeing verely affected and framed for the moſt part ſo, as ſtood eyther with their profit or good pleaſure.

*Porca.
*Or *Fecials.* See *Livie Lib.* 1

26

When he was a very youth, he had eſpouſed two maidens, namely AEMILIA LEPIDA neice to AUGUSTUS once remooved, likewiſe LIVIA MEDULLINA, ſurnamed alſo CAMILLA, a Ladie deſcended frō the auntient houſe of *Camillus* the Dictatour. The former of theſe twaine, becauſe her parents had offended AUGUSTUS he caſt off remaining as yet a Virgin: the latter, hee loſt by occaſion of ſickneſſe, upon that very day which was appointed for the mariage. After this, he wedded theſe wives, to wit, PLAUTIA *HERCULANILLA, whoſe father had triumphed; and not long after, AELIA PÆTINA, whoſe father had beene Conſul. Both theſe he divorſed. PÆTINA upon light offenſes and ſmall diſpleaſures: mary, HERCULANILLA he put away for her filthy luſt and whoriſh life; as alſo for ſuſpicion of a murder. After theſe he tooke to wife VALERIA MESSALLINA, the daughter of BARBATUS MESSALLA his couſin german: whom when hee found once, over and beſide the reſt of her abominable vices & diſhoneſties, to have been *wedded to C. SILIUS, and that with a dourie aſſured unto her and ſigned among the **Auſpices*, he put to death. And in a ſpeech that he made openly before his Pretorian Souldiours, *avowed that becauſe his mariages proved ſo bad, hee reſolved to remaine unmarried and live a ſingle life: and if he did not continue ſo for ever, hee would not refuſe to be ſtabbed by their very hands.* Neither could he endure, but forthwith treat upon conditions of mariage even with PÆTINA, whom long before hee had put away: yea and with LOLLIA PAVLINA wife ſome time to C. CÆSAR. But through the enticing allurements of AGRIPPINA, the daughter of GERMANICUS his owne brother what by the meanes of kiſſing courteſies, what by the opportunities of other daliances, being drawen into love and fancie with her, at the next Seſſion of Senate he ſubborned certaine of purpoſe to opine and give aduiſe, *To compell him for to make her his Wife; as being a matter of right great conſequence, and which moſt of all concerned the State: That other men alſo might be diſpenſed with and licenced to contract the like * mariages which until that time were reputed inceſtuous.* And ſo, himſelfe ſtaied hardly one day between, before hee diſpatched the wedding: but none were found that followed the precedent, except one libertine & another who had been a principal Centurion in the formoſt Cohort, at whoſe mariage even himſelf in perſon together with AGRIPPINA was preſent to do him credite and honor.

*Or *Vipſanilla.*
A.V.C. 801
*Whiles ſhe was Empreſſe & wife to *Claudius.*
*His owne neipce
*With their brothers or ſiſters daughters

27

Children he begat of 3. wives. By HERCVLANILLA he had DRUSUS and CLAUDIA: By PÆTINA he was father of ANTONIA: and MESSALLINA bare unto him OCTAVIA and a ſon, whom firſt he named GERMANICUS and afterwards BRITANNICUS. As for DRUSUS, he loſt him at *Pompeÿ*, before he was 14. yeares of age by occaſion that he was choaked with a peare which

*Pompeÿs im puberem amiſit.

which in play and paſtime beeing toſſed aloft into the aire, fell iuſt into his mouth as he gaped wide for it: unto whom alſo but few daies before, hee had affianced in mariage the daughter of SEIANUS: which maketh mee more to mervaile that ſome have written, hee was treacherouſly killed by SEIANUS. His (ſuppoſed) daughter CLAUDIA, who in deede was conceived by his freed man BOTER, although ſhee was borne before the fifth moneth after the diuorſe, and began to be nourced and reared, yet hee commaunded to be laid at her mothers dore and ſtarke naked to be caſt forth. ANTONIA his daughter, he gave in mariage to CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS: afterwards to FAUSTUS SULLA ij right noble yong Gentlemen: & OCTAVIA he beſtowed upon NERO* his wives ſonne, notwithſtanding ſhe had been promiſed, & betrothed before unto SILANUS. His ſonne BRITANNICUS, whom MESSALLINA bare unto him the twentieth day after he came to the Empire & in his ſecond Conſulſhip, being yet a very babe he recommended continually both to the Souldiours in open aſſembly, dandling him in his owne hands, and alſo to the common people at the ſolemnities of games and plaies, holding him either in his boſome or iuſt before him, whiles the multitude with great acclamations, all good words and fortunate oſſes ſeconded him. Of his ſonnes in Law who matched with his daughters, he adopted NERO: POMPEIUS and SILANUS he not onely caſt off and reiected but murdred alſo.

A.V.C. 773

*Emperour after him.

A.V.C. 806

A.V.C. 803

28

Of all his freed men hee eſteemed eſpecially POSIDES the *Eunuch, unto whom alſo in his triumph over *Britaine*, among martiall men and valiant Souldiours, he gave a ſpeare* without an yron head: and no leſſe account made he of* FÆLIX: whom firſt he ordained Capitaine over the Cohorts & Cornets of Horſemen, yea and ruler of the Province *Iurie*; the husband (*a*) of three Queenes. As alſo of HARPOCRAS, unto whom hee graunted a priviledge to be caried in a Litter through the Citie of *Rome*, and to ſet out (*b*) Games and Plaies in publick: And beſides theſe, hee affected with much reſpect, POLYBIUS the guide and directour to him in his Studies, who oftentimes would walke cheeke by iole betweene the two Conſuls. But above all theſe, he held in greateſt eſteeme, NARCISSUS his Secretarie or enditer of Epiſtles, and PALLAS the Keeper of his bookes of accounts: whom by vertue of a Decree alſo which went from the Senate, he ſuffred willingly to be not onely rewarded with rich Fees, but alſo to be adorned with the Honours of Queſture and Pretureſhip: likewiſe to get, to pill and poll by hooke and crooke ſo much, as that when himſelfe complained upon a time how little treaſure hee had in his Cofters, one made anſwere unto him not abſurdly, *That hee might have ſtore enough and plenty, in caſe his two* freed men would admit him to ſhare with them.*

*Or gelded man: *Haſta pura donavit.* For his great valour forſooth: *Of this *Falix* mention is made in the Acts of the Apoſtles.

*Narciſſus and Pallas.

29

To theſe (freed men) and to his wives as I ſaid before, being wholly addicted and enthralled, hee bare himſelfe not as an abſolute Prince, but as their (*a*) Miniſter and Servitour. According as it was behoovefull and commodious to any of theſe, or ſtoode with their affection and pleaſure, hee graunted honourable dignities, conferred the conducts of Armies, and awarded impunities and puniſhments: yea, and for the moſt part, I aſſure you when himſelfe was altogether ignorant and wiſt not what hee did. And not to

reckon up particularly, every ſmall thing, to wit, his liberalities and gifts revoked, his iudgements reverſed, his Patents & Writings concerning the graunts of Offices either foiſted in or plainly altered and chaunged by them: hee ſlew his brother (a) APPIUS SILANUS: the ij IULIÆ, the one daughter of *DRUSUS, and the other of *GERMANICUS upon bare imputation of a crime, without any ground: not allowing them ſo much as lawfull triall and libertie to plead in their owne defence: likewiſe CN. POMPEIUS, husband to his elder daughter, and LUCIUS SILANUS eſpouſed to the other, (and all through their ſuggeſtions and informations). Of which, POMPEIUS was ſtabbed even as he lay in bed with a beloved youth and Catamite of his: SILANUS was forced to reſigne up his Pretureſhip foure daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, and to *looſe his life in the beginning of the yeere on the very wedding day of CLAUDIUS and AGRIPPINA. To the execution of 35 Senatours, and above an hundred Romaine Gentlemen ſo eaſily was hee induced, as that, when the Centurion brought word backe, as touching the death of one who had beene Conſull, ſaying, *That the deede was done which he had commaunded*, he flatly denied, that he gave any ſuch warrant. Nevertheleſſe the thing he allowed: whiles his freed men afore-ſaid ſtanding by, avouched, *That the Souldiours had done their devoir, in that they ran willingly of their owne heads to revenge their Emperour.* For, it would be thought incredible if I ſhould relate, How even for the very mariage of MESSALLINA with the Adulterer SILIUS: his own ſelf ſealed the Writings for aſſurance of the Dowrie, being perſwaded and brought thereunto, as though the ſaid wedding was but colourably, of purpoſe pretended to avert forſooth and tranſlate the danger, that by certaine prodigies were portended to hang over his owne head. 30

Right perſonable hee was, and caried a preſence not without authoritie and maieſtie, whether he ſtoode or ſate; but eſpecially when he was laid and tooke his repoſe. For, of ſtature hee was tall, and nathleſſe his body not lanke and ſlender. His countenance lively, his gray haires beautifull, which became him well, with a good fat and round neck under them. Howbeit, both as he went his hams being feeble failed him: and alſo whiles he was doing ought, were it remiſſely or in earneſt, many thinges diſgraced him: to wit, undecent laughter and unſeemely anger, by reaſon, that hee would froth and ſlaver at the mouth, and had evermore his noſe dropping: Beſides, his tongue ſtutted and ſtammered: his head likewiſe at all times, but eſpecially if he did any thing were it never ſo little uſed to ſhake and tremble very much.

31

Concerning his bodily health, as before time he uſed to be grievouſly ſick, ſo being once Emperour exceeding healthfull he was and ſtoode cleere of all diſeaſes ſave onely the paine of the (a) ſtomack: in a fit whereof hee ſaide, hee thought to have killed himſelfe.

32

Hee made feaſts, and thoſe very great and ordinarily; yea, and in moſt open and large places, ſuch as for the moſt part would receive ſixe hundred gueſts at one ſitting. Hee feaſted alſo even upon the Sluce of the Lake *Fucinus*: what time hee had like to have beene drowned, when as the water lee out with a forcible violence reflowed backe againe. At everie ſupper his

*Conſocerum: ſo called for that their children maried together: & ſuch with us, name one another brethren

*The ſonne of *Tiberius*.

*who is called alſo *Livilla*. A.V.C 802.

Tacitus writeth, that hee killed himſelfe upon that day.

his manner was to have also his owne children, who together with other noble mens children as well boyes as girles, should after the olde manner sit and feede at the tables *feete. One of his guests, who was thought to have closelie stollen away a cup of gold the day before, he reinvited against the morrow: and then he set before him a stone *pot to drinke in. It is reported moreover, that he meant to set forth an Edict, wherein he would give folke leave to breake winde downward and let it goe (a) even with a crack at the very bourd; having certaine intelligence, that there was one who for manners and modestie sake, by holding it in, endaungered his owne life.

*Or at a Settle at the tables end:

* Or earthen pot.

33

For appetite to meate and drinke his stomacke served him passing well alwaies, and in every place. Sitting upon a time iudicially in AUGUSTUS Hall of Iustice, to heare and determine causes, and tenting there the steime of a dinner, that was a dressing and serving up for the Priests (a) *Salij* in the temple of * *Mars* next adioyning, he forsooke the Tribunall, went up to the said Priests, and there sate downe with them to meate. Lightly you should never have him goe out of any dining roome. but with his belly strutting out, well whitled also and drenched with wine: so, as straightwaies, whiles hee layd him downe along upon his backe and tooke a sleepe gaping, there was a feather put ordinarily into his mouth wide open for to discharge his stomack. Hee tooke very short sleepes: for commonly before midnight hee awaked: yet so, as otherwhiles he would catch a nap in the day time, as he sat to minister iustice: and scarcely could bee awakened by the Advocates at the barre, who of purpose raised their voices and pleaded the lowder. Hee was excessively given to the wanton love of women. As for the preposterous abuse of mankind, he was altogether unacquainted therewith. Hee plaied at dice most earnestly (concerning the Art and skill whereof, he published also a little booke) being wont to plie that game even whiles hee was caried up and downe, having his Carroch and Dice-bourd so fitted, as there might be no confusion nor shuffling at all in play.

*Revenger, Situate neere to the Hall: for distinction of another Temple, bearing that name, in the Capitoll mount.

That cruell he was and given to bloudshed naturally, appeared in great and very small matters. As for tortures used in examinations, and the punishments that (a) PARICIDES suffred, hee exhibited and exacted the same to be done without delay, and openly in his owne presence. Being desirous upon a time to behold an execution performed after the auncient manner at *Tibur*, when as, (the malefactours standing bound already to a stake), there wanted the butcherly executioner to doe the feat; he staied there still in the place, and waited untill evening, for one that was sent for out of *Rome*. At all Swordfights, whether they were set forth by himselfe, or by others, he commaunded as many of the Champions as chaunced onely but to stumble and fall therewith, to have their throats cut: especially the Fencers called * *Retiarij*; and why! because forsooth hee would see their faces as they lay gasping and yeelding up their breath. It fortuned, that a couple of these fighting at sharpe wounded and killed one another: Thereupon hee commaunded little knives to bee made of both their blades, for his owne proper use. Hee tooke such pleasure in those that * fought (b) with wild beasts, as also in the sword fights ordinarily about noone, that he would by breake of day go downe to the Theater for to behold

34

*The adverse faction to the Mirmillones whom he favored

*Which combats were usually in the morning:

hold the one: and at noone dismisse the people to their dinners, and sit it out himselfe to see the other: yea, and besides those that were appointed to such combats, upon any slight and suddaine occasion set some to fight for their lives, even out of the number of Carpentars, Servitours, & such like emploied about these games: if happily any of those artificiall (c) motions that goe by vices, or a pageant * in frame, or some such fabrick proved not well. Hee fetcht in also one of his owne * Nomenclatours even in his gowne as he went * to fight for his life.

*Or Pegme
*Prompters of names.
* With wilde beasts or otherwise.

35

But it passed, how timorous and diffident hee was. At his first comming to the Empire; (how ever as we said before, he bragged and stoode upon his civill and familiar behaviour) he durst not for certaine daies goe to any feast, dinner or supper, without Pensionars standing about him with their speares and Iavelins, and his Souldiours waiting at the table: neither visited hee any sicke person, unlesse the bed-chamber where the party lay, were first searched; the beds, bolsters, pillowes, Coverlets and other cloathes were groped, felt, and throughly shaken before hand. All the time after, hee appointed evermore certaine searchers for them all, that came to salute him, sparing not one; and such searchers as were most cruell. For, long it was first, and that with much adoe, ere hee graunted that women, young boyes in their embroidred coates, and maidens, should not bee handled and felt in this manner: that any mans Attendants likewise or Clerks might not have their Pensheathes and Penknifecases (a) taken from them. In a civile commotion, when CAMILLUS, (making no doubt but that without any warre at all hee might be terrified) willed him in a contumelious, menacing, and malapert letter, to resigne up the Empire, and to leade a quiet life in private estate, hee called his Nobles and chiefe personages about him, to counsell, and put to question, whether it were best to hearken unto him or no?

36

At the headlesse report and flying newes of some treason that should bee practised against him, he was so affrighted, that hee went about to lay downe his Imperiall dignity. By occasion, that one (as I related before) was taken with a weapon upon him, about his person as hee sacrificed, in all hast he sent out the Bedels and called the Senate together: before whom, with teares and loude out-cries hee bewailed his owne piteous case, as who no where could make account of any safety: and thereupon for a long time forbare to come abroad. His affectionate love also to MESSALLINA, most fervent though it were he renounced and cast cleane from her, not so much for any indignity of the dishonourable wrongs she offred unto him, as upon very feare of daunger; as fully perswaded that shee practised to bring the Empire into SILIUS the Adulterers hands. At which time in a great fright he fled in shamefull manner to the camp, asking and enquiring all the way nothing else, but whether the Empire remained still safe to his behoofe?

37

There arose no suspition, there came forth no Author so light and vaine, but gave him a bone to gnaw upon, and put no small toyes in his head: whereby he was forced to beware and seeke revenge. One of those, that had a matter depending in Court before him, taking him a side, when hee came by way of salutation

ſalutation to doe his duty, avowed unto him, that he dreamed, How hee was killed by one. Then within a while after, the ſame party, (as if he had now taken knowledge who that one was that ſhould murder him) pointed unto his owne adverſarie, even as hee tendered a ſupplication unto CLAUDIUS; and ſaid, This is he. Whereupon immediatly apprehended he was, and haled to execution. After the ſemblable manner by report, came APPIUS SILANUS to his death. For, when MESSALLINA and NARCISSUS had conſpired to worke his overthrow and finall deſtruction, they complotted thus, that NARCISSUS betimes in a morning before day light ruſhed like a man amazed and aſtonied into the bedchamber of his Patrone (CLAUDIUS) relating unto him his dreame, namely that APPIUS had laid violent hands upon him: and MESSALLINA for her part, compoſing and framing her ſelfe as if ſhee wondered greatly thereat, reported, *How ſhee likewiſe had ſeene already the ſame viſion for certaine nights together*. And not long after this, word came, (as it was before agreed betweene them) that APPIUS was comming to ruſh in among them: who in deed had beene bidden the day before to be preſent at the ſame inſtant. Whereupon, as if the ſaid dreame had now proved true and beene plainly repreſented in effect, order was given for APPIUS, to be endited, arraigned, and to ſuffer death. Neither doubted CLAUDIUS the morrow after to report the whole ſtorie and the order thereof unto the Senate: and withall to give thanks unto his *freed man, for being ſo vigilant and watchfull in his very ſleepe for his ſake.

38 Being privie to himſelfe of paſſionate (*a*) anger & bearing malice, he exiled them both in an Edict, diſtinctly promiſing that the one of them verily ſhould be but ſhort and harmleſſe, the other not iniuſt nor cauſeleſſe. Having ſharply rebuked the men of *Oſtia*, becauſe they had not ſent boats & barges to meet him as he came upon the river *Tiberis*: and that in ſuch odious termes as theſe, *That he was now become baſe and abiect in their eies*: all on a ſuddaine, he pardoned thē upon their ſubmiſſion & readineſſe to make ſatisfaction. Some there were, whom in the very open ſtreet he thruſt from him with his own hand, cōming unto him ſomewhat out of ſeaſon. Semblably he confined and baniſhed the Court a Scribe who had been Queſtour: a Senatour likewiſe that had born the Pretureſhip, both of them without their cauſe heard and altogether guiltleſſe: for that the *one pleading in Court as an Advocate againſt him when he was a private perſon, had catied himſelfe not ſo modeſtly as he ſhould: & the Senatour in his Ædileſhip had amerced & fined certaine tenants of his dwelling upō his lands, for ſelling boiled meats contrary to the law expreſly forbidding ſo to do: and withall whipped his Bailife comming* betweene (to intercede for them). For which cauſe alſo, he tooke from the Ædiles their authority to puniſh the diſorder of thoſe that kept Tavernes and victualing houſes. But as touching his owne fooliſhnes, he concealed it not, but gave it out & proteſted in certaine ſhort orations, That he counterfaited himſelfe a foole for the nonce during CAIUS daies: becauſe otherwiſe he ſhould not have eſcaped, nor attained to that (imperiall) place which hee aimed at and was now entred upon. Howbeit, he could not make the world beleeve ſo much, untill there was a book put forth within a ſhort time after, entituled μωρῶν ἀνάστασις, *The reſurrection (or Exaltation) of fooles*. The argument and matter whereof was, (*b*) *That no man*

* *Narciſſus.*
* *Ira atque Iracundia.*
The manner is of this Author throughout his ſtorie to ſet thoſe points downe firſt in a word, whereon he meaneth to ſtand, & then in order to particularize preſently upon thē. By which method of his, it appeareth in this place, that hee meaneth by *Ira*, the momētanie paſſion of anger, which we call heat & choler, ſoone up & as ſoone downe, quickly kindled and as quickly quēcht: by *Iracundia*, the habite of inveterat wrath contirning ſtill untill reverge be had: which we call malice and rancour. Howſoever our modern Lexicographers have in their Dictionaries put downe the cōtrary.
* The Scribe
* To intercede for them.

faigneth folly.

39 Among other thinges, men wondered at him for his oblivion and unaduisednesse, or (that I may expresse the same in Greeke) his μετεωρίαν καὶ ἀλεξίαν, *i.* his grosse over-sight or forgetfulnes, and inconsiderate blindnes. When MESSALLINA was (by his owne commaundement) killed, within a while, after he was set in his dining parlour hee asked why his * Lady came not? Many of those whom he had condemned to death, the very morrow immediatly after, he commaunded to have warning both to sit in counsell with him, and also to beare him company at Dice-play: yea, and by a messenger chid & checked them as drowsie and slothfull for staying so long and making no better hast. Being minded to take AGRIPPINA to wife against all law of God and man, he ceased not in all his speech to call her, *His * daughter and nourceling*: to give out also, *That she was borne and brought up in his bosome*. Having a purpose to admit NERO into the very name of his owne house & family, as if he had not incurred blame enough already for adopting (him) his wives son, having a naturall * sonne of his owne who was now of ripe yeeres, hee eft-soones divulged, *That never any one had beene by adoption inserted or incorporate into the family of the* CLAUDII.

*Or Mistres of the house, *Domina*. Grace, *Fœmina*.

*And in deede he was her Vnkle.

*Britannicus.

40 He shewed oftentimes so great negligence & carelesnes what he said or did, that he was thought not to know nor consider, either who made any speech, or among whom, or at what time, and in what place? When there was some question and debate about Butchers & Vintnars, he cried out in the Senate house, *I beseech * you, my Maisters who is able to live without a little piece or morsell of flesh?* and withall described the * abundance of the olde Tavernes (*a*), from whence himselfe also in times past was wont to bee served with wine. As touching a certaine Questour, who was a Candidate of his and by him recommended: among other reasons why he favoured him, he alleadged this, *Because his Father*, quoth he, *had quickly and in due time given him lying sick, cold water to drinke.* Having in the Senate brought in a woman to depose, *This*, quoth he, *was my mothers freed woman, and she that kept her ornaments, and used to deck and dresse her: But she alwaies tooke me for her Patrone. This have I*, quoth he, *delivered of purpose: because there be some yet in mine house, who think me not to be her Patron.* Moreover, sitting upon the Tribunall, when he was in a great chafe, & the men of *Ostia* requested at his hands (I wot not what) in the name of their towne; he cried out aloud, *That he knew nothing wherefore he should oblige thē unto him: And if any man else*, quoth he, *I also am free and at mine owne liberty.* As for these words of his which now I will relate, they were rife in his mouth daily, yea every houre & minute therof. *What doest thou take (b) me for* THEOGONIUS *and* λογιώτατος? beside many such fooliish termes, not beseeming private persons, much lesse a Prince, otherwise not uneloquent nor unlearned: nay, rather one eagerly given to his booke, and a great Student in the liberall Sciences.

* Rogo vos, or I demaund of you.

*Or excessive number.

41 In his youth, he attempted to write an Historie, exhorted thereto by TITUS LIVIUS; and having the help besides of SULPITIUS FLAVUS. And when he put the same first to the triall & iudgement of men in a frequent auditorie, hardlie & with much a-do he read it through, being often in the while coldly heard, by an occasion that himselfe gave. For, when, (as hee began his reading) there was set up a laughter, by reason that many of the seates brake with the weight

of

of a certeine corpulent and fat ſwad, he was not able to hold, no not after the tumult appeaſed, but eftſoones ever and anon call to minde that accident and fall afreſh to unmeaſurable laughing. During his Empire likewiſe, hee both wrote much and alſo rehearſed the ſame continually by his reader. The beginning of his foreſayd hiſtorie he tooke from the time preſently enſuing the murder of CÆSAR DICTATOR: but hee paſſed over to the latter dayes: and began againe at the civill pacification: perceiving that it was not left in his power and libertie to write of the occurrents in thoſe former times, as who was often checked both by his *mother and alſo by his *grandame. Of the former argument he left behinde him two volumes, of the later, fortie-one. Hee compiled of his owne life eight bookes: a report not ſo wiſely and diſcreetly put downe, as otherwiſe elegantly penned: *Item*, an Apologie or defenſe of CICERO againſt the bookes of ASINIUS GALLUS: a peece of worke full enough of learning. He deviſed moreover three (*a*) new characters or letters in the (Latine) Alphabet, and put them to the number of the olde as moſt neceſſarie. And having publiſhed whiles he was yet a private perſon, concerning the reaſon of thoſe letters, one booke: ſoone after beeing Emperor he eaſily effected that they ſhould be brought into uſe alſo indifferently with the reſt. And verely ſuch manner of writing with thoſe characters is now extant to be ſeene in many bookes of records in Iournels, and titles or inſcriptions of works.

*Antonia the Triumvirs daughter.
*Octavia the wife of Antonie of Livia Augusta her ſelfe.

42

With no leſſe diligence ſtudied hee the *Greeke* diſciplines, profeſſing as any occaſion was offered, his affectionate love to that tongue, and the excellency thereof. When a certaine Barbarian diſcourſed in Greeke and Latine, ſee you be skilfull, quoth he, in both our languages; And in recommending ACHAIA unto the LL. of the Senate, he ſayde it was a province that he affected well and delighted in, for the commerce and ſociety of ſtudies common to him and them: and many a time he anſwered their embaſſadors in the Senate, with a long and continued oration (in Greeke). But upon the Tribunall he uſed very much verſes alſo out of HOMER. CERTES whenſoever he had taken revenge of enemie or traytor, he lightly gave unto the Tribune over the Sentinels and guard of his perſon, calling unto him after the uſuall manner for a watchword, none other but this

Ἀνδρὸς ἐπαμύνασθ᾽ ὅστις πρότερος κακὰ ἔρξῃ

Reſiſt, revenge with maine and might.
When one provokes thee firſt to fight.

To conclude, in the end he wrote Greeke hiſtories alſo, to wit twentie bookes entituled **Tyrrhenicoon*, and 8. entituled **Carchedoniacoon*. In regard of which hiſtories, unto the auntient ſchoole at *Alexandria* he adjoyned another bearing his owne *name: and ordained it was, that every yeare in the on of them his books *Tyrrhenicoon*, and in the other his *Carchedoniacoon* upon certaine daies appointed therefore ſhould (as it were in a frequent Auditorie) be read whole and through by ſeverall ſingle readers in their turnes.

*Of Tuskane affaires.
*Of Carthaginian matters Called Claudium.

43

Toward the end of his life, hee ſhewed certaine ſignes and thoſe evident enough, that he repented both his mariage with AGRIPPINA, and the

adoption alſo of NERO. For by occaſion that his freed-men made mention and gave their commendation of a judiciall proceeding of his, wherein he had condemned the day before, a Woman in the caſe of adulterie, hee avouched *That the deſtinies likewiſe had ſo ordained, that all his *mariages ſhould bee uncheaſte howbeit not unpunniſhed*: And ſoone after, meeting his ſonne BRITANNICVS and *embracing him harder and more cloſely than his manner was, growe apace* quoth hee, and *take accompt of me for all that I haue done. Vſing withall theſe Greeke* words, ὁ ἔρως δ' ἐπέγειαι, *i. *Love enforced me*. And when he had fully purpoſed to give him being as then very young & of tender yeeres his (*a*) *Virile Robe*, ſeeing that his ſtature and growth would beare and permit it, he uttered theſe words moreover, *To the end that the people of Rome may yet at laſt, haue a true and Naturall* CÆSAR.

*Matrimonia, or Wives like as Coniugia pro coniugibus.

* Or rather, ὁ τρῶσας καὶ ἰάσεται, i. He that wounded will alſo heale. I that haue donne thee wrõg wil make amends.

44

And not long after this he wrote his wil and ſigned it with the ſeales of al the (*a*) head-magiſtrates: whereupon before that he could proceed anie further, prevented hee was and cut ſhort by AGRIPPINA. Whom they alſo who were * privie to her and of her councell, yet nevertheleſſe enformers, accuſed beſides all this of many crimes. And verely it is agreed upon generally by all, that killed he was by poyſon: but (*a*) where it ſhould be, and who gave it, there is ſome difference. Some write, that as he ſat at a feaſt in the (Capitoll) Caſtle with the prieſts, it was preſented unto him by HALOTUS the Eunuch his taſter: others report that it was at a meale in his owne houſe by AGRIPPINA her ſelfe, who had offered unto him a muſhrome empoiſoned; knowing that he was moſt greedy of ſuch meats. Of thoſe accidẽts alſo which enſued hereupon, the report is variable. Some ſay, that ſtreight upon the receipt of the poyſon he became ſpeechleſſe, & continuing all night in dolorous torments, dyed a little before day. Others affirme, that at firſt he fell a ſleepe: and afterwards, as the meate flowed and floted aloft vomited all up, and ſo was followed againe with a ranke *poyſon: But whether the ſame were put into a meſſe of thicke gruell, (conſidering hee was of neceſſitie to be refreſhed with food beeing emptied in his ſtomacke) or conueied up by a cliſter, as if being overcharged with fulneſſe and ſurfeit, he might be eaſed alſo by this kind of egeſtion and purgation, it is uncertaine.

*Conſcij. Some read Conſcien-tia quoque even his owne conſcience.

*Toxico.

45

His death was kept ſecret until all things were ſet in order about his ſucceſſour. And therefore, both vowes were made for him as if hee had lyen ſicke ſtil, and alſo comicall Actours were brought in place colourably to ſolace and delight him, as having a longing deſire after ſuch ſports. He deceaſed three dayes before the Ides of October, when ASINIUS MARCELLUS and ACILIUS AVIOLA were Conſuls: in the 64th yeere of his age, and 14th of his Empire. His funerals were performed with a ſolemne pompe and proceſſion of the Magiſtrates: and canonized he was a Saint in heaven: Which honor forlet and aboliſhed by NERO hee recouered afterwards by the meanes of VESPASIAN.

* The 13th. of October. A.V.C.807

46

Eſpecial tokens there were preſaging & prognoſticating his death: to wit the riſing of an * hairy ſtarre which they call a Comet: Alſo the *monument of his father DRUSUS was blaſted with lightning: and for that in the ſame

*Or blazing, *Or tombe.

yeare

yeere moſt of the (a)Magiſtrates of all ſorts were dead. But himſelfe ſeemeth not either to have beene ignorant that his end drew neere, or to have diſſimuled ſo much: which may bee gathered by ſome good arguments and demonſtrations. For both in the ordination of Conſuls hee appointed none of them to continue longer then the moneth wherein he dyed: and alſo in the Senate, the very laſt time that ever he ſat there, after a long and earneſt exhortation of his children to concord, he humbly recommended the age of them both to the LL. of that honourable houſe: and in his laſt Iudiciall Seſſion upon the Tribunal once or twice he pronounced openly, That come he was now to the end of his mortalitie: notwithſtanding they that heard him, greived to heare ſuch an Oſſe, and praied the gods to avert the ſame.

(a) Capitolinus, Pilum, Gellius Orrudoy. Dion.

THE HISTORIE OF Nero Claudius Cæſar, vvritten by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



OVT of the Domitian ſtocke and name, there ſprung two famous families, to wit, the *Calvini* and the *Aenobarbi*: Theſe *Aenobarbi* have for the firſt Author of their originall, and ſurname likewiſe, L. DOMITIUS: whome, as he returned in times paſt homeward out of the countrey, two yong men twinnes, carying with them a venerable preſence and countenance more then ordinary, encountred, by report, and commanded to relate unto the Senate, and People of *Rome*, newes, of that victorie whereof as yet they ſtood in doubt: and for the better aſſurance of their divine maieſtie ſtroke his cheekes ſo, as that therewith they made the hayre

A.V.C. 586. *Caſtor and Pollux reſembling two yong men.

*hayre of blacke, *redd, and like in colour to *braſſe. Which marke and badges continued alſo in his poſterity; and moſt of them have ſuch *red beardes. Moreover, having borne ſeuen Conſulſhips, triumphed likewiſe and beene Cenſors twice, & therwith bin choſen into the ranke of the *Patritij*, they remained al in the ſame ſurname. Neither were they knowen by any other forenames than CNEUS & LUCIUS: & the ſame in variety worth the noting and obſeruation: onewhile continuing either of the ſayd names in three perſons together: otherwhiles changing alternatively one after another in every deſcent. For, we have heard ſay, that the firſt, ſecond and third of theſe *Aenobarbi* were forenamed LUCII: and againe, the three next following them in order were CNEI. All the reſt no otherwiſe then by turnes one after another had their forenames, firſt LUCII and then CNEI. That many perſons of this houſe deſcended ſhould be knowen, I ſuppoſe it very pertinent and materiall: whereby it may the better appeare, that NERO degenerated from the Vertues of his Auncеſtors ſo, as yet he caried away & reſembled the vices of them all, as infuſed into him and inbred by nature.

*Capill. m, l, Pilum, Gellius
*Orrudoy.
*Or Copper
*Orruddy.
A,V,C. 553
632
658
660
700
722
785
632
639
663

2

To fetch the beginning therefore, of this our diſcourſe ſomewhat farther of his great Grandfathers Grandfather CN. DOMITIUS, beeing in his Tribunate much offended at the **Pontifies*, for electing any other but himſelfe into his fathers place, transferred the right and power of ſubrogating prieſts in the roome of thoſe that were deceaſſed, from their Colledges to the bodie of the people. But in his Conſulſhip having vanquiſhed the *Allobroges* and the *Arverni*, he rode through his *province mounted upon an Elephant, whiles the whole multitude of his ſouldiours attended upon him in a traine after the manner of a ſolemne triumph. This DOMITIUS it was, whom LICINIUS CRASSUS the oratour in a certaine declamation ſayd, *It was no mervaile he had a braſen beard whoſe face was made of Iron, and heart of lead.* His ſonne being Pretour was the man, who as *CÆSAR went out of his Conſulſhip (which he was thought to have borne againſt the **Auſpicia* and the *lawes*) conuented him before the Senate to be by them examined, tried and cenſured. Afterwards when he was Conſull he attempted to fetch him backe, Lord Generall as he was of an armie, from his forces in *Gaule*: and being by the aduerſe *faction nominated his ſucceſſour in that province, was in the beginning of the civil warre taken priſoner before *Corfinium*: From whence being diſmiſſed and ſet at libertie, after he had by his comming to the *Maſſilians* ſtreightly beleagured, much ſtrengthened them, ſodainely he forſooke them: and in the end, at the battaile of *Pharſalia* loſt his life; A man not very conſtant and reſolute, but with all of a fell and ſavage nature. Being driven to utter deſpaire, he was ſo much afraid of death, which for feare he had deſired, that after a drawght of poyſon hee repented the taking thereof and caſt it up againe; yea and enfranchiſed his Phiſitian, who wittingly and of purpoſe had ſo tempered it that it might do him no great harme. And what time as CN. POMPEIUS put to queſtion *what ſhould be done to thoſe Neuters* that ſtood indifferent and ſticked to no part? He alone opined, *That they were to be reckoned enemies & proceeded againſt accordingly*

**Atavus eius*, his Grādfather 4. degrees of *High Prieſts.
A,V,C. 632
*Gallia Narbonenſis.
A,V,C. 696
*Iul. Ceſar Dictator
A,V,C. 700
*Approbation of the gods
*The Pompeians.

3

Hee left behind him a ſonne, worthy without queſtion, to be preferred before

fore all others of his name and linage. This man being among those that were privie to CÆSARS death, and of that conspiracy, standing condemned (though guiltlesse) by the law *Pedia, when he had betaken himselfe to CASSIUS and BRUTUS his neere kinsfolke, after the end of them both, held stil in his hand the fleet committed before time to his charge, yea and augmented the same: Neither yeelded he it up to M. ANTONIUS before his owne side was every where quite overthrowen: which he then did of his owne accord; and so, as that ANTONIUS took himselfe highly beholden unto him therfore. He only also of all those who by vertue of the like law stood condemned, being restored into his native countrey, went through the most honorable offices of state: Soone after likewise, when civil dissension was kindled againe and renewed, being in quality of Lieutenant to the said ANTONIE, what time the soveraigne Empire was offered unto him by those who were ashamed of *CLEOPATRA, not daring to accept thereof nor yet to refuse it resolutely, by occasion of sodaine sickenesse wherewith he was surprised, went and sided with AUGUSTUS, and within few dayes after departed this life: being himselfe also noted with some infamie: For, ANTONIE gave it commonly forth, *That for the love of one* SERUILIA *Nais whom he kept, he fled to* AUGUSTUS *side.*

A,V,C.720 *Which Q. Pedius made against the murderers of Cæsar

*The present state governed according to his wil and pleasure.

A,V,C,723.

4

From him came that DOMITIUS, who soone after had the name abroade to have beene the *chapman of AUGUSTUS goods and substance left by his wil and testament: a man no lesse renowmed in his youth for good skill in ruling of Chariots & running with them a race, as afterwards for the triumphant ornaments achieved by the *Germaine* warre; but arrogant of spirit, wastefull in expence, and therewith cruel. When he was Aedile he forced L. PLANCUS that had beene *Censor, to give him the way. Bearing the honorable offices of Preture and Consulate, hee produced upon the stage to acte a Comicall and wanton Enterlude, the gentlemen and dames of *Rome*. He exhibited baiting of wilde beastes both in the cirque and also in every quarter of the City, yea and a shew of sword-fight: but with so great cruelty, that AUGUSTUS was compelled of necessitie to restraine him by an edict, since that no secret warning nor admonition at his hands would prevaile.

*Dicis causa, i. by an imaginarie bargaine of sale to have bought them to the behoofe & use of the heyre

*Censorium, not Censorem.

5

Of ANTONIA the elder, hee begat the father of NERO: an impe in all the parts of his life ungracious and detestable. For accompanying *CAIUS CÆSAR in his youth into the East-parts, where he killed a freed-man of his owne, because he refused to quaffe as much as he was commanded, being discharged therfore out of the cohort of his friends, he led his life never a whit more modestly: but both within a village standing upon the street Appia, sodainely put his horses to gallop, and not unwittingly rode over a little child and trode him to death: and also at *Rome* in the midst of the *Forum* plucked a Romane gentlemans eye out of his head, for chiding him somewhat over boldly. So false and perfidious beside, that he defrauded not onely the bankers and money changers of the prices of such commodities as they had bought up, but also when he was Pretour put the runners with Chariots besides the prises of their victories. For which prankes, reproved he was merily even by his owne sister (LEPIDA) and upon complaint made by the Masters of the foure (a) factions hee enacted

*Sonne of M. Agrippa and Iulia, adopted by Augustus.

enacted, *That from thence-forth ever after, the ſaid priſes ſhould be preſently payed.* Being accuſed likewiſe for * treaſon to the State and many adulteries, as alſo for inceſt committed with his ſiſter LEPIDA a little before the deceaſe of TIBERIUS, yet eſcaped he the danger of Law by the alteration of the times, and died at *Pyrgæ* of (*b*) the * Dropſie, when AGRIPPINA daughter to GERMANICUS had brought him a ſonne named NERO.

* *Morbo aquæ intercutis*: that kind of dropſy wherein water runneth between the fell and the fleſh all the bodie over, *Leucophlegmatias* in Greeke.

6

This NERO was borne at *Antium*, nine moneths after that TIBERIUS departed this world, eighteene daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, iuſt as the Sunne was newly riſen, ſo as his beames * light well neere upon him before they could * touch the earth. As touching his * Horoſcope, many men ſtraightwaies gave many gueſſes and coniectures of fearefull events. And even a very word that his father DOMITIUS ſpake, was taken to be a preſaging oſie. For when his friends by way of gratulation wiſhed him ioy of his ſonne new born: he ſaid, *That of himſelfe and* AGRIPPINA *there could nothing come into the world but accurſed, deteſtable and to the hurt of the weale publick.* Of the ſame future infortunity there appeared an evident ſigne upon his (*a*) naming day: For CAIUS CÆSAR (CALIGULA) when his ſiſter (AGRIPPINA) requeſted him to give the Infant what * name he would, looking wiſtly upon CLAUDIUS his Vnkle, (by whom afterwards being Emperour (the child) was adopted), ſaid he gave him his name. Neither ſpake hee this in earneſt, but merily in boord: and AGRIPPINA ſcorned and reiected it, for that as then, CLAUDIUS went for a foole, and one of the laughing ſtocks of the Court. At three yeeres of ago he became fatherleſſe: and being his fathers heire but of one third part, yet could not he touch ſo much as that, full and whole, by reaſon of CAIUS his coheire who had ſeized upon and caught up before-hand all the goods: and for that his mother alſo was ſoone after confined and packt away, he being in manner deſtitute of all helpe and very needy, was foſtered in his Aunt LEPIDAES houſe under two Pædagogues, a dauncer and a Barber. But when CLAUDIUS was come once to the Empire, hee not onely recovered his * patrimonie, but alſo was enriched by the inheritance of CRISPUS PASSIENUS his mothers huſband, that fell unto him. And verily through the grace and power of his mother now called home againe and reſtored to her eſtate, hee flouriſhed & grew ſo great, that commonly it was bruted abroad, *That* MESSALLINA *the wife of* CLAUDIUS *ſent ſome of purpoſe to take the opportunity of his noones ſleep and ſo to ſmuddre and ſtrangle him, as the onely Concurrent of* BRITANNICUS, *and one that eclipſed the light of his glorie.* Now in the tale it went, beſides · that the ſaid parties tooke a fright at a Dragon iſſuing out of his pillow, whereupon they fled backe and forſooke the enterpriſe. Which fable aroſe upon this, That there was in deede found the * ſlough of a ſerpent in his bed about the bolſters. And yet, this ſlough he encloſed within a bracelet of gold (as his mother willed him) and wore it a good while after, upon his right arme: and at length, wearie of any memoriall and monument of his mothers ſlung it away: but in his extreamity and deſpaire of his eſtate ſought for the ſame againe, in vaine.

* Or ſhone

* *Dio* ſayth, hee was compaſſed with the ſunne beames; and yet no ſunne appeared aboue th' Horizon.

* Or Nativitie.

* Forename.

* Fathers goods

* Her Sonne

* Or skinne

7

In his tender yeeres, and whiles hee was yet a boy of no full growth, hee

acted at the *Circeian* Games the warlike *Troy* fight moſt reſolutely, with great favour and applauſe of the people. In the * eleventh yeere of his age adopted he was by CLAUDIUS & put to ſchoole unto ANNÆUS SENECA, even then a Senatour, for to be trained up in good literature. The report goes, that SENECA, the next night following, dreamed as hee lay in bed, That hee was teaching * C. CÆSAR: and ſhortly after NERO proved his dreame true, bewraying the fell ſtomacke and ſhrewd nature of the ſaid Prince, by the firſt experiments that he could give thereof. For when his brother BRITANNICUS ſaluted him after he was once adopted, (as his wonted manner was before) by the name of ÆNOBARBUS, hee went about to lay this imputation upon him before his Father, that he was ſome Changeling and no ſonne of his as he was reputed. His Aunt LEPIDA likewiſe being in trouble, hee depoſed againſt, in the open face of the Court, thereby to gratifie his mother her heavie friend, and who followed the ſuite hotly againſt her. Being honourably brought into the * *Forum*, the day of his firſt plea and Commencement, hee promiſed publiquely for the people a Congiarie, and Donative for the Souldiours. Having proclaimed alſo a ſolemne * Iuſting, himſelfe rode before the Pretorian Souldiours bearing a ſhield in his owne hand. After this, hee ſolemnly gave thanks to his Father in the Senate. Before whom being then Conſull, hee made a Latine Oration in the behalfe of the *Bononians*, and for the Rhodians and Inhabitants of *Ilium*, another in Greeke. His firſt Iuriſdiction hee began as (*a*) Provoſt of the Citie, during the celebration of the Latine holidaies: What time the moſt famous Advocates and Patrones in thoſe daies ſtrove a vie, who could bring before him moſt * accuſations and * longeſt; not (as the manner was) ſuch as were ordinarie and briefe: the expreſſe commaundement of CLAUDIUS forbidding the ſame, notwithſtanding. Not long after, hee tooke to wife OCTAVIA: and for the good health of CLAUDIUS, exhibited the Cirque Games and baiting of wild beaſts.

* *Vndecimo*: ſome reade rather *tertio et decimo*, i: the thirteenth: **Caligula.*

* Or Hall of Iuſtice

* Or running at tilt.

* Or declarations.

* Drawne in large bookes:

8

A.V.C.807 Being ſeventeene yeeres olde, ſo ſoone as it was knowne abroad that CLAUDIUS was dead, hee came forth to thoſe (of the Pretorian Cohort) that kept watch and ward, betweene the ſixth & the ſeventh * houre of the day: For by reaſon that the whole day beſide was ominous and diſmall, there was no time thereof thought more auſpicate and convenient than it, to enter upon the Empire: and ſo before the Pallace ſtaires being proclaimed and ſaluted Emperour, he was in a Litter brought to the * Camp: and haſtily from thence, after a ſhort ſpeech made unto the Souldiours, conveied into the *Curia*. From whence he departed home in the evening: and of thoſe exceeding and infinite honours which were heaped upon him, hee refuſed onely the Title in his ſtile of *Pater Patriæ*, in regard of his young yeeres.

* Betweene noone and one of the clock.

* Pretorian.

* Father of his Countrey.

9

Beginning then with a glorious ſhew of Piety and Kindnes, at the Funerals of * CLAUDIUS, which were moſt ſumptuouſly performed, he praiſed him in an Oration and conſecrated him a God. In the memoriall of his owne Father DOMITIUS, he did him right great honour. His mother he permitted to have the whole regiment of all matters as well publick as private. The very firſt day alſo of his Empire, when the Tribune of the * Sentinels, asked of him a watch-word, he gave unto him this Mot, *Optima mater* (*my beſt mother*) and afterwards many

* The Emperour.

* Or *corps de guard.*

many a time ſhe accompanied him through the Streetes, in his owne Litter. He planted a Colonie at *Antium*, enrolling therein the old Souldiours out of the Prætorian cohort, & ioyning with them (by tranſlating their habitations) the richeſt Centurions who had beene Leaders of the formoſt bands: where alſo he made a * Pere, or moſt ſumptuous peece of worke.

*Or haven.

10

And to ſhew a furer proofe ſtill of his towardneſſe, after profeſſion made to governe the Empire according to the preſcript rule of AUGUSTUS, he omitted no occaſion to ſhew either bountifulneſſe or clemencie, no nor ſo much as to teſtifie his gentleneſſe and courteſie. Thoſe tributes and taxes which were any thing heavie he either aboliſhed quite or abated. The rewards due unto Informers as touching the Law *Papia*, hee reduced to the fourth part onely of the penalty. Having dealt among the people * 400 Seſterces for every poll: to as many Senatours as were moſt nobly deſcended (howbeit decaied and weakned in their eſtates) he allowed yeerely * Salaries, & to ſome of them * 500000 Seſterces Likewiſe for the Pretorian Cohorts hee ordained an allowance of Corne monethly * *gratis*. And whenſoever he was put in minde to ſubſcribe & ſet his hand to a warrant (as the maner is) for the execution of any perſon condemned to die, hee would ſay, *Oh, that I knew not one letter of the booke*. Manie times he ſaluted all the Degrees of the Citie one after another, by rote & without booke. When the Senate upon a time gave him thanks, hee aunſwered, (*Doe ſo*) *when I ſhall deſerve*. To his exerciſes in *Mars* field he admitted the Cõmons alſo, yea and declaimed often publiquely before them. He rehearſed his owne verſes likewiſe, not onely within houſe at home, but alſo in the Theater: and that with ſo general a ioy of as many as heard him, that for the ſaid rehearſall, there was a ſolemne proceſſion decreed: and ſome of his ſaid verſes written in golden letters were dedicated to IUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

*Poppæa.
*3 l. 2 s. 6 d. ſtarling, a Romaine pound.
*Annuities.
*More by a fourth part, the State or worth of a Gentleman of Rome.
*Without paying money.

11

Many and ſundry kindes of ſhewes he ſet forth: to wit, the Iuvenall (*a*) ſports, the *Circeian* Games, and the Stage-playes: alſo a Sword fight. In the Iuvenall paſtimes, he admitted old men even thoſe of Conſuls degree: aged women alſo and matrones to diſport themſelves. At the *Circenſes*, he appointed places for the Gentlemen of *Rome* a part by themſelves: where hee put alſo to runne a race for the priſe chariots drawne with foure Camels. In the Stage plaies, (which beeing inſtituted for the eternizing and perpetuitie of his Empire hee would have to be called *Maxima*), very many of both * degrees and ſexes plaied their parts upon the Stage. A Romaine Gentleman of very good note & eſpeciall marke, mounted upon an Elephant ranne downe a * rope. There was brought upon the Stage to be acted the * Romaine Comædie of *Afranius* entituled *Incendium*: and graunted it was unto the Actours therein to rifle all the goods and implements of the houſe as it burned, and to take the ſame as their owne. Scattered alſo abroad there were for the people * Miſſils, during the whole time of thoſe Plaies: to wit, a thouſand birds every day of all kindes: Cates and viands manifold: Ticquets and Tallies for corne, apparell, gold, ſilver, pretious ſtones, pearles, pictures upon tables: ſlaves, labouring garrons and beaſts alſo tamed: laſt of all, ſhips, Iſles, lands and poſſeſſions, according to their Tallies.

*Gentlemen and Senatours.
*Per Catadromum, for there were *Elephanti Funambuli, vide Galb. cap. 6, et Xiphilinum.*
* Or Latine.
* Or gifts.

12

These Games hee beheld from the top of the * *Proscenium*. At the Sword-fight which hee exhibited in the Amphitheatre built of Timber in one yeeres space within the ward of *Mars* field hee suffred not one man to be killed, no not so much as a guilty malefactour. Moreover, hee brought into the Lists for to fight at sharpe even * 400 Senatours and * 600 Gentlemen of *Rome*. Some of good wealth and reputation, out of the same degrees, he caused to come forth into the Shew-place, for to kill wild beasts, and performe sundry services therto belonging. He represented also a Naval fight upon salt water from the Sea, with a devise to have sea * beasts swimming therein. Semblably, certaine Pyrrhick daunces in armour, sorted out of the number of young Springals: And after their devoir done, he gave freely unto every one of them patents & graunts to be enfranchized Citizens of *Rome*. * Betweene the arguments of these Pyrrhick daunces, devised it was, that a Bull should leape (*a*) *Pasiphae* hidden within a frame of wood * resembling an Heiffer, which was acted so lively, that many of the beholders beleeved verily it was so in deede. As for Icarus, at the first attempt to flie, hee fell presently downe hard by * his owne (*b*) * Bed-chamber so that he bespreint him with bloud. For very seldome had he used to sit as President at these Games: but his manner was, to behold them as he lay upon his * bed. First through little loope holes: but afterwards setting the whole gallerie open from whence he looked. Hee was the first moreover that instituted at *Rome*, according to the Greeke fashion, Quinquennall games of three kinds, to wit, of Musick and Poetrie, of Gymnick maisteries and of * Horsemanship: which Games he called *Neronia*. After he had dedicated the Baines, & a place therein for (*c*) Gymnick exercises, he allowed the oyle that went thereto both for the Senate and also for the Gentlemen. He ordained Maisters and Wardens of all this Solemnity, especiall persons of Consular degree, chosen by lot to sit as over-seers in the * place of Pretours, and then came downe himselfe into the * Orchestra and the Senatours quarter. And verily the victorious coronet for the Latine tongue, both in prose and verse, about which the best and most worshipfull persons had contended, when it was graunted unto him with their owne consents he received: and the harp presented unto him by the Iudges he adored, and commaunded that it should bee caried to the Statue of Augustus. At the Gymnick Games which he exhibited in the *Septa*, during the solemne preparation of the great Sacrifice (*d*) *Buthysia*, hee cut off the first beard that he had, which he bestowed within a golden box, adorned it with most pretious pearles and then consecrated it in * the Capitol. To the shew of wrestlers and other Champions he called also the vestall (*e*) virgins, because at *Olympia* the priestresses likewise of *Ceres*, are allowed to see the Games there.

* The forestage.

A.V,C,810

* *Quadringenos*, rather *quadragenos*, i. 40 Sue *centosq;*, rather *Sexagenos*, i: 60 according to *Iustus Lipsius*.

* Or great fishes.

* Warlike.

* Or, among.

* To the likenesse of that which was devised by *Dædalus*.

* Of *Nero*.

* Or pavilion.

* Or a pallet.

13

A.V,C. 813

* Or Horse running.

I may by good reason, among other Shewes by him exhibited, reckon also the entrance into *Rome* City, of Tiridates: whom being King of *Armenia* hee had sollicited by large promises. Now, when hee meant to shew him unto the people upon a set day appointed by an Edict, and was driven to put it off, (the weather was so clowdy) he brought him forth before them to be seene upon the best and most opportune day that hee could finde; having bestowed about the temples situate in the *Forum*, cohorts of Souldiours armed, and sitting himselfe upon his yvorie curule chaire of Estate before the *Rostra* in triumphall

* Where they were wont to sit as Presidets at other games and playes.

* In *Orchestram, Senatumq; alias, per Orchestram in scenam*, by the Orchestra to the very stage.

* To *Iupiter Capitolinus*.

* Or Market place.

umphall habite, among the militarie Enſignes, banners, guidons and ſtreamers. And as the King came up toward him by the aſcent of the ſteepe pulpit, he admitted him firſt to his knees; and then raiſing up with his right hand kiſſed him: afterwards as he was making his praier unto him, having taken off his *Tiara*, he did * the diademe on. Whiles one who had been Pretour, pronounced unto the multitude the Suppliants words, as they were by an Interpretour delivered unto him. Being brought after this into the Theater & making ſupplication againe, he placed him on his right ſide next to himſelfe. For, which, he was with one accord ſaluted Emperour: and ſo bringing with him the Lawrell branch into the Capitoll he ſhut both dores of double faced IANUS, temple, * as if no reliques of warre remained behind.

* Reſembling a cap of maintenance, or as ſome think, a Turkiſh tuffe or Turbant.

* Which he had laid off again as it ſhold ſeeme, like as when he was vanquiſhed by *Corbulo*, he laid downe before the Image of *Nero*: * *Tanquam nullo reſiduo bello.*

14 Foure Conſulſhips he bare: the firſt for two moneths: the ſecond & laſt for three: the third for foure. The middle twaine he continued without any intermiſſion: the reſt he varied with a yeeres ſpace betweene.

A.V.C. 808 810 811 813

15 In his ordinarie Iuriſdiction, he lightly gave no anſwer to the Proctours before the day following, & that was by writing. In extraordinary Commiſſions and trials this courſe he held, namely to decide every cauſe by it ſelfe one after another upon certaine daies of the Seſſion; and to ſurceaſe quite the hudling up and debatements of matters one in the neck of another: So often as he went aſide to conſult, he did deliberate and aske adviſe of nothing either in cõmon or openly: but reading ſecretly to himſelfe the opinions written by every counſellour; what liked his owne ſelfe, that pronounced hee, as if many more thought well of the ſame. For a long time hee admitted not the ſonnes of Libertines into the *Curia*: and to thoſe that were admitted by the Emperours his predeceſſours hee denied all honorable Offices. If there ſued for Magiſtracies more then could ſpeed, or were places void; to comfort their harts againe for delaying & making them to ſtay longer, he gave unto them the conduct of Legions. He graunted for the moſt part all Conſulſhips for ſixe moneths terme. And if one of the two Conſuls hapned to die * about the Kalends of Ianuarie, hee ſubſtituted none in his ſteede: as miſliking altogether the old precedent of CANNIUS REBILUS, who was Conſul but * one day. Triumphall ornaments he gave even unto thoſe that had borne Queſtours dignity only: yea & to ſome of the Gentlemens degree; and verily not alwaies for any * militarie ſervice. His Orations * ſent into the Senate concerning certaine matters, hee cauſed for the moſt part to be read and rehearſed by the Conſuls, paſſing by the Queſtours * Office.

* Somewhat before.

* Or rather, one peece of a day: See *Iulius Cæſar* cap. 76

* Or upon occaſion of war.

* Which elſe where be called Epiſtles.

* Vnto whom properly it appertained.

16 He deviſed a new forme of the City buildings: and namely, that before the * Ædifices ſtanding by themſelves and other houſes, likewiſe there ſhould be * Porches. From the Solars whereof, all Skarefires might be put by and * and repelled: and thoſe he * built at his owne charges. Hee had an intention once to ſet out and enlarge the walls of *Rome*, even as farre as to *Oſtia*; and from thence by a Foſſe to let the * Sea into old *Rome*. Many matters under him were both ſeverely puniſhed and alſo reſtrained, yea and likewiſe newly ordained. Expences * in his daies had a gage and ſtint ſet upon them. The (a) publick ſuppers were brought downe to ſmall Collations. Forbidden it was that any thing * ſodden, but only pulſe, and * worts ſhould be ſold in Taverns and Cookes houſes; where as before time, there was no maner of viands but it

* Ante Inſulas.

* Foregates, or Gatehouſes.

* Frõ the front of ſuch Ædifices.

* Or promiſed rather to build.

* To bring an armie of it thither.

* In coſtly and exceſſive fare at the table.

* *Ne quid coſti.*

* As Potherbs.

was set out to sale. The Christians, a kinde of men given to a new, wicked and mischievous Superstition, were put to death with grievous torments. The sports of Chariotiers, wherein by an old and licentious custome they had been allowed to range up and downe, to beguile folke, to pilfer and steale in merriment, were prohibited. The (*b*)factions of the * *Pantomimi* together with the Actours themselves were banished and sent away.

*Cunning Actours, playing all parts, and resembling all gestures.

17

Against forgers of writings, then first came up this invention that no books or instruments should be signed unlesse they were boared and had a thred three times drawne through the holes. Provided it was, That in Wills the two * first * parts thereof should be shewed as blanks, unto those that came to seale the same: having the Testatours name onely written therein. Item, that no Clerk or Notarie, who was to draw and write another mans will, should put downe any Legacie for himselfe. Item, that they who had sutes depending in Court, should pay the certaine, due fee set downe by Law, for pleading of their causes: but for (*a*) the * Benches nothing, considering the Chamber of the Citie allowed the same *gratis* and to be free: Item, that in the pleading & deciding of controversies all causes debated afore time before the Maisters of the Exchequer or Citie Chamber should bee removed unto the Common * Hall, to be tried before the Commissioners and Delegates called *Recuperatores:* Finally, that all appeales from the Iudges should be made unto the Senate.

* Or uppermost.
* Or cered tables.

*Pues or seats, some expound this of the Iudges Bench, as if their sentences should not be bought & sold.
* Or Pleas.

18

Having no will, no motion, nor hope at any time, to propagate and enlarge the Empire, he thought once to have withdrawne the forces even out of *Britaine*: neither gave he over that intent of his, but onely for very shame; least he might be thought to deprave the glory of his Father (CLAUDIUS). Onely the realme of *Pontus* with the leave of POLEMON (*a*), as also the Kingdome of the Alpes, by the death of King COTTIUS hee reduced into the forme of a Province.

19

Two voyages and no more he undertooke, the one to *Alexandria*, the other into *Achaia*. But his iourney to *Alexandria* hee gave over the very day of his setting forth: by occasion that he was disquieted at once, both with a religious scruple and also with some perill. For when hee had gone in procession about all the temples, & sitten downe within the Chappel of *Vesta*, as he was rising up, first the * hem or edge of his Gowne stuck to the seate: and after this, arose so darke a mist before his eyes, that uneth he could see & looke about him. In *Achaia* hee attempted to digge through (*a*) *Isthmus*, and in a frequent assembly made a speech unto the Pretorian Souldiours; exhorting them to begin the worke: and having given the signall by sound of trumpet, himselfe first brake up the ground with a * little spade: and when hee had cast up the earth, carried it forth upon his owne shoulders in a scuttle: Hee prepared also an expedition to the Caspian-gates: for which hee enrolled a newe Legion of Italian young Souldiours * sixe foote high: This Legion hee called the *Phalanx* or Squadron of ALEXANDER the Great: These particulars premised, partly deserving no blame, and in part worthy even of no meane praise, haue I collected together, that I might sever and distinguish them from his villanies and

* Iag, welt or fringes.
* *Kastello:i, ligone*, the same that *Dikella* in Greeke with a cloven bit. This by some Writers, was of gold.
* *Senum pedū*, some read *senū millium peditū*: of 6 thousand footmen.

and wicked acts, whereof from hence forward I wil make report.

20

Among other arts & sciences, beeing in his childhood trained up in the skill also of musick: no sooner attained he to the Empire, but he sent for TERPNUS the harper, renowmed in those dayes for his cunning above all other. Sitting by him as he played & sung, day by day after supper until it was far in the night, himselfe likewise by little and little began to practise and exercise the same: yea and not to let passe anie meanes, that expert professours in that kind were wont to do, eyther for preseruing or the bettering and fortifying of their voices: even to weare before him upon his brest a thin plate or sheet of lead: to purge by clystre & vomit: to absteine from apples and fruite, with all such meates as were hurtfull to the voice: so long, untill his proceedings stil drawing him on, (a smal and *rusty voice though he had) he desired to come forth and shew himselfe upon the open stage, having among his familiar companions this greeke proverbe evermore in his mouth, (a) *That hidden musicke was nought worth.* The first time that he mounted the stage was at *Naples*, where he gave not over singing, (albeit the Theatre was shaken & ready to fall by a suddaine earthquake) before he had finished the song begun. In the same place he chaunted often & many dayes together. Moreover, after some short time betweene taken to repaire his voice (as one impatient of keeping within house) from the baines* there he passed directly to the Theatre: and having in the midst of the Orchestra before a frequent multitude of people feasted and banquetted, made promise in the Greeke tongue, that if he had stippled a little and wet his whistle, he would ring out some note more fully and with a stronger brest. Now, beeing much delighted with the *Alexandrines praises in *prict song, who newly in a second (b) uoiage had with their fleet conflowed to *Naples*, he sent for more of them out of *Alexandria*. And never the later he chose from all parts youths of Gentlemens degree, and not so few as 5000. of the lustiest and strongest young men out of the commons, who beeing sorted into *factions should learne certaine kinde of shouts and applauses, which they tearmed (c) *Bombos* (a) *Imbrices* (e) and *Testas*: also that deft and trim boyes, such as had the *(f) thickest bush of haire upon their heads, and were set out in most excellent apparell, and not without a ring on their left hands, should give their attendance upon him as he sung. The cheiftaines & leaders of these had for their stipend *400000. sesterces.

*Or hoarse.

* At Naples.

*i. Ditties.

*Tuned and composed to the rules and measures of Musick, in the praise of him, by the merchants of Alexandria See cap. 98, August.

*Or crewes.

*Pinguissima coma.

*Nec sine anulo lævo or, cleane contrarie, ac sine anulo lævo, i. wearing no wings at all.

21

Esteeming so highly as he did of singing, he solemnized at *Rome* also againe the foresaid games called *Neroneum* before the day and *time by order appointed. And when all the people called upon him for his (a) celestial voice, he made answere. *That he verily would do them that pleasure (being so willing and desirous as they were to heare him): but it should be in his Hortyards.* Howbeit, when the corps deguarde of the (Pretorian) Souldiers which at that time kept watch and ward seconded the praiers of the commmon people, willingly he promised to fulfill their minds out of hand in the very place; and without any farther delay caused his owne name to be written in the roll of other professed minstrels and fingers to the harpe. Thus having put his lot into the pitcher with the rest, hee entred the stage when his turne came: and withall the Capitaines of the Guard supporting his harpe after them the *tribunes militarie, and close unto them his

*A Knights living.

*Every fifth yeares.

*Or Colonels.

most inwarde friendes and Minions. Now when hee had taken up his standing, and ended his Proæme, he gave publike notice and pronounced by the voice of CLUVIVS RUFUS, (no meaner man than of Consuls degree) that he would sing and act the storie of *NIOBE: and so continued hee well neere unto the tenth *houre of the day: which done he differred the Musicke Coronet due for the present victorie, together with the residue of that gaming unto the next yeare following; and all because he might have occasion oftener to chaunt. But bethinking himselfe that the time was long, hee ceased not to come ever and anon abroade to shew his skill in open place. Hee stucke not also in *private shewes and games to doe his devoire, even among common Actors and Stage players: and namely, when one of the *Pretours made offer of a milian of Sesterces. Hee sung moreover, disguised, Tragædies of the worthies and gods: of noble Ladies likewise in olde time and of goddesses, having their visards framed & made to the likenesse of his own face & of some woman whom hee loved. Among the rest he chanced *the tale of* CANACE (*b*) *travailing in child-birth: of* (*c*) *Oreστes who killed his owne Mother:* (*d*) of OEDIPUS *that plucked out his owne eyes, and of* HERCULES (*e*) *enraged.* In the acting of which Tragædie, the report goes, that a *novice placed to keepe & guard the entrie of the stage, seeing him dressed and bound with chaines (as the argument of the sayd Tragædie required) ran in a good to helpe him.

*Wife of *Amphion* King of Thebes who priding her self in her faire issewes, sonnes and as manie daughters durst compare with *Latona*, the mother of *Apollo* & *Diana* but the with her arrowes killed them al, & turned her into a stone

*Foure of the clocke after noone.

*Of other magistrates, who in respect of the Prince are accounted private.

* *Lucius, Lydus Xiphilin.*

*Or Masques.

*Or young untrained souldiers.

22

Exceedingly given hee was of a boy to delight in horsemanship, and with the love of charioting mightily inflamed: and very much would he be talking (forbidden though he were) of the Circeian games. And one time as hee was making mone, and bewailing among his skoole-fellowes, the hard fortune of a chariot driver one of the greene-coate faction, *drawen and dragged by his steedes, being chidden therefore by his schoole-master, he had a lye ready, and said *that he spake of* *HECTOR. But, as about his first entrance to the Empire, his custome was daily to play upon a chess-bourd with ivory *horses drawing in chariots, so he used to resort also *from his retiring place of pleasure, to all the Circeian games even the very least and meanest of them. First by stealth and priuily: afterwards in open sight; so as no man made doubt, but at such a day he would be sure alwaies there to be. Neither dissimuled he that hee was willing to augment the number of the prises. And therefore the shew of Chariot running was drawen out in length and helde untill late in the evening, by occasion of manie more courses than ordinarie: so as now the Masters of every faction deigned not to bring forth their *crues and companies unlesse they might run the *whole day through. Soone after himselfe also would needs make one and be seene oftentimes to play the Chariotier. And when he had tryed what hee could doe, and performed, as it were, his first Actes in (private) hortyardes among verie slaves and the base commons, he proceeded to shew himselfe in the greatest Cirque in all Mens eyes, appointing one of his freedmen to put out a (white) towell for a signall, from the place where Magistrates are wont to doe it. But not content with this, that he had given good proofe of his progresse in these feats at *ROME*, hee goes, as I sayde before, into *ACHAIA*, moved especially upon this occasion. Those Cities and states where solemne gamings of musicke are usually held, had brought up a

*Or sore wounded & bruised w the wheeles running over him. See, *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 28 cap. 17.*

*Who was likewise, *Raptatus Bigis* as *Virgil* writeth.

*Or Chariots, to expresse those games Circenses

**Secessus*, or by way of retyring and recreation.

**Greges* either *agitatorum*, of chariot drivers: or *equorum quadrigariorum*, i. of steeds both to one effecte.

*Which was their greater gaine.

customs

cuſtome to ſende all the Coronets of harpe-players unto him. This he accepted ſo kindly, that he not onely admitted at the very firſt to his preſence the Embaſſadors who brought the ſame, but alſo placed them among his familiar gueſtes at the table. And being requeſted by ſome of them to ſing at ſupper time; and highly praiſed with exceſſive applauſe, he came out with this ſpeech *That Græcians were the onely skilfull Hearers, and the men alone worthie of his ſtudies.* Neither made he anie longer ſtay, but tooke his voyage: and no ſooner was hee paſſed over the ſea to **Caſſiope*, but preſently he began to ſing at the altar there, of IVPITER CASIVS. *A towne in Corcyra.

23

After this, he went to all the games of priſe, one after another. For even thoſe that uſually are celebrated at moſt remote and diſtant times he commanded to be reduced all into *one yeare, and ſome of them alſo to be * iterated. At *Olympia* likewiſe hee cauſed, (contrarie to the manner and cuſtome of that place) a game of muſick to be held. And leaſt whiles he was buſied about theſe matters, anie thing might either call him away or detaine him: when he was aduertiſed by his freed-man HELIVS, that the Citie affaires required his preſence, hee wrot backe unto him in theſe words. *Albeit your councell to mee at this preſent and your willing deſire is, that I ſhould returne with all ſpeede, yet ought you to aduiſe me and wiſh rather, that I may returne worthy my ſelfe, that is to ſay,* NERO. All the while hee was ſinging, Lawefull it was not for anye perſon to depart out of the Theatre, were the cauſe never ſo neceſſarie. Whereupon reported it is, that ſome great bellied women falling into travaile were delivered upon the very skaffolds: yea and many men beſides, wearie of tedious hearing and prayſing him, when the towne gates were ſhut, eyther by ſtealth leapt downe from the walles, or counterfeiting themſelues dead were caried forth as corſes to bee buried. But how timorouſly, with what thought and anguiſh of minde, with what æmulation of his concurrents and feare of the Vmpiers, hee ſtrove for the Maſtery; it is almoſt incredible. His manner was to deale with his aduerſaries, as if they had been but his æquals and of the ſame condition with him, in this ſort: namely, to obſerue, watch and mark their behaviours; to ly in the wind for to catch aduantage: to defame them vnder hand, other whiles to raile at them & give them hard tearms as they came in his way: yea and to corrupt with * bribes and gifts ſuch as excelled in skill and cunning. As for the IVDGES and VMPIERS aforeſayde, hee woulde ſpeake unto them in all reverence before he begun to ſing, uſing theſe tearmes. *That hee had done whatſoever was to be done: Howbeit, the iſſue and event was in the hand of Fortune: They therefore, as they were wiſe men and learned ought to except and barre all chaunces and miſhaps. Now upon their exhortations unto him for to be bold and venturous,* he would indeed goe awaye from them better appaied, but yet for all that, not without penſive care and trouble of minde: finding fault alſo with the ſilence and baſhfull modeſtie of ſome, as if the ſame argued their diſcontended heavineſſe and malitious repining, ſaying withall. *That he had them in ſuſpicion.*

*Wherein hee thither came *Solemnized twice in the ſame yeare.

*Thereby to make them relent and not to do their beſt

24

During the time that hee ſtrove for to winne anie priſe, ſo ſtrictely obeyed

obeyed hee the lawes of the game, that hee never durſt once ſpit and reach up ſleame: and the very ſwet of his forehead hee wiped away with his *arme onely. Moreover in the *acting of a Tragædie, when he had quickly taken up his ſtaffe (a) againe, which he happened to let fall, being much diſmaied and in great feare, leaſt for that delinquencie hee ſhould be put from the ſtage: by no meanes tooke he heart againe, until an under actor or prompter ſtanding by ſware an oth that it was not eſpied and marked for the ſhoutes and acclamations of the people beneath. Now, whenſoever he wan the victorie, he vſed to pronounce himſelfe victour. For which cauſe, he contended alſo in every place for the *Criers coronet. And to the end, there ſhould remaine extant no memoriall or token of anie other victours (c) in theſe ſacred games beſide himſelfe, hee commanded all their ſtatues, and images to be overthrowen, drawen with a drag and ſo flung into ſinkes and privies. Furthermore, he ran with chariots for the beſt game in many places, and at the Olympicke ſolemnities with one that had a teeme of tenne ſteedes, notwithſtanding he reproved the very ſame in K. MITHRIDATES as appeared by certaine verſes of his owne making. But being once ſhaken and hoiſted out of his Chariot and ſet therein againe, howbeit not able to hold out, he deſiſted and gave over, before he had runne the race through. Yet was he crowned nevertheleſſe. After this, at his departure frō thence, he enfranchiſed the whole Province throughout: and withall, the Iudges of theſe Games he endowed with the freedome of *Rome*, and rewarded with great ſummes of money. Which benefits of his himſelfe publiſhed with his owne voice from the middle of the race, upon a day of the Iſthmian games.

*Or ſleeue & not with anie handkercheiſe *Chaunting.

*Due to him that had the lowdeſt voice.

25

Beeing returned out of *Greece* hee entred *Naples*; mounted upon a Chariot drawne with white horſes: For that, in the ſaid Citie he had made profeſſion firſt of his skill, in (muſicke) and a part of the wall was caſt downe againſt his comming, (as the manner is of all victours in thoſe ſacred games). Semblably rode he into *ANTIVM*, and from thence into *ALBANVM* and ſo forward into *ROME*. But he entred *ROME* in the very ſame Chariot, wherein ſometime AUGUSTUS had rode in triumph, clad in a *purple cloke, and the ſame garniſhed with ſtarres embrodered in golde: wearing upon his head the * Olympicke Coronet, and bearing in his right hand the * Pythisk: with a pompe and gallant ſhewe of the *reſt before him, together with their titles and inſcriptions teſtifying, where? and whom? in what kinde of ſonge or fabulous argment, hee had wonne: not without a traine alſo of (a) Applauders following his Chariot, after the manner of thoſe that ride ovant in petie Triumph ſetting up a note, and crying with a lowde voice, That they were AUGUSTIANS, and the ſouldiers of his triumph: From thence he rode forward, and having throwen downe the Arch of the greateſt Cirque, he paſſed on through the *Velabrum* & marke place, up to the *Palatium* and ſo to the temple of APOLLO. To do him honor all the way as he went, were beaſts killed for ſacrifice, and ſaffron eſtſoones ſtrewed along the ſtreets. Birdes were let flie, ribbands alſo and tabels yea and ſweete banketting junkets caſt among. As for the ſacred Coronets and guirlands aforeſayde. He beſtowed them in his owne bed-chamber round about his beds: likewiſe his

*Or Mantell. *Made of the wilde Olive branches. * Of Lawrell. *Iſthmian, of Pine & Neme an of ſmallach or perſley.

his owne ſtatues pourtraied in the habit of an * harper, and with that marke ſtamped he his money. And after all this, (ſo farre was he from letting ſlacke and remitting one jote his ardent ſtudy of his muſicke profeſſion) that for the preſeruation of his voice he would never make ſpeech unto his ſouldiours, *but abſent: or having *another to pronounce his words for him; nor yet do ought in earneſt or mirth without his *Phonaſcus by, to put him in mind for to ſpare his pipes and hold his handkerchiefe to his mouth: and to many a man hee eyther offered friendſhip, or denounced enmitie, according as every one praiſed him more or leſſe.

*Or Minſtrell

*i. Per Nuntios by meſſengers ſent betweene. * when himſelf was preſent. *A moderator of his voice.

26

His unruly wildneſſe, unbridled luſt, waſtfull riotouſneſſe, avarice and cruelty, he practiſed verely at firſt, by leaſure cloſely, as the trickes of youthfull folly: yet ſo, as even then no man might doubt, that they were the inbred vices of nature, and not the errors of young age. No ſooner was it twi-light & the evening ſhut in but preſently he would catch vp a cap (*a*) on his head, and ſo diſguiſed, goe into tavernes and victualling houſes: walke the ſtreetes playing and ſporting all the way, but yet not without ſhrewd turnes and dooing miſchiefe. For he vſed to fall upon thoſe that came late from ſupper and knocke them ſoundly: yea and (if they ſtrugled with him and made reſiſtance,) to wound and drowne them in the ſinkes and towne ditches: to breake into petie ſhops alſo, and riffle them: For he had ſet up in his houſe at home a *(*b*) faire, there to receive the price of the bootie which hee had gotten, and was to bee ſolde to who would give moſt and bid beſt therefore. But many a time at ſuch brawles and skuffl ings aforeſaied, he endangered his eyes, yea and his life too; being once beaten well neere to death by a certaine young (*c*) gentleman of Senatours degree, whoſe wife he had miſuſed with uncleane handling. Whereupon, never after durſt he goe abroad into the ſtreets at that houre of the night, without his militarie Tribunes following after him aloofe and ſecretly. In the day time alſo, beeing caried cloſe in * a chaire into the Theatre, hee would be preſent in perſon, and from the vpper *part of the *Proſcenium both give a ſignall to the ſeditious factions of players (ſetting them together by the eares) and alſo behold them how they bickered. Now when they were come once to plaine fight skirmiſhing with ſtones and fragments of broken ſeates, skaffolds, himſelfe ſtucke not to fling apace *at the people in ſo much as once he brake the pretours head.

* Or hood.

*Or market.

*Or Lictor. *Or loft. *The foreſtage

*Or among.

27

But as his vices grewe by little and little to get head, he laide aſide theſe wilde trickes by way of ſport and in ſecret: and without all care of concealing and diſſimuling the matter, broke out openly to greater outrages. His meales (*a*) hee drewe out at length: eating and drinking from noone to midnight, dowſſed and fomented oftentimes in ceſternes of hote waters, and in ſommer ſeaſon within bathes altered and made colde with ſnowe. His ſupper hee tooke divers times abroade alſo in publike place, to wit, in the *Naumachia ſhut up and encloſed; or in Mars fielde; or elſe in the greateſt cirque: where hee was ſerued and attended upon by all the common Queanes of the Citie, and ſtinking (*b*) ſtrumpets of the ſtewes. So often as hee went downe the River *Tiberis* to *OSTIA*, or ſayled a long the Baian *Creeke, there were provided in divers places of the ſtrond and bankes, boothes to baite in, conſpicuous

*A broad place, wherein a Naval fight had ſometime been exhibited but then filled vp, yet it caried the former name ſtill.

* Or Bay.

conſpicuous brothell houſes and taverns; where ſtood maried dames after the manner of (e) hoſteſſes and victualling wives calling unto him; ſome here, ſome there on both ſides of the bankes, intreating him to land and turne in to them. His manner was alſo to give warning unto his familiar friends, and bid him ſelfe to ſupper: and one of them it coſt in ſweet meats. 4. *(e) millians of ſeſterces: and another a good deale more in roſe water (e) and odoriferous oyles or perfumes of Roſes from Syrtium.

*Quadragies HS.

28

Over and beſides the unnaturall abuſing of boyes free-borne; and the keeping of mens wives as his concubines, he forced alſo and deflowred RUBRIA, a veſtale Virgin. ACTE a freed woman he went very neere to have *wedded as his lawefull wife: ſuborning certaine men who had beene Conſuls, to avouch and forſweare. *That ſhe was of Roiall* bloud deſcended. A boy there was named (a) SPORUS, whoſe Genitories he cut out, & aſſayed therby to transforme him into the nature of a woman. Him he cauſed to be brought unto him as a bride, with a dowry, in a fine (yellow) veile, after the ſolemne maner of mariage: not without a frequent and goodly traine attending upon him: Whom he maintained as his wife. Hereupon there goes abroad a pretie conceited jeſt of a pleaſant fellow. *That it might have beene wel and happie with the World, if his father* DOMITIUS *had wedded ſuch a Wife.* This SPORUS trimly ſet out with the jewels, decked with the ornaments of the Empreſſes, and caried in a licter, hee accompanied all about the ſhire-townes of great reſort and market burroughes of Greece: yea and afterwards at *Rome*, up and downe the ſtreet *Sigillaria*, manie a time ſweetly kiſſing him by the way. For, that he had a luſt to ly with his owne mother, and was frighted from it by ſome depraving backe-friendes of hers; for feare, leaſt the proude and inſolent dame might by this kind of favour grow too mightie, no man ever made doubt; eſpecially after that he entertained among his Concubines an harlot, moſt like in all points (by report) unto AGRIPPINA. It is affirmed moreover, that in times paſt, ſo often as hee rode in a licter together with his mother, hee played the filthy wanton, and was bewrayed by the markes and ſpottes appearing upon her veſture.

*Which had beene a great diſparagement

29

As for his owne body, CERTES, he forfeited the honour thereof, proſtituting it to bee abuſed ſo farreforth, as having defiled in manner all the parts of it, at the laſt, he deviſed a kind (as it were) of ſport and game: that being covered all over in a wilde beaſtes skin, hee ſhould be let looſe forth of a *cage and then give the aſſault upon the privities of men and women both as they ſtood tyed faſt to a ſtake: and when he had ſhewed his rage to the full, be killed, forſooth by (a) DORIPHORUS his freed-man, unto whom himſelfe alſo was wedded like as SPORUS unto him: inſomuch as hee counterfeited the noiſe and cries of maidens, when they bee forced and ſuffer devirgination. I have heard of divers, that he was fully perſwaded, *No man nor woman was honeſt, or in any part of their bodies pure and cleane, but moſt of them diſſimuled their uncleanneſſe and craftily hid it.* As many therefore, as *profeſſed unto him their obſcene filthineſſe, he forgave all other faults and treſpaſſes whatſoever.

*Or grate.

I wiſh that both Suetonius and Dio had in this place and ſuch like been altogether ſilent.

*Confeſſed of themſelues and their owne accord.

30

The

30

The fruite of richeſſe and uſe of money, he tooke to be nothing elſe but laviſh expenſe: thinking them to be very baſe niggards and mechanicall pinch-pennies, that kept any account or reckoning what they ſpent and layde out: but ſuch only paſſing rich and right *Magnificoes*, who miſpent and waſted all. He praiſed and admired his uncle * CAIUS in no reſpect more, than for that hee had laſhed out and conſumed in a ſhort ſpace an huge maſſe of wealth, left unto him by TIBERIUS: Hee kept therefore no meane, nor made anye end of prodigall giving and making away all. Hee allowed unto (*a*) TIRIDATES a (thing almoſt incredible) 800000. Seſterces, day by day, for his expenſes, and at his departure beſtowed upon him not ſo little as one hundred millians. MENECRATES the harper, and SPICILLUS the ſword-fenſer hee enfeoffed in the livings, patrimonies and houſes of right noble perſonages, who had triumphed. CERCOPITHECUS, whom hee had enriched with the lands and houſes, (as well within the Citie as Countrey) of PANNEROS the Vſurer, hee honoured like a Prince at his funerals; and enterred with the charges well neere of a royall ſepulture. No garments did hee on his backe twice: At hazard when he played, he ventured no leſſe than 400000 ſeſterces at a caſt, upon every point or pricke of the chaunce. Hee fiſhed with a golden *net (drawen and knit) with cords twiſted of purple and crimſen ſilke in graine. He neuer by report when he made anie journey, had under a thouſand carroches in his traine; His mules were ſhod with ſiluer. His muliters arraied in fine (red) Canuſme cloth: and attended he was with a multitude of * Mazaces and Curreurs gaily ſet out with their bracelets and riche Phalers.

* *Quadringenis Seſtertiis.* Take *Seſtertium* here in the newter gender: otherwiſe, it were but a meane venture for ſuch an one as *Nero:* as amounting not above 3 l, 2 S. 6 d. Whereas now, it ariſeth to 3125. L

* *Aurato rete, Oroſius* ſaith more expreſly, *retibus aureis*

* Horſe men of Africke and Cappadocia.

31

In no one thing was hee more waſtefull and prodigall then in building. Hee made an houſe, that reached from the Palatium to the Eſquiliæ: which at the firſt he called his *Tranſitorie: but when it had been conſumed with fire and was reedefied hee named his golden ædifice. As touching the large compaſſe and receit, the rich furniture and ſetting out whereof, it may ſuffice to relate thus much. The porch was of ſuch an heigth as therein might ſtand upright the geantlike image repreſenting his owne perſon, an hundred and twentie foote high. So large was this houſe, as that it conteined *three galleries of a mile a peece in length. *Item* a ſtanding poole like unto a ſea, and the ſame encloſed round about with buildings in forme of Cities, It received moreover granings with cornefields, vineyards, paſtures and woodes to them ſtored with a multitude of divers and ſundry beaſts both tame and wilde of all ſorts. In all other parts thereof, alwaies laide over with golde, garniſhed with precious ſtones and *ſhels of pearle As for the parlours, framed they were with enbowed rovfs; ſeeled with pannils of Ivorie, deviſed to turne round & remoue ſo as flours might be ſkattered from thence: with a deviſe alſo of pipes & ſpouts to caſt and ſprinkle ſweet oyles frō aloft. But of al theſe parlours & banqueting roomes, the principall and faireſt was made rounde, to turne about continually both day and night, in manner of the *World. The banes within this houſe flowed with ſalte water derived from the ſea, and with freſh from

* Asone would ſay, the paſſage from one hill to another.

* Or fore-gate.

* *Porticus triplices milliarias* If a mā expoūd it thus: *Galleries* with three rowes of pillers, or as many yles, a thouſand foote in lēgth, it wold be more conſonāt to the truth I ſuppoſe. And yet the proportion that follo weth is very ſtrāge & anſwerable to the vulgar & received expoſition.

* Mother of pearle

* Or heaven

the rivers Albulæ This ædifice finiſhed after ſuch a faſhion as this, when he
*Made his firſt entrie into it after a ſolemn and feſtivall manner.
* dedicated, thus farre forth onely he liked, as that hee ſayd, *He now at length began to dwell like a man.* Furthermore, hee began a *poole reaching from *MISENVM* to the *Meere *AVERNVS*, covered all above head, enclo-
*Piſcinam.
ſed and enuironed with *Cloiſtures: into which all the hote waters that
*(Or lake)
were in the Bathes of *Baiæ* might bee conueied. Likewiſe he caſt a *foſſe from
*Or Walking places.
the ſayde *AVERNVS*, as farre as to *OSTIA*, and the ſame navigable: that men forſooth might ſaile in ſhips, and yet not be upon the ſea. This caried in length 160. miles, and bare that breadth, as gallies with 5. ranks of oares might paſſe to and fro thereupon. For the performing of theſe workes, he had
*Or ditch.
given commandement, that all priſoners whereſoever ſhould be tranſported into *Italie*: and that no perſon attaint and conuict of anie wicked act, ſhould be condemned otherwiſe, but to worke thereat.

32 To theſe outragious expenſes, beſide the truſt and confidence he had in the revenewes of the Empire, put forward hee was upon a certaine unexpected hope alſo that he cõceived, of finding a world of wealth: & that through intelli-
A,V,C,818 gence given unto him by a gẽtleman of *Rome*, who aſſured him upon his knowledge, that the rich treaſure & old ſtore of ſiluer and gold both, which Queene DIDO flying out of *Tyros* caried away with her, lay buried in *Affricke* within moſt huge and vaſte caues under the ground, and might be gotten forth with ſome ſmall labour of thoſe that would goe about it. But when this hope failed him and came to nothing, being now altogether deſtitute, & ſo far exhauſt and bare of money, that of neceſſity even ſouldiours pay, and the fees due unto olde ſeruitours in the wars for their ſeruice muſt rnn on ſtil and be differred; he bent his mind to promoting of falſe imputations, to pilling alſo & polling. Firſt and formoſt hee brought up this order, that out of the goods of freedmen deceaſed in ſteed of the one half, three 4 th parts ſhould be exacted & gathered for him, of as many, I ſay as without publike cauſe bare that name, which anie of thoſe families did, whereunto himſelfe was allied. Afterwards, that their wils
*Remembred him not in their wils and made him not an heyre.
ſhould be forfaite & confiſcate, who were *unthankeful to the Prince. *Item*, that Lawiers ſhould not eſcape free & go cleere awaie, who had drawen & written ſuch wils: As alſo, that all deeds and words ſhould bee brought within the cõpaſſe of treaſon: If there could be found but anie promoter to give information. He called moreouer after a long time paſſed, for the rewards and Coronets due to victours, which ever at any times the Cities & States had preſented or
*Or violet in graine.
decreed unto him at the games of priſe. And whereas hee had prohibited the vſe of the *Amethiſt & purple colours, he ſuborned one of purpoſe under hand
*Or faire.
to ſell upon *a market day ſome few ounces therof, and thereupon made ſtay of
*Who had bought the ſaide colours.
all *occupiers & chapmen whatſoever, & laid them faſt. Furthermore, having eſpied once (as he was ſinging) a dame of *Rome* frõ the skaffolds in the Theatre, arraied in purple forbidden by the *law, himſelfe pointed at her (as it is verily
*Iulia: which *Cæſar Dictator* made, See in Iul. Cæſ. cap. 43
thought) & ſhewed her to his *Procuratours: & preſently cauſed the woman to
*Procters or Factours.
be haled from thence & turned out, not only of her garments but alſo of all the goods ſhee had. He aſſigned an office to no man, but he uſed theſe words withall. *Thou knoweſt what I have neede of.* Alſo, *Let us looke to this, that no man*
*Or poſſeſſe.
*may *have anie thing.* To conclude, he robbed the TEMPLES of many giftes and oblations: The Images likewiſe therein made of golde or ſiluer

hee

he melted into a masse: and among the rest, even those of the *Tutelar gods (of *ROME*): which soone after GALBA restored & erected againe in their places. *Apollo Neptune Iupiter Iuno, Minerua.*

33

As touching his Parricides and murders hee began them first with CLAVDIUS: of whose death although he were not principall author, yet he was privie and accessarie thereto. Neither dissimuled he so much, as who afterwards was wont by a greek *by-word, to praise mushromes, (in which kinde of meat CLAUDIUS had taken his bane), as the *foode of the gods. CERTES, he abused him after hee was dead in most spitefull and contumelious manner, both in word and deede, every way: taunting and twitting him, one while with his folly, another while with his crueltie. For, in scoffing wise he would say of him that hee had left now (*a*) morari) anie longer among mortall men, using the first sillable of the sayd word long. And many of his decrees and constitutions he annulled as the acts of a doltish and doting man. Finally, he neglected the * place (*b*) of his funerall fire: suffering it to be *empaled, but with sleight stuffe and low railes of timber. As for BRITANNICUS, not so much for enuie that he had a sweeter and pleasanter voice than himselfe, as for feare least another day he should bee more gracious then he among men, in remembrance of his Father, he attempted to make him away by poison: This poison, NERO had received at the hands of one LOCUSTA, a woman who appeached & brought to light divers confectioners of poysons: and seeing it wrought later than he looked it should doe, and prooved not to his mind, by reason that it mooved BRITANNICUS to the stoole onely and caused a laske; he sent for the said woman, and beate her with his owne hands: laying hardly to her charge that in steede of a poyson she had given him a remedie and holsome medecine. Now when shee alleaged for her excuse that she gave him the lesse *dose, thereby to colour and cloke the odious fact, which would have bred much anget and hatred: *why! then belike quoth he, I am affraide of the lawe* *IVLIA. And so hee forced her before his face in his owne bed-chamber to compound and seeth a poison that should be most quicke and of present operation. And then having made triall thereof in a kid, after he saw once that the beast continued five houres before it dyed, he caused the same to be boyled againe and manie times more, and so he set it before a pig. And when the pig dyed presently upon the taking thereof, hee commanded it should be brought into his refection chamber, and given unto BRITANNICUS as he sat at supper with him. No sooner had he tasted it but hee fell downe dead. NERO readily made a lye and gaue it out among the rest of his guests, that BRITANNICUS was surprised by a fit of the falling sickenesse, as his manner was to be. But the next morrow, in all hast hee tooke order for his corps to bee caried forth to buriall, with no better funerals than ordinarie; and that, in an exceeding great storme of raine. Vnto the sayd LOCUSTA, for her seruice done, he granted *impunitie: he endved her also with faire lands: yea and allowed her to have schollers for to be trained up under her in that feat.

*Or Prouerbe *θυὸς ἐρέβινθα alluding to the deification after his death.

**Busium*

*As the manner was for certaine daies before the ashes and reliques were gathered up

**In quantitie.*

**De Veneficiis.*

*For her former practise of poisoning, by which she stoode condemned.

34

His owne mother, for looking narrowly into him, & examining his words and deedes somewhat streightly; for seeming also to correct and reforme

the ſame, thus farre forth onely at the firſt he was grieved and offended with, as that eft-ſoones he made her odious to the world, pretending that he was about to reſigne up the Empire * and depart to *Rhodes*. Soone after, he deprived her of all honour, dignity, and authority: and removing from about her the guard * of Germaine Souldiours that attended upon her perſon, hee baniſhed her out of the ſame houſe with him, and ſo forth out of the precincts of the Palace: Neither cared he what he did, ſo he might moleſt and trouble her: ſuborning ſome of purpoſe, both to diſquiet her whiles ſhee abode in *Rome* with ſuites and actions; and alſo when ſhee was deſirous of repoſe and eaſe in a retiring place out of the way, to courſe her with reproachfull taunts and flouting ſcoffes as they paſſed that way either by land or ſea. But beeing terrified with her threats and violent ſhrewdneſſe, hee determined to kill and diſpatch her at once. Having attempted it with poiſon thrice, and perceiving that ſhee was defended with Antidotes & preſervatives; he provided a bed-chamber for her, with ſo tickliſh an arched rouſe over her head, as beeing eaſily unioincted, the frame thereof might fall in peeces in the night, and light upon her as ſhe lay a ſleepe. When this deſſigne could not be kept cloſe, but was revealed by ſome of the complices privie thereto; hee deviſed a ſhip, ſo made, as that quickly it ſhould cleave a ſunder: that either by the wrack, or fall of the fore-deck aloft, ſhe might come to a miſchiefe and periſh. And ſo, making a ſemblance of a Love-day and reconciliation, hee ſent for her by moſt ſweet and kinde Letters, training her unto *Baiæ*, there to celebrate with him the ſolemnity of the * *Quinquatrian*. And having given order before hand to certaine Maiſters of Gallies for to ſplit the * Foiſe wherein ſhe was embarqued, as if by chaunce they were run full upon her; he made it late ere he went to the feaſt, & ſat long at it. Now when ſhe was to returne back againe unto *Bauli*; in lieu of that veſſell thus ſhaken and crackt, he put unto her the other aboveſaid made with ioints and vices, eaſie to fall in pieces: and ſo, with a cheerefull countenance accompanied her (to * the water ſide) and at the parting alſo kiſſed her paps. All the time after, he lay awake in great trouble & feare, waiting for the iſſue of theſe enterpriſes. But when he underſtood that all went croſſe, & that ſhe was eſcaped to land by ſwimming; being altogether to ſeeke what courſe to take; as L. AGERINUS her freed-man brought word with great ioy, *How ſhe was eſcaped alive and ſafe*; he conveied privily a dagger cloſe * by him; and as if he had been ſuborned & hired ſecretly (by her) to kill him, cauſed the ſaid AGERINUS to be apprehended and bound with chaines: and withall, his mother aforeſaid, to be murdred: pretending, as if by voluntary death ſhe had avoided the odious crime thus detected, and ſo made her ſelfe away. Worſe matter yet than all this & more horrible, is reported beſide, and that by Authors of good credit and who will ſtand to it: Namely, *That he ran in all haſt to view the dead body of his mother when ſhe was killed*: that he handled every part & member of it: found fault with ſome, commended others: and being thirſty in the meane * time, tooke a draught of drink. Howbeit, notwithſtanding hee was hartned by the ioyous gratulation of Souldiours, Senate, & People, yet could he not either for the preſent or ever after, endure the worme and ſting of conſcience for this foule fact; but confeſſe many a time, that haunted & harried he was with the apparition of his mothers ghoſt: tormented alſo with the ſcourges and burning torches of the Furies.

Moreover,

* As if ſhe were the cauſe thereof.

* *Militum, et Germanorum, Heu dia duo.*

* A feaſt in the honour of *Minerva*, beginning five daies before the Ides of March, i. the 11 of March.

* Or Pinnace.

* Or to the ſtaires.

* Betweene his feete. *Tacit.*

* About midnight it was.

Moreover, with a ſacrifice made by direction of magicians, he aſſaied to raiſe up her ſoule and ſpirite, and to intreate the ſame to forgive him. Verily as hee travailed through *Greece*, at the ſacred Eleuſine ceremonies (from the inſtitution and profeſſing wherein all impious, (a) godleſſe, & wicked perſons are by the voice of a cryer debarred) He durſt not be preſent. To this parricidy of his mother, he adioyned alſo the murder of his *aunt. For when upon a time he viſited her lying ſicke of a *coſtive bellie, and ſhe a woman now well ſtept in yeares in handling the tender downe of his beard new budding forth, chanced, (as the manner is) by way of pleaſing ſpeech, to ſay, *Might I but live to *take up this ſoft haire when it fals, I would be willing to dye*; he turning to thoſe that ſtood next unto him, in deriſion and ſcoffing manner ſayde, *Mary & even ſtreight wayes I will cut it of (for her ſake)*, and ſo made no more adoe but *gave order unto the Phiſitian to plye the ſicke woman ſtill with * ſtronger purgatives. For, even before ſhe was through dead, he laide ſure hold of her goods, and ſuppreſſed her laſt wil that nothing might eſcape his clutches.

35 Beſides *OCTAVIA, he maried afterwards two wives: to wit, *POPPÆA SABINA the daughter of *one who had beene Queſtor, & the wedded wife before of *a romane Knight: then, STATILIA MESSALLINA, *neice in the third degree removed of *TAURUS, twice Conſul, who had once triumphed. For to have & enioy her, he murdred her husband ATTICUS VESTINUS then Cõſul, even during the time of that honorable Magiſtracie. Soone wearie he was of OCTAVIAES companie & forſooke her bed. And when ſome friends reproved him for it he made anſwere, that the iewels & ornaments only of a wife ought to content her. Soon after, when he had aſſayed many times (but in vaine) to ſtrangle her, he put her away, pretending ſhe was barraine. But when the people miſliked this divorſe, and forbare not to raile upon him for it, he proceeded, even to confine & baniſh her quite. In the end he murdred her, under a colourable imputation of divers adulteries, charged upon her ſo impudently and falſely; That al generally who were by torture examined upon the point, ſtood ſtoutly to the very laſt in deniall, he ſuborned and brought in ANICETUS his own Pædagogue againſt her; who ſhould ſlander himſelfe with her & confeſſe that by a wile he had abuſed her bodie. The twelfth day after the ſaide divorcement of OCTAVIA, he eſpouſed and maried the aforeſaid dame POPPÆA, whõ he loved intirely; and yet even her alſo he killed with a *kicke of his heele, for that, being big with child and ſickly withall, ſhe had reviled him & given him ſhrewd words, for comming home ſo late one night, after his rũning with chariots. By her he had a daughter named CLAVDIA AUGUSTA, whom he buried when ſhe was a very infant. There was no kinde of affinitie & conſanguinity were it never ſo neere, but it felt the waight of his deadly hãd. ANTONIA, the daughter of CLAUDIUS, refuſing after the death of POPPÆA to bee his wife, he ſlew, under a pretenſe as if ſhe went about to conſpire againſt him and to alter the ſtate. Semblably, he killed all the reſt, that were either allied unto him or of his kinred. Among whom, A. PLANTIUS a young gentleman was one. Whoſe bodie, after he had by force filthily againſt kind abuſed before his death: *Let my mother gonow quoth he, & kiſſe my ſucceſſors ſweete lips: giving it out, That he was her welbeloved dearling, and by her ſet on to hope & gape after the Empire*. His ſonne in law RUFINUS CRISPINUS, the ſon of *POPPÆA being yet of tender

Domitia by his fathers ſide,

*Ex durinia alii, alias enim cibum non tranſmittit, as *Plinie* writeth. 26. lib.

*As if ſhe wold ſay if I might ſee thee once a man growen &c. for he came to be Emperour before he was 18 yeere olde.

*You muſt ſuppoſe, he ſent for the barber firſt &c.

*As purging was the cure, ſo it was the colourable means vvherby ſhe vvas killed.

*The daughter of *Claudius*.

*Or *Pompeia* as ſome read

Titus Oſſius.

Rufius Criſpus.

* In the right line of deſcér,

Statilius vvho in *Auguſtus* time built the great Amphitheatre in *Rome*, bearing his name A.V.C. 815

* Who had brought him vp in his childhood, A.V.C. 818

*Or ſpuma

*His wife by *Rufius Criſpus* a former husband

der yeeres and a youth under age, becauſe the report went of him, *that in game he would play for* **Dukedomes and Empires*, he gave order unto his owne ſeruants for to drowne in the ſea, whiles he was there fiſhing. Tuscus his nources ſonne he confined and ſent away; for that being his procuratour in Ægypt, he had bathed in thoſe baines which were built againſt his cõming. His *Preceptor* & Schoole-maſter Seneca he compelled *to dye: albeit he had ſworne unto him very devoutely, (when he made ſuite many times for a licence to depart the Court, and yeelded up therewith all his goods into his hands) *That* he had no cauſe to ſuſpect him: for he would rather looſe his owne life then doe him anie hurt.* Vnto Burrhus* Capitaine (of the guarde) he promiſed a medicine to heale his ſwollen*throat, and ſent him the rank poiſon Toxicum for it. His*freedmen, that were rich and olde, whoſe favour, friendſhip & directions had ſtood him in good ſteede for procuring unto him in times paſt adoption, and afterwards the Imperial rule; he cut ſhort every one by poyſon, partly put into their meats and partly mingled with their drinks.

*Ducatus or Captainſhips.

*To cut the maſter veines of armes and legs & ſo to bleed to death.

*Seneca,

*Eparchos Ton doruphoron.

*A ſquinancie,

*Namely, *Doriphorus & Pallas Tacit.*

36

With no leſſe cruelty raged hee abroad even againſt ſtrangers and meere forainers. A blazing hairy ſtarre, commonly thought to portend death and deſtruction to the higheſt poures, began to ariſe, and had appeared many nights together. Beeing troubled therewith, and enformed by Babilus the Aſtrologer, that Kings were wont to expiate ſuch prodigious ſignes with ſome notable maſſacre, and ſo divert the ſame from themſelues, & turne all upon the heads of their Peeres & Nobles, he thereupon projected the death of all the Nobleſt perſonages in the Citie. And verily, ſomuch the rather, and, as it were, upon juſt cauſe, by reaſon of two conſpiracies by him publiſhed & divulged abroad: of which, the former & the greater, bearing the name of *Piso, was plotted and detected at *Rome*: the latter going under the name of *Vinicius at *Beneventũ*. The conſpiratours had their triall, and pleaded bound with threefold chaines: and as ſome of them confeſſed the action of their owne accord, ſo *others ſaid moreover, *That he was beholden vnto them for it, becauſe they could not poſſibly doe a cure upon him by any other meanes, (diſteined as he was and diſhonored with all kinde of wicked actes) but onely by death.* The children of the condẽned were expelled the Citie, and then, diſpatched with poiſon or hunger-ſtarued. It is for certaine knowen, that ſome of them with their pædagogues & booke-keepers tooke their bane all at one dinner togither, others were reſtrained for ſeeking and earning their daily food.

*And his friẽds *Piſoniana.*

*And his adherents, *Viniciana*

*And, by name *Sulpitius Aſper.*

37

After this without all choiſe and reſpect, without all meaſure in his hand, he ſpared none: he put to death whomſoever it pleaſed him, and for what cauſe it skilled not, But not to make long relation of many, It was laid to Saluidienus Orcitus charge, that he had ſet and let three ſhops out of his houſe about the *Forũ*, unto the Cities & States abroad for (their Embaſſadours) for to make their abode & conuerſe in. To Cassius Longinus the lawier (a man bereft of both his eyes) objected it was, that in the antient pedigree of his own houſe and linage, he had ſet up againe the images of C. Cassius, one of thẽ that murdred Cæsar. To Paetas Thrasbas, for having a ſterne & ſevere countenance like a Pædagogue. When theſe with other were appointed once to dy, he allowed them no more then one houres reſpite to live after & becauſe

no

no further delay might come between, he put unto thé Chyrurgians (in caſe they lingred and made no haſt) to cure them out of hand, (for that was the term he uſed) meaning thereby, to cut their veines & let them bleed to death. It is verily thought alſo, that to a certein great (a) eater *(an Ægyptian borne) that uſed to feed on raw fleſh and whatſoever was given him, he had a great deſire to caſt men alive, for to bee quartered cut in peeces & devoured by him. Being lifted and puffed up, with theſe as it were, ſo great *ſucceſſes, he ſaide that no *prince ever knew what he might do: and oftentimes he caſt out many words betokening very ſignificantly, that he would not ſpare the Senators remaining behind, but one day utterly raſe that Order & degree out of the cõmon-wealth, and permit the gentlemen of *Rome* & his freed-men (only to rule provinces & have the conduct of armies. CÆSAR, neither at his comming home nor going forth any whether, vouchſafed he to kiſſe any one of them, no nor ſo much as once to reſalute them: and when with formall complements he entred upon his worke of digging through *Iſthmus*, he wiſhed and praied alowd before a frequent audience, *That the enterpriſe might ſpeed well and turne to the weale of himſelfe and the people of Rome*, concealing and ſuppreſſing al mention of the Senate.

38 But yet for al that, he ſpared not the people nor forbare the very wals and buildings of his country the Citie. When one in common talke upon a time chaunced to ſay.

(a) Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί

When vitall breath is fled from me,
Let earth with fire imingled be.

Nay rather quoth he Ἐμοῦ ζῶντος

Whiles vital breath remains in me &c.

And even ſo he did indeede: for being offended, as it were with the ylfavoured faſhion of the olde houſes; as alſo with the narrow, crooked & winding ſtreets; he ſet the citie of *Rome* on fire ſo apparantly, that many Citizens of Conſuls degree, taking his *chamberlaines in the maner with matches, touchwood and hurds in their meſſuages (within the Citie) would not once lay hand on them but let them alone: yea & certein garners and ſtore houſes about his golden Aedifice (for that the plot of ground on which they were ſituate, his mind ſtood moſt unto), were by war-engins forcibly ſhakẽ, throwẽ down & fired, by reaſon they were built with ſtone wals. For 6. dayes & 7. nights together raged he in this wiſe making havocke of all, and driving the common-people to take up their *Innes & ſhrowd themſelues the while about the toumbs & moniments of the dead. During this time, beſide an infinit number of (b) houſes ſtanding apart frõ others, the goodly ædifices & buildings of noble capitains in old time, adorned ſtil & beautified with the ſpoiles of enemies, the ſtately temples alſo of the gods, vowed & dedicated by the auntient kings firſt, & afterwards in the* punick & french wars; burned all, on a light fire: & in one word, whatſoever remained from old time worth the ſeeing & memorable was conſumed. This fire, beheld he daily out of *Mæcenas* (c) high toure: and taking ioy (as he ſayd himſelfe) at the beautiful flame that it made, chaunted the winning and deſtruction of *Troie*, in that Muſitians habit wherein he was wont to ſing upon the ſtage. And becauſe he would not miſſe, but lay faſt holde upon all the bootie and pillage which poſſibly hee, could come by, even from thence alſo, having promiſed free

Polyphago cuidam. or glutton

*Or proſperity

*Or none of the Emperors knew.

*In *Achaia*, nere *Corinth*.

*Comprifing therein the gentlemens degree: not *Senatui, populoq; Rom.* as the manner had beene.

*Cubicularios i. the grooms of his chamber.

*Or lodgings.

*With the Carthaginians.

leave to cast forth dead karkasses, and rid away the rammell of the ruines; looke what reliques remained of all their goods and substance unburnt, he permitted not one to goe unto it. Finally, not onely by receiving, but also by exacting Contributions from all parts, he beggered well neere the provinces and consumed the wealth of private persons.

39 To amend the matter well, vnto these harmes and reprochefull dishonors (of the State) so great as they were arising from the Prince, there happened also some other calamities by chance and fortune: to wit, a pestilence continuing one autumne, whereby thirtie(a) thousand burials were reckoned in the *record of *Libitina*; an unfortunate losse in *Britaine*, wherein two principall townes of great importance were sacked, with great slaughter besides of Romane Citizens and Allies: A shamefull disgrace received in the East by reason that the Romane Legions in *Armenia* were put under the yoke as Slaves, and *Syria* was hardly and with much adoe kept in tearmes of allegeance. But a wonder it was to see, and a thing especially to be noted, that amid all these infortunities hee tooke nothing lesse to the heart, than the shrewd checks and reviling taunts of Men: and was to none more milde, than to such as had provoked him, either with hard speeches, or opprobrious verses. Many infamous libels & defamatorie words, both in Greek and Latine, were publikely written, or otherwise cast and spred abroad against him, As for example these.

Νέρων Ορέστης, αλκμαίων μητροκτόνοι.
Νεόνυμφον Νέρωνι δίαν μητέρα ἀπέκτανε

NERO, (c) ORESTES, (d) ALCMÆON, did shorten mothers life:
NERO slew *his, when newly her he wedded as his wife.

Quis neget Aeneæ magna de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem
Who can deny, of great ÆNEA our NERO sprung to be
That rid his mother of her life, as *Sire (e) from fire did hee.

Dum tendit citharam noster, dum Cornua Parthus,
Noster erit Paan, ille Hecatebeletes.
*Whiles our NERO bendeth his harpe while PARTHIAN his bow;
Our prince shall be PÆAN. Hee (f) HECATEBELETES.

Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate Quirites
Si non et Veios occupet ista domus.
Rome will become a dwelling (g) house: To Veij flit a pace.
Quirites, least this house before ye come take up the place.

But no search made he after the authours hereof, and some of them being by the Appeacher conuented before the Senate, he would not suffer to sustaine any grievous punishment. As he passed by in the open street, ISIDORVS the ✻ CYNICK, had checked him alowd in these tearmes, That he vsed to chaunt the calamities of (h) NAVPLIVS very well, but disposed of his owne goods as badly. And DATVS, a plaier of the * Atellane Comædies in a certein Sonet singing these words (i) *hugiaine pater* i. Farewel father. ὑγιαῖνε μῆτερ, i. Farewel ther, had acted the same so significantly, as that hee feigned the one drinking and the other swimming, to expresse thereby the end *of C. CLAVDIVS and AGRIPPINA: And in the last conclusion of all, with these wordes.

(k) *Orcus vobis ducit pedes* Now PLUTO leadeth forth your feet.

In

*As we say in the Church booke.

*In whose temple were to be bought or hired, whatsoever pertained to funerals & burials. *Varro. Plutarch* taketh her for *Venus*.

*To wit Agrippina.

*Anchises.

*Hexametre, & Pentametre.

*Philosopher.

*Or evils.

*Which were very lascivious & licentious.

*Whose son he was by adoption, for some report, he tooke his poison in a cup of drinke & not in a mushrom.

*Who was thought to have perished in the sea: and indeede she hardly escaped drowning by swimming.

in plaine gesture noted the Senate. The *Actor & *Philosopher NERO did no more unto, but banish them *Rome* and *Italie*: either for that he set light by all shame and infamie; or els least in bewraying anie griefe, he might stir up and provoke pregnant wits to worke vpon him. *Datus. *Isidorus.

Well, the world having indured such an Emperour as this, little lesse than 40
14. yeares, at length fell away & forsooke him cleane. And first the French began, following as the ringleader of their insurrection IULIUS VINDEX, who that very time governed the *Province, as Propretour. Foretold it had been long agoe unto NERO by the Astrologers, *That one day he should be left forlorne.* Whereupon this saying was most rife in his mouth. *Of Gaule.

Τὸ τεχνίον πασα γαῖα τρέφει,

An Artizane of anie kinde
In every land will living finde;

So that he might the better be excused and borne withall for studying & practising the art of minstrelsie and singing to the harpe, as a skil delightful unto him now a Prince, and needfull for him another day a private person. Yet some there were who promised unto him so forsakē, the govermēt of the East parts: and others by speciall name the kingdome of *Hierusalem*: but most of them warranted him assuredly the restitution of his former estate. And being inclined rather to rest upon this hope, when he had lost *Britaine* and *Armenia*, & recovered them both againe: he thought himselfe discharged then and quit from the fatall calamities destined unto him. But sending one time to the Oracle of APOLLO at *Delphi*, and hearing this answere from thence (*a*) *That hee must beware of the yeare 73*, as who would say, *He was to dye in that yeare (of his owne age) and not before*; and divining no whit of GALBAS yeeres; with so assured confidence hee conceived in his heart not onely long life but also a perpetuall and singular felicity, that when he had lost by shipwracke things of exceeding price, he stucke not to say among his familiars. *That the *fishes would bring the same againe unto him.* At *Naples* aduertised he was of the rebellion in *Gaule*. Which fell out to be the very same day of the yeare, on which he had killed his mother. But hee tooke this newes so patiently and carelesly, that hee gave suspicion even of joy and contentment: as if occasion had beene offered and presented thereby to make spoyle (by the lawe of armes) of those most rich & wealthy Provinces: and streight waies going forth into the *Gymnase, he beheld with exceeding great earnestnesse and delight the wrestlers and champions striving for the prise. At supper time also, being interrupted with letters importing more tumults and troubles still: Thus farre forth onely he grew into choller and indignation, as that he threatned *mischiefe to them who *had revolted. To conclude, for eight dayes together he never went about to write backe unto any man nor to give any charge or direction at all, but buried the matter quite in silence.

*As they did to *Polycrates* that mighty Tyrant of Samos: but it was not lōg before his fall and destruction.

*Publike place of exercise.

**Malum* an Emphaticall and significant word in this place: like as in *Livie, lib. 4. Malis militibus meis nisi quievisset.* As if he had said, a mischiefe take these Rebels: or, mischiefe will come to them.

**Desciſſent, al. dedisſent*, as if mischief wold fall upon the authors heads

At the last, throughly mooved and netled with the contumelious edicts of vindex comming so thicke one in the necke of another, he exhorted the Senate, in a letter written unto them, to revenge him and the commonwealth: alleadging for an excuse the *Squinsie whereof hee was sicke: and therefore could not himselfe be present in person. But nothing vexed him so much as this, *That hee was by him blamed for an unskilfull *musician*, and because in steede 41

*An inflāmation or swel ling in the throate.

steed of NERO, he called him *ÆNOBARBUS. And verely as touching this name appropriate to his house and family; wherewith he was thus in contumelious manner twitted, he professed to resume the same, and to lay away the other that *came by adoption. All other reviling taunts and slaunders hee confuted as meere false, by no other, argument than this. *That unskilfulnesse, forsooth, was objected unto him in that very art, which he had so plainly studied and brought to so good perfection: and therewith asked them eftsones one by one, whether they had ever knowen a more excellent Musician than himselfe.* But when messengers came still one after another, in great feare he returned to *Rome*. And having his hart lightned but a little in the way, with a vaine and fooliſh presage by occasion that hee espied and obserued engraven upon a monument, a certaine french souldiour with a Romane knight overmatched in fight and trailed along by the haire (of the head): he at this sight leapt for ioy and worshipped the heavens. Neither then verely, did hee so much as consult in publike with the Senate, or assemble the people: but onely call forth home to his house some of the chiefe and principall persons among them. And having dispatched in great haste this consultation, the rest of that day he led them all about to his musicall water instruments of a strange deuise and fashion, not before knowen: and shewing every one by it selfe unto them, discoursing also of the reason and difficult workemanship of each one, he promised even anone to bring them all forth into the open Theatre, * *If* VINDEX *would give him leave,*

*Which was the name of his family, and so had he been called before his adoption.
*Nero Claudius Drusus

*Which it seems he spake ironically, if simply, he meaneth, in case *Vindex* interupted not his sports and the publike felicitie.

42

After that he understood besides, how GALBA likewise & the provinces of Spaine were revolted, he fell downe at once: his heart was then daunted & cleane done: and so he lay a good while speechlesse in a traunce, and ready, as one would say, to goe out of the world. And so soone as he came againe to himselfe, he rent his clothes, beat and knockt his head, saying plainely *That he was utterly undone*: yea and when his nource came about him to comfort his poore heart, telling him, that the like accidents had befallen to other princes also before him, hee answered againe, *That hee above all the rest suffred miseries never heard of nor knowen before: Thus in his life time to forgoe and loose his Empire.* Neither yet for all this strucke he saile one whit in laying away or leaving out one jot of his ordinary riot and supine slouthfulnesse. Nay when some little inckling was given of good newes out of the provinces as he sat at a most sumptuous and plentifull supper; hee pronounced even with expresse gesture like a player, certaine ridiculous rimes, and those set to lascivious and wanton measures, against the chiefetaines of rebellion: and what were those? even stale stuffe and commonly knowen already. Being also secretly conueied into the Theatre he sent word unto a certaine Player acting his part with great cõtentment of them that *sawe and heard him, That he did but abuse his* *occupations.

*In that hee plaied without a concurrent whereas himselfe but for his Businesses would haue put him down,

43

Immediatly upon the beginning of this feareful *tumult, it is credibly thought that he intended manie designes and those very cruell and horrible: yet such as agreed well enough with his naturall humour: namely, to sende under hand successours and murderers of all those that were Commanders of armies & regents of Provinces; as if they all had conspired and drawen in one and the selfe same line. *Item*, to massacre all banished persons where soever; and the frenchmen

*cOcasioned by the Commotions & revolts abroad

mẽ every one that were to be foũd in *Rome*: thoſe becauſe they ſhould not band & combine with them that revolted: theſe, as complices with their owne contrie men, and their abbetters. *Item* to permit, the armies for to make ſpoyle and havocke of the Provinces in *Gaule*. *Item* to poyſon all the Senate generally at ſome appointed feaſt. Laſt of all to fire *Rome* & let wild beaſts looſe among the people; that thereby there might be more adoe and greater difficulty to ſaue the Citie. But being skared from theſe deſignments, not ſo much vpon anie repentance, as deſpaire of their accompliſhment: and perſwaded withall, that neceſſarie it was to make a voyage and warlike expedition; the Conſuls then in place he depriued of their goverment before the due time, and himſelfe alone entred upon the Conſulſhip in their roomes, as if forſooth, the deſtinies had ſo ordained, that *Gaule* could not be ſubdued but by a (ſole) *Conſul. Having then taken into his hands the * knitches of rods, when after meat he withdrew himſelfe aſide out of his dining chamber, leaning upon the ſhoulders of his familiar friends, hee proteſted, that ſo ſoone as ever he was come into the Province: he would ſhew himſelfe unarmed before the armies: and do nothing elſe but weepe: and after he had once by that meanes reclaimed the authors of the Revolt and brought them to repentance, ſing merily, the day following, ſongs of triumph with them that reioyced with him. Which ſongs quoth hee ought with all ſpeede even now to be compoſed for me.

*As ſometime *Cn. Pompeius magnus* was, for the like exploit.

*The Conſular authoritie.

44

In the preparation of this warlike voiage, his ſpeciall care was, to chooſe forth meete wagons for the cariage of his muſicall inſtruments; to cut & poll the concubines which hee caried out with him like men: and to furniſh them with battaile axes and little bucklers after the Amazonian faſhion. This done, he cited the Citie-tribes to take the militarie oth: and when no ſeruiceable mẽ would anſwere to their names, he enjoyned all Maſters to ſet forth a certaine number of bond-ſeruants, neither admitted he out of the whole family & hovſhold of every mã, but ſuch only as were moſt approved, excepting not ſo much as their ſtewards or clarkes and ſecretaries. He commanded likewiſe all degrees to allow and contribute toward this expedition part of their eſtate according as they were valued in the Cenſors booke: and more than ſo, The tenants inhabiting private meſſuages and great houſes ſtanding by them ſelues, to pay out of hand in yearely penſion to his exchequer. Hee exacted alſo with great * skornefulneſſe and extremitie, good money rough and new coyned, ſiluer fine and full of riſings: golde pure and red as fire. In ſo much, as moſt men openly refuſed the paiment of all contributions: demanding in a generall conſent, that what monies ſoever promoters had received for their informations, ſhould rather be required backe againe at their hands.

*Surlineſſe.

45

By the dearth likewiſe of corne, looke what hatred was conceived againſt the *gainers, the ſame grewe heavie upon him. For it fell out by chance that in this publicke famine word came of a *Ship of (*a*) *Alexandria*, how it was arrived fraight with a kinde of duſt for the wreſtlers of NERO his court. Having thus ſtirred up & kindled the hatred of all the world againſt him, there was no contumelious deſpite but he ſuſtained. To one ſtatue of his, juſt behind the crowne of the heade, was ſet a * chariot with an Impreſe in Greeke to this effect

*i. Cornemũgers *lucrantium*

*Or the fleete it ſelfe, *nauis pro claſſe* as *claſſis pro nave* by the figure *Synechdoche*.

*Alluding to his Chariot running.
*A Sachell
*Ego quid potui.
*Culeum
*Pillers
*Gallos et eum cătădo excitasse.

fect, *Now (b) in truth, and not before is the combate.* And againe, *Now or never hale and drawe.* To the necke of another, there was tyed a lether-*bagge, and therewith this title, **What (d) could I doe? But thou hast deserued a verie *lether (e) budge indeed.* This writing also was fastned upon the *Columnes, *Now with his chaunting hee hath awakened the French.* And by this time manie there were who in the night season making semblance of chiding and brawling with their seruants, called often for a VINDEX.

46

*Presaging foretokens
*Ominum.

Beside all this, he tooke affrights at the manifest *portents as well newe as old, of dreams, of (a) prodigies and of *Osses. For where as before time, he was never wont to dreame, when he had murdred his mother once there appeared visions in his sleepe, him thought hee saw the helme of a ship wrested out of his hand as hee steered it: and that by his wife OCTAVIA hee was haled into a very narrow and blinde place: one while that he was covered all over with a multitude of winged ants; another while, that the images of grave men descended of noble houses dedicated in POMPEIUS Theatre, went round about him, and debarred him from going forward. Also, that his ambling gueldding, wherein hee tooke most delight, was in most parts transfigured into the forme of an ape: But having his head only sound and entier, did set up a lowde and shrill voice neighing. Out of the **Mausoleum*, when all the dores thereof flewe of their owne accord open, a voice was heard calling him by name. Vpon the *Calends of Ianuarie, his domesticall gods, garnished and adorned (as they weare), at the verie time when the sacrifice was in preparing, fell all downe. And as he was obseruing the signes by bird flight, SPORUS presented him with a ring for a newe yeares gift: in the pretious stones whereof, was engraven the rauishing and carying away of PROSERPINA: At the solemne nuncupation of his vowes, when as a great and frequent number of all degrees were alreadie assembled together, the keyes of the Capitoll could hardly be found: What time as out of his inuective oration against VINDEX these wordes were rehearsed in the Senate. *That such wicked persons should suffer punishment,* they all cryed out with one voice. *Tu facies AVGVSTE.* i. Thou shalt so doe O AUGUSTUS. This also had beene obserued, that the last Tragædie which he acted and sung in publike place, was OEDIPUS the banished, and iust as he pronounced this verse

*The stately sepulchre of Augustus.
*First day.

*All this happned upon the new-yeares day.

Θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμόν, μήτηρ, πάτηρ·

How can I chuse but death desire,
Thus bidden by wife by mother and Sire?

*he fell downe.

*Decidisse ordesisse i, stayed & gave over.

47

In this meane while, when newes came that all the other armies also rebelled, the letters delivered unto him, as hee sate at dinner hee tare in peeces, overthrewe the table, and two cuppes (of Chrystall) out of which he tooke the greatest pleasure to drinke, and which he called Homericos, for certaine verses of *(a) HOMERE engraven and wrought upon them, he dashed against the paved floure. Then, after he had received a poison of LOCUSTA & put it up in a golden boxe, he went directly into the hortyards of the *Seruitij*: where

*See the annotation upon this place.

where, having sent before his most trusty freed-servants unto Ostia for to rig and prepare a fleet to sea, He sounded the Tribunes and Centurions of the guard, whether they would beare him company and flie with him, or no. But when some of them made it coy and kept some hasting: others in plaine termes refused; and one also cried out aloud,

Vsque adeone (b) mori miserum est?

What! is it such a miserie

To leave this life and so to die?

He cast about, and thought of many and sundry shifts: Whether hee should goe as an humble suppliant unto the Parthians, or to GALBA? or whether it were best for him, arraied all in blacke to come abroad into the Citie, and there in open place before the ROSTRA, with all the rufull and pitteous moane that hee could possibly make, crave pardon for all that was past? and unlesse hee could turne the peoples harts unto * mercy, make suite to have if it were but the (c) Deputy-ship of *Ægypt* graunted unto him. Certes, found there was afterwards in his Cabinet a Speech of his owne penning, as touching this Argument. But men thinke hee was scared from this enterprise, as fearing least before he thither * could come, he should be pulled in peeces. Thus, putting off all farther cogitation of this matter unto the next day, and * awakened about midnight; when he understood that the guard of his Souldiours was retired and gone, hee leapt forth of his bed, and sent all about to his friends. But because no word was brought back from any of them, himselfe accompanied with a fewe about him went to every one of their lodgings: Where finding all dores shut, and no body to make him answere, he returned to his bed chamber. By which time, his Keepers also and Wardens were slipt from thence; but they had stollen away first the hangings and furniture of his chamber, yea and set out of the way the box aforesaid with the poison. Then straight-waies he sought for SPICILLUS the * Sword-fencer, or any other common hackster he cared not who, by whose hand he might receive his deaths wound. But finding none, *Well*, quoth he, *And have I neither a friend, nor a foe?* And so he runnes forth, as if he would have throwne himselfe headlong into *Tiberis*.

48

But having reclaimed once againe that violent moode, hee desired some more secret retyring place, wherein he might lurke a while and recall his wits together. And when PHAON his freed man made offer unto him of a Farme house of his, that he had by the Citie side, about foure miles off, betweene the high-waies *Salaria* and *Nomentana*, bare footed as hee was and in his * shirt hee cast over it a cloake all sullied and which had lost the colour. And so covering his head, and holding an hand kercheife before his face, to horseback hee went, having not above foure persons in his companie; of which * SPORUS made one. And being by & by affrighted with an Earthquake & lightening that flashed against his face, he heard withall, an out-crie & showt (from the Campe hard-by), of the Souldiours offring all mischiefe at him & all good unto GALBA: Yea, & one of the passengers also he met, saying, *These be they that pursue* NERO, as also another asking, *What newes in Rome of* NERO? Now by occasion that his horse under him fenting a dead carkasse that was throwne out in the way, started and flung at on side, his face was discovered, and himselfe knowne of one MISSICIUS a *Prætorian* Souldiour, who

* And to suffer him for to injoy the Empire
* To the *Rostra*.
* Or starting out of his sleep.
* *Mirmillonem*.
* Single wast-coate.
The rest were *Phaon Epaphroditus* and *Neophytus*.

who saluted him by his name. When they were come to the next Lane, turning out of the Rode way, their horses they forsooke and turned them up: and so among thickets of shrubs, rough bushes and briers, with much a doe through a narrow path within a reed plot, and not without *clothes spread under foote, he gat at length as farre as to the wall of the Country house above said over & against him. There, when the said PHAON perswaded him to bestow himselfe the meane while, within a pit, from whence sand had beene cast forth, Nay, quoth he, I will never goe quick * under ground: and so, after he had staied a little (while there was a secret way a making to let him into the ferme house), he laded up water with his owne hand out of a ditch under him, minding to drink: and this, quoth he, is NERO'S * decocted water. After this, because his cloake was torne among the bushes and briers afore said, he rid it from the pricky sprigs that were runne through and stuck therein, and so creeping upon all foure through a straight and narrow hole digged in the wall for him, received hee was into the next backe roome: Where he laid him downe on a pallet made of a simple scant mattrice, and an olde over-worne cloake cast over it for a coverlet. Now when hunger came upon him, and thirst with all the second time, the browne and course bread verily which was offred unto him he refused; but of warme water he dranke a prety draught.

*For feare either of pricking his feete, or of being heard to goe.
*Or into my grave.

*Or sodden:
* Plinie reporteth, lib. 31, cap. 3. That Nero devised to seeth water first, then within a glasse to let it stand in snow, whereby it became exceeding cold: partly by the snow, & in part by the former decoction. A delicate drinke in the heate of Sommer.

49

When as each one called then instantly on every side upon him, to deliver him selfe with all speede from the reproachfull contumelies and abuses, whereto hee was hourely subiect, he commaunded a grave to be made before his face, and gave a measure therefore according to the iust proportion of his body: and therewith, if any peeces of marble stone might be found about the house, to be laid in order: That water also and wood should bee gotten together for his dead body to be washed anone therewith: weeping at every word he spake, and inserting ever and anone this pittifull speech, *Qualis * artifex pereo!* What an excellent Artisane am I? and yet nowe must I die. Whiles some stay was made about these complements, PHAONS * Courrier brought certaine letters which hee intercepted and snatcht out of his hands. And reading therein that hee had his Dome by the Senate, To be an Enemie to the State: That he was laid for all about to be punished, *More maiorum. More maiorum!* quoth he, what kinde of punishment is that! and when he understoode, it implied thus much, *That the man so condemned, should be stript all naked, his head * locked fast in a forke, and his body scourged with rods to death*; he was so terrified therewith, That hee caught up * two daggers which hee had brought with him: and trying the points of them both how sharpe they were, he put them up againe, making this excuse, *That the fatall houre of his death was not yet come.* And one while he exhorted SPORUS to begin for to lament, weepe and waile: another while he intreated hard, *That some one of them would kill him selfe first, and by his example helpe him to take his death.* Sometime also he checked and blamed his owne timorousnesse in these wordes. *I live shamefully and in reproach,* ὀ πρέπει Νέρωνι, ὀ πρέπει. νήφειν δεῖ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι, ἄγε ἔγειρε σεαυτόν. *It becomes not* NERO; *it becomes him not. In such cases as these hee had neede to be wise and sober: Goe to man, plucke up thy heart and rouse thy selfe.* Nowe by this time approached the Horsemen neere at hand, who had a warrant and precept to bring him alive. Which when hee perceived, after hee had with trembling and

*Or sc.
*Or rapiers.
* Acie: pro acumine mucronato.

quaking

quaking uttered this verſe.

* ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος ὄρνυται ἀρτί. * *Homer Iliad. x* ſpoken by *Neſtor*

The trampling noiſe of horſes ſwift reſoundeth in mine eares.

He ſet a*dagger to his throat, whiles EPAPHRODITUS his * Secretarie lent him his hand to diſpatch him. When he was yet but halfe dead, a Centurion brake in upon him, and putting his cloake upon the wound, made ſemblance as if hee came to aide and ſuccour him: Vnto whom he anſwered nothing but this. *Too late. And is this your loyaltie and allegeance?* In which very word he yeelded up his breath, with his eyes ſtaring out and ſet in his head, to the great feare and horrour of all that were preſent. He had requeſted of the companie which attended upon him, no one thing more earneſtly than this. *That no man might have his head ſevered from the body but that in any wiſe he might be burnt whole.* And ICELUS a freed man of *Galba*, who not long before was delivered out of priſon (into which he was * caſt at the beginning of the firſt * tumult) permitted * ſo much.

* Or rapier. * Or his Maſter of requeſts.

* By *Nero*. * Occaſioned by the rebellio In *Gaule* and *Spaine*. * For he might do all in all with *Galba*. See *Galb.* 14.

50

His funerals were performed with the charges of 200 000 Seſterces: His corps was caried forth (to buriall) enwrapped within white cloathes of Tinſel, woven with gold wire betweene, the very ſame that hee had worne upon the Calends of Ianuarie. His reliques, ECLOGE and ALEXANDRA his two Nources, together with ACTE his Concubine beſtowed within the monument belonging to the houſe of the DOMITII his Auncеſtors: Which is to be ſeene out of *Mars* field, ſituate upon the Knap of an hill within their Hortyards. In which Sepulcher his cheſt * made of *Porphyrite* Marble, with an Altar (as it were) or table of white Marble of *Luna* ſtanding upon it, was encloſed round about with a fence of *Thaſian* Marble ſtone.

* Or Cophin.

51

Hee was for ſtature almoſt of * complet heighth. His body full of ſpecks and freckles, and foule of skinne beſides. The haire of his head ſomewhat yellow: His countenance and viſage rather faire, than lovely and well favoured. His eyes gray and ſomewhat with the dimmeſt. His neck full and fat. His belly & paunch bearing out: with a paire of paſſing ſlender ſpindle ſhanks: but withall, he was very healthfull. For, being as he was ſo untemperate and moſt royotouſly given, in 14 yeeres ſpace, he never fell ſicke but thrice: yet ſo, as hee neither forbare drinking of wine, nor any thing elſe that hee uſed to doe. About the trimming of his body and wearing of his cloathes ſo nice, as it was ſhamefull: in ſo much as hee would alwaies have the buſh of his head laide and plaited by curles in degrees: but what time as he travailed in *Achaia*, hee drew it backward alſo from the crowne of his head * and wore it long. For the moſt part, he ware a dainty and effeminate pied garment called *Syntheſis*: and with a fine Lawne neck Kercheif bound about his neck he went abroad in the Streetes, ungirt, untruſſed, and unſhod.

* Within a little of ſixe foote.

* As you may ſee in ỹ coines & pictures of *Otho* the Emperour; *Statius* calleth this *ſuggeſtum comæ lib.* 1, *Sylv.* * haply in imitation of *Apollo* (who was *Intonſus*, and is called by *Homer* therefore ἀκερσεκόμης) becauſe there eſpecially he profeſſed Muſick, whereof *Apollo* is the Patrone.

52 Of all the Liberall Sciences in manner, he had a taſt when he was but a child. But from the Studie of Philoſophie his mother turned his minde; telling him, It was repugnant to one who another day was to bee a Soveraigne: and from the knowledge of auncient Oratours, his Maiſter SENECA withdrew him, becauſe hee would hold him the longer in admiration of himſelfe. And therefore, being of his owne accord readily enclined to Poetry, he made verſes voluntarily and without paine. Neither did he (as ſome think) ſet forth other mens Poems as his owne.

There haue come into mine hands writing tables and bookes containing verſes very famous and well knowne abroade, written with his owne hand: ſo as a man may eaſily ſee they were not copied out of other bookes, nor yet taken from the mouth of any other that indited them, but plainely penned as a man would ſay, by one that ſtudied for them, and as they came in his head, ſo put them downe: ſo many blots and skrapings out, ſo many daſhes and interlinings were in them.

53 No ſmall delight he had beſide in paintings and moſt of all in forging and mould-ding counterfaites. But aboue all, he was raviſhed and lifted up with popularity & praiſe of men: deſirous therfore to imitate & equal them, who by any meanes pleaſed the humours & contented the minds of the cõmon people. There went an opiniõ and ſpeech of him, that after he had gained the Coronets for his muſicall feats performed upon the ſtage, hee would at the next fiue yeares revolution, go unto the Olympicke games, and contend for the priſe among the Champions there. For, he practiſed wreſtling continually. Neither beheld he the Gymnicke games throughout all Greece otherwiſe, than ſitting below within the * Stadium, as the manner of the Iudges and Vmpires of ſuch maſteries: and if any * paires of them drew to farre backe out of the appointed place, to plucke them with his own hands into the middle againe. He had intended moreouer (ſince he was reputed to have equalled APOLLO in ſinging and matched the Sun in charioting) to imitate alſo the worthie acts of HERCVLES. And men ſay, there was a Lion prepared, which he, all naked ſhould either with his club braine, or els with ſtreight claſping beetweene his armes throttle and cruſh to death within the Amphitheatre, in the ſight of all the people.

*Or the liſts
*Or couples matched.

54 Certainely, a little before his ende he had openly made a vowe, *That in caſe he continued ſtil in good and happie eſtate, repreſent he would likewiſe at the games, in his owne perſon after victory obtained, an Organiſt and player upon water inſtruments, upon the flute alſo and hautbois, yea and a bagpiper, and on the laſt day (of the ſaid games) an actor of Enterludes: what time he would daunce and geſture Turnus in Virgill.* And ſome write, that PARIS the actor was by him killed, as a concurrent that ſtood in his way and eclipſed his light.

55 A deſire he had, (fooliſh and inconſiderate though it were) of æternity and perpetuall fame. And therefore, aboliſhing the old names of many things & places, hee did upon them new, after his owne. The moneth Aprill alſo hee called *Neroneus*. He ment moreover to have named *Rome*, **Neropolis*.

**Neros* Citty.

56 All Religions wherſoever he had in contempt, unleſſe it were that onely of the **Syrian* goddeſſe. And yet ſoone after he deſpiſed her ſo farre, that hee polluted* her with urine: by occaſion that he was wonderfully addicted to an other ſuperſtition, wherein alone hee continued and perſeuered moſt conſtantly. For having received in free gift, a little puppet repreſenting a young girle, at the hands of a meane commoner, and * obſcure perſon, as a remedy, forſooth, or defenſative againſt al treacheries and ſecret practiſes: and thereupon ſtraight waies chauncing to diſcouer a conſpiracie; he held it for the ſoueraine deity above all, & perſiſted honoring & worſhipping it every day with 3 ſacrifices. Nay he would haue men beleeve, that he foreknew things to come by advertiſement & warning given frõ her.

* *Atergate* or *Aſtarte* the ſame ſome think that Iuno
* Her image
* or vnknowen to him.

Some

Some few moneths before he loſt his life, he tooke regard alſo of the Skill in pry-ing into beaſts entrailes. Which he obſerved in deede, but never ſped well there-with, nor gained thereby the favour of the Gods.

He died in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age; that very day of the yeere, on which in times paſt he had murdred his wife OCTAVIA: & by his death brought ſo great ioy unto the people generally, that the Commons wore * Caps, and ranne ſporting up and downe throughout the Citie. Yet there wanted not ſome, who a long time after decked his Tombe with gay flowers that the Spring and Sommer doe affourd: and who, one while brought forth his Images clad in robes embro-dred with purple gards before the *Roſtra*: otherwhile publiſhed his Edicts, as if he had beene yet living and would ſhortly returne to the great miſchiefe of his ene-mies. Moreover, VOLOGESUS King of the Parthians, when he ſent his Embaſ-ſadours unto the Senate for to treat about the renuing of league and Alliance with them, requeſted this alſo very earneſtly, *That the Memoriall of* NERO *might be ſtill ſolemnized.* To conclude, when twenty yeeres after his deceaſe (whiles I my ſelfe was but a young man) one aroſe among them (no man knew from whence? nor of what condition?) who gave it out, *That Hee was* NERO, (ſo gracious was his name among the Parthians,) he was mightily upheld and maintained, yea and hardly delivered up againe.

57
A.V.C. 821

*Or Borers, to teſtifie free-dome recone-ced.

*Namely, to *Calphurnius*

Aſpernas. to be executed for a lying counter-feit.

There haue come into mine hands writing tables and bookes containing verſes very famous and well knowne abroade, written with his owne hand: ſo as a man may eaſily ſee they were not copied out of other bookes, nor yet taken from the mouth of any other that indited them, but plainely penned as a man would ſay, by one that ſtudied for them, and as they came in his head, ſo put them downe: ſo many blots and skrapings out, ſo many daſhes and interlinings were in them.

53 No ſmall delight he had beſide in paintings and moſt of all in forging and mould-ding counterfaites. But aboue all, he was raviſhed and lifted up with popularity & praiſe of men: deſirous therfore to imitate & equal them, who by any meanes plea-ſed the humours & contented the minds of the cõmon people. There went an opi-niõ and ſpeech of him, that after he had gained the Coronets for his muſicall feats performed upon the ſtage, hee would at the next fiue yeares revolution, go unto the Olympicke games, and contend for the priſe among the Champions there. For, he practiſed wreſtling continually. Neither beheld he the Gymnicke games throughout all Greece otherwiſe, than ſitting below within the * Stadium, as the manner of the Iudges and Vmpires of ſuch maſteries: and if any * paires of them drew to farre backe out of the appointed place, to plucke them with his own hands into the middle againe. He had intended moreouer (ſince he was reputed to have equalled APOLLO in ſinging and matched the Sun in charioting) to imitate al-ſo the worthie acts of HERCVLES. And men ſay, there was a Lion prepared, which he, all naked ſhould either with his club braine, or els with ſtreight claſping betweene his armes throttle and cruſh to death within the Amphitheatre, in the ſight of all the people.

*Or the liſts
*Or couples matched.

54 Certainely, a little before his ende he had openly made a vowe, *That in caſe he continued ſtil in good and happie eſtate, repreſent he would likewiſe at the games, in his owne perſon after victory obtained, an Organiſt and player upon water inſtru-ments, upon the flute alſo and hautbois, yea and a bagpiper, and on the laſt day (of the ſaid games) an actor of Enterludes: what time he would daunce and geſture Turnus in Virgill.* And ſome write, that PARIS the actor was by him killed, as a concurrent that ſtood in his way and eclipſed his light.

55 A deſire he had, (fooliſh and inconſiderate though it were) of æternity and perpetuall fame. And therefore, aboliſhing the old names of many things & pla-ces, hee did upon them new, after his owne. The moneth Aprill alſo hee called *Neroneus*. He ment moreover to have named *Rome*, **Neropolis*.

**Neros* City.

All Religions wherſoever he had in contempt, unleſſe it were that onely of the **Syrian* goddeſſe. And yet ſoone after he deſpiſed her ſo farre, that hee polluted* her with urine: by occaſion that he was wonderfully addicted to an other ſuper-ſtition, wherein alone hee continued and perſeuered moſt conſtantly. For having receiued in free gift, a little puppet repreſenting a young girle, at the hands of a meane commoner, and * obſcure perſon, as a remedy, forſooth, or defenſative a-gainſt al treacheries and ſecret practiſes: and therevpon ſtraight waies chauncing to diſcouer a conſpiracie; he held it for the ſoueraine deity above all, & perſiſted ho-noring & worſhipping it every day with 3 ſacrifices. Nay he would haue men be-leeve, that he foreknew things to come by advertiſement & warning given frõ her.

56

* *Aſtergate* or *Aſtarte*: the ſame ſome think that Iuno
* Her image
* or vnknown to him.

Some

Some few moneths before he loſt his life, he tooke regard alſo of the Skill in pry-ing into beaſts entrailes. Which he obſerved in deede, but never ſped well there-with, nor gained thereby the favour of the Gods.

He died in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age; that very day of the yeere, on which in times paſt he had murdred his wife OCTAVIA: & by his death brought ſo great ioy unto the people generally, that the Commons wore * Caps, and ranne ſporting up and downe throughout the Citie. Yet there wanted not ſome, who a long time after decked his Tombe with gay flowers that the Spring and Sommer doe affourd: and who, one while brought forth his Images clad in robes embro-dred with purple gards before the *Roſtra*: otherwhile publiſhed his Edicts, as if he had beene yet living and would ſhortly returne to the great miſchiefe of his ene-mies. Moreover, VOLOGESUS King of the Parthians, when he ſent his Embaſ-ſadours unto the Senate for to treat about the renuing of league and Alliance with them, requeſted this alſo very earneſtly, *That the Memoriall of* NERO *might be ſtill ſolemnized.* To conclude, when twenty yeeres after his deceaſe (whiles I my ſelfe was but a young man) one aroſe among them (no man knew from whence? nor of what condition?) who gave it out, *That Hee was* NERO, (ſo gracious was his name among the Parthians,) he was mightily upheld and maintained, yea and hardly delivered up againe.

57
A.V.C. 821

*Or Boxers, to teſtifie free-dome recouered.

*Namely, to *Calpharnius*

Aſpernas, to be executed for a lying counterfeit.

THE HISTORIE OF Servius Sulpitius Galba, vvritten by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



Chap 1

THE *Progenie of the CÆSARS ended in NERO. Which, that it would ſo come to paſſe, appeared verily by many ſignes, but by two of all other moſt evident. As LIVIA in times paſt immediatly after her mariage with AUGUSTUS, went to ſee a Mannour houſe and land of her owne in the veientane Territorie, it fortuned that an Eagle ſoaring over her head let fall into her lap a white hen, holding in her bill a Lawrell branch even as ſhe had caught it up. And thinking it good to have both the foule kept, and the ſaid branch ſet in the ground: behold there came of the one ſuch a goodly broode of *chickens, that even at this day the very houſe aforeſaid is called *Ad Gallinas*: and ſprung of the other ſo faire a row of Bay trees, that all the CÆSARS when they were to ride in triumph gathered from thence their

* Or line:

* Which proved white, as alſo the whole breed of them. *Dio:*

their Laurell * guirlands. And as the manner was, that when any of them triumphed, they should pricke downe straight waies others in the same place: so it was obserued likewise, that a little before the death of every one the tree by him planted, did mislike and die. In the last yeere therefore of NERO, not onely the whole grove of bay trees withered to the very roote, but all the hens there died euery one. And anone after the Temple of the CÆSARS being strucke with lightning, the heads withall of their Statues fell downe all at once, and the Scepter of AVGVSTVS was shaken out of his hands.

* And branches which they held in their hands. *Plin.*

* *Plin.* saith the very same.

After NERO succeeded GALBA, in no degree allied unto the house of the CÆSARS: but without all question a right noble gentleman of a great and auncient race: as who in the titles and Incriptions over his owne Statues wrote himselfe alwaies the * Nephew once remooved of Q. CATVLVS CAPITOLINVS: and being once Emperour did set up also in his * Haule the Lineall processe and race of his house, wherein he deriueth his descent from the father side, from IVPITER and by his mother from PASIPHAE, the wife of King MINOS. 2

A.V.C. 822

* Or pedigree

* *Pronepotem.*

* Or Court yard.

To prosecute the Images and Laudatorie testimonials belonging to the whole stocke & linage in generall were a long peece of worke: those onely of his own family wil I briefly touch. The first of all the SVLPITII, why? and whervpon he bare the surname of GALBA? there is some doubtfull question. Some thinke it came by occasion of a Towne in *Spaine*, which after it had beene a long time in vaine assaulted, hee at length set on fire with burning brands besmeered all ouer with Galbanum: others, for that in a long sickenesse which hee had, hee vsed continually Galbeum, that is to say, a cure with remedies * enwrapped within wooll: some againe because hee seemed to be very fat, and such a one, the French doth name GALBA: or contrariwise, in regard that he was as slender, as are those creatures * (or wormes) which breede in the trees called *Esculi*, and be named *Galbæ*. This familie one SERVIVS GALBA who had beene Consul, and in his time most eloquent, ennobled first, and made renowmed, who by report, rulinge the province of Spaine as Prætour, having * treacherously put to sworde * 30000, LVSITANES, was the cause of the * Viriatine warre. His Nephew being maliciously bent against IVLIVS CÆSAR (whose Lieuetenant he had bin in *Gaule*) for a repulse that he tooke in suing to be Consul, ioyned in the conspiracy with CASSIVS & BRVTVS: for which condemned he was by the law *Pedia*. Frō this man descended immediately the Grandsire and father of this GALBA the Emperour. His Grandfather for his booke and learning was more famous, then for any dignity in common weale that ever he attained unto. For, he arose no higher, than to the degree of a Prætour: but many histories he wrote, and those not slighly nor negligently composed. His father bare the honourable office of Consul: a man very low of stature and withall crowchbacked: and having but a meane gift in Oratory yet used he to plead causes industriously. Two wiues he had, MVMMIA ACHAICA the neipce of CATVLVS, and once remooved of LVCIVS MVMMIVS, who rased and destroyed *Corinth*: likewise LIVIA OCELLINA, an exceeding welthy Ladie & a beautiful. Of whom for his noble bloud sake, it is thought he was (*a*) woed: yea, & somwhat the more hotely, after that, (upon her importunate suite) hee stript himselfe once out of his clothes in a secret place before her, and revealed the imperfection of his bodie, because he would not seeme to deceive her, for want of knowledge. By ACHAICA, he had issew CAIVS and SERVIVS 3

* A gumme or barcened iuice yssuing out of the roote (when it is wounded) of a plant called *Ferula*.

* Like vnto those round rols which wome in stead of farthingales vse vnder their clothes beneath the wast called in Latine *Galbei*.

* Resembling magots.

A.V.C. 810.

* *Perfidia* according to M. *Tullius* in *Bruto*. Some expound it otherwise, namelie for their treachery. *Livius.*

* 7000 As *Valerius Max.* saith

A.V.C. 710.

* Of *Viriatus* the Captaine thereof.

A.V.C. 775

Of whome, CAIVS the elder, hauing wasted his estate and spent all, left the City of *Rome*, and was by TIBERIVS prohibited to put in his lot for to be chosen Proconsull, in his *yeere: whereupon voluntarilie he killed himselfe

*when his time by course came

4 A.V.C.751

To come now unto SERVIVS GALBA the Emperour, borne he was when M. VALERIVS MESSALLA, and CN. LENTVLVS were Consuls, the ninth day before the Calends of Ianuarie, in a country house situate *under a little hill neere unto *Terracina*, on the left hand as men goe to *Fundie*. Being adopted by his stepmother, he assumed the name of LIVIVS, and the surname * OCELLA, changing his fore name with all. For, afterwards even unto the time of his Empire; he was forenamed LVCIVS in steed of SERVIVS. It is for certain knowne, that AVGVSTVS (what time as little GALBA among other boyes like himselfe saluted him,) tooke him by his pretie *cheeke and said, καὶ σὺ τέκνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν γεύσῃ, *i.* And thou also my child shalt haue a tast one day of our soueraine rule. TIBERIVS likewise, when hee had knowledge once that *hee should bee Emperour, but not before old age, go to, quoth he, let him liue a Gods name, seeing it is nothing to vs. Also as his Grand-father was sacrificing for the expiation of an *aduerse flash of lightning, (what time an Aegle caught out of his hands the inwards of the beasts, caried them away, and bestowed them in an Oke *bearing mast) answere was giuen vnto him by the Soothsayers out of their learning, that thereby was portended and foreshewed vnto his house, soueraine gouernment: but it would be late first. Then he againe, by way of Irrision, *yee say very true indeed, That will ye, quoth hee, when a mule shall bring foorth a fole*. Afterwards when this GALBA began to rebell and aspire unto the Empire, nothing hartened him in this desligne of his so much, as the foling of a mule. For when all men besides, abhorred this foule and monstrous prodigie, he alone tooke it to be most fortunate: calling to remembrance the fore said sacrifice and the speech of his grandfather. When hee had newly put on his virile gowne, he dreamt that fortune spake these words unto him, namely, *how she stood before his doore all weary, and vnlesse she were let in the sooner she should become a pray unto whom soeuer shee met*. No sooner awakened he, and opened his * Port hall doore, but he found hard by the *entry, a brason Image of the said goddesse about a cubit long: which hee caried away with him in his bosome to *Tusculum* where he was wont to summer, and having consecrated it in one part of his house there, worshipped the same from that time forward with monethly supplications, and a *Vigill all night long once every yeere. And albeit he was not yet come to his middle and staied age, yet retained he most constantly, this old manner of the Citie (which was nowe worne out of vse, but that it continued still in his house and linage) That his freed-men and bond seruants should duelie twice a day present themselues all together before him: and one by one in the morning salute him with a good morrowe, and in the eueninge take their leave likewise with a farewell and also good night.

Supposita or rather as some read, *Superpositis*, vpon

*Liuia Ocellina

*Or *Ocellaria*.

*As the maner was in kissing young children

*Galba.

*For some be fortunate and signifie good.

*For some bee fruitlesse.

*Or the outward Court-gate:

*Or Doore-sill.

*Or wake

5

Among the liberall Sciences he gave himselfe to the studie of the (Civil) lawe. He entred also into the state of wedlocke, but having buried his wife LEPIDA, and two sonnes that he had by her, he led alwaies after a single life. Neither could he euer, by any offer or condition be perswaded to marriage again, no not of Dame AGRIPPINA, who by the death of DOMITIVS became widdow: and had by all meanes solicited GALBA euen whiles he was the husband of a wife, and not yet a single

*The father of Nero.

ſingle man, and in ſo much as at a great meeting of Ladies and Matrones, the mother of his wife LEPIDA ſhooke her uppe roundly. yea and knockt her well for it with her own fiſts. He honoured & affected above al others LIVIA AVGVSTA the Empreſſe, through whoſe grace and favoure whiles ſhee lived he became mighty, and by whoſe will and teſtament when ſhe was dead, he had like to haue beene enriched. For wheras among others whom ſhee remembred in her will, he had a ſpeciall legacie to the valew of * 50 millians of Seſterces bequeathed unto him: becauſe the ſaid ſumme was ſet downe in figures and cyphres and not written out at large, her heire TIBERIVS brought it downe unto one * halfe millian: and yet even that he never receiued.

* *Quingenties* H S. ſo mere a *quinquagieſtan* ther. 1,5, millians.

* Ad *quingenta. ſc. ſeſtertia*

Having entred upon the honourable offices of ſtate before due time by law ſet downe; when he was Prætour, during the playes and games called * Floralia, hee ſhewed a new and ſtrange kind of ſight, to wit, Elephants walking uppon Ropes. After that, he gouerned the province *Aquitaine* almoſt one whole yeare. Soone after he bare the ordinarie Conſulſhip in his * due time for the ſpace of 6 moneths. And it fell out ſo, that as himſelfe therein ſucceeded DOMITIVS the father of NERO, ſo SYLVIVS the father of OTHO followed immediatly after him: a very preſage of the euent enſuing: whereby hee came to bee Emperour iuſt in the middle betweene the ſonnes of them both. Being by * CAIVS CÆSAR ſubſtituted Lord generall for GETVLICVS, the very next day after he was come to the Legions, when as the ſoldiers at a ſolemne ſhew which happened then to be exhibited, clapped their hands, he reſtrained them with this (*a*) Præcept, *That they ſhould keepe their hands * within their * Clokes*: Whereupon, this byword annon ranne rife through the Campe.

6

A V C. 786

* Either in honour of *Flora* the Goddeſſe of *Flowres*, or elſe in thankefull memoriall of a famous Curteſan named *Flora* who made the people of *Rome* her heire & gaue the Citty a great ſumme of mony: out of y yeerely increaſe whereof were the charges defraied that went to theſe licentious plares.

* Not ſubſtituted in the rowme of another deceaſed.

Diſce miles militare,
Galba eſt, non Getulicus.
Lerne, ſoldiers, ſeruice * Valorous:
GALBA is here, & not (*b*) Getulicus

* *Caligula*

With ſemblable ſeveritie, he inhibited all petitions for * placards and paſports. The old beaten ſouldiers as well as the new and untrained, hee hardened ſtill with continuall worke & labour: and having ſoone repreſſed the Barbarians who by their rodes and incurſions had now by this time broken in violently and ſet foote within *Gaule*, he quit himſelfe ſo well and ſhewed ſuch good proofe of his armie unto CAIVS alſo then & there preſent in proper perſon as that among an infinite number of forces levied and aſſembled out of all provinces there were none went away with greater teſtimonies of proeſſe nor received larger rewards than he and his regiments. Himſelfe above them all was moſt bravely beſeene in this, that marching with his targuet before him he marſhalled the gallants luſting and running at tilt in the plaine field: and for that he ranne alſo by the Emperours chariot ſide, for the ſpace of twentie miles. When tidings came that * CAIVS was murdered, and many pricked him forward to take the opportunitie then offered, hee preferred quietneſſe and reſt. For which cauſe hee ſtood in eſpeciall fauour with CLAVDIVS, and was admitted into the ranke of his inward friends; a man of that worth and reputation as that when hee fell ſodainely ſicke (although not verie grieuouſly) the day appointed for to ſet forth in the Britiſh expedition was differred. He gouerned *Africk* as Proconſul two yeeres: being elected without lots drawing, for to ſettle and bring into order that Prouince farre out of frame and diſquieted

* O vnder.

* O1 Mandilios.

* O1 Laborious

* Licet eſto be abſent from the Camp

* *Caligula* A,V,C,794:

* *Caligula* A,V,C,794

disquieted as wel with the civil mutinies, among the soldiers, as tumultuous cõmotions of the barbarous inhabitants. Which commission he discharged with great regard of severe discipline & execution of Iustice even in very small matters. A soldier of his there was, who during the expedition above said, in a great dearth and scarcity of Corne, was accused to have sold a residue remaining of his owne allowance, to wit, a * Modious of wheat, *for one hundred deniers: whereuppon hee gave straight commandement, that when the said souldier began once to want food, no man should be so hardy as to relieve him. And so for hunger he pined to death. As for his civill Iurisdiction and ministring iustice: when there grew some question and debate about the proprietarie and right owner of a labouring beast, and slight evidences and presumptions on both sides were alledged: as simple witnesses also produced and therefore hard to devine and guesse of the truth, he made this decree, That the beast should be led * hoodwinked unto the poole where it was wont to be watered: and when it was unhooded againe, he awarded and pronounced the said beast to be his, unto whom of the own accord he returned directly after the had drunke.

*Much about our peck. *3 l. 2. S. 6. d sterl:

*As some horse or mule *Couerd all ouer the head.

8

For his brave exploits atchieued both in *Africke* then, and also in *Germanie* afore time he received the honour of tryumphall Ornaments and a triple Sacerdotall dignities; being admitted among the * *Quindecimvirs*; into the guild and confraternitie of the (*a*) *Titij*: and the Colledge or societie of the Priests (*b*) *Augustales*. And from that time unto the midst well neere of NERO'S Empire, he lived for the most part private in some retiring place out of the way: yet so as he never went forth any iourney, (were it but for exercise by way of * Gestation) but he tooke forth with him in a wagon going hard by, to the valew of a millian of Sesterces in gold untill such time, as making his abode in a towne called *Fundi*, the Regencie of a province in *Spaine* named *Tarraconensis*, was offered unto him. And it fortuned, that when he was newly arriued and entred into that province, as hee sacrificed within a publike temple, a boy among other Ministers holding the * Censer, sodainely had all the haire of his head turned gray. Now there wanted not some who made this interpretation, *That thereby was signified a change in the states*; and *that an old man should succeede a younge*, even himselfe in NERO'S steed. And not long after, there fell a * Thuntherbolt into a * lake of *Cantabria*: and found there were immediatly twelue axes: a doubtlesse tooken presaging Soueraine Rule.

*Sacris faciundis, or *Sybillinis libris inspiciundis*, to ouersee sacrifices and diuine seruice or to peruse the prophetical books of *Sibylla*. They were in number 15. * Carying in a light litter or chaire. *Incence *Panne* *Ordint of lightening. *Lacum al. Lucum i, a groue.

9

For 8 yeares space he governed that prouince variably and with an vneven hand. At the first, sharpe he was, severe, violent, and in chasticing verily of trespasses beyond all measure extreame. For he caused a Banker, for unfaithfull handling and exchange of mony to leese both his hands, and to have them nailed fast unto his owne shop bourd: A Guardian also he crucified, for poysoning his ward, whose heire he was in remainder. Now, as the partie DELINQVENT called for the benefit of law, and avouched in his plea. *That he * was a Romaine Citizen*; GALBA, as if he would alay his punishment with some * comfort and honour: commanded the crosse already made to be changed, and another to be reared far higher then the ordinarie: and the same laid ouer with a white colour. By little and little he grew to be slouthfull, careless and Idle: because he would minister no matter unto NERO for to worke uppon: and for that (as himselfe was wont to say)

* And therfore not to be crucified. *Solatio & honore, or comfortable honor. Hen dia duo,

say) *No man was compelled to render an accompt of his owne Idleneſſe*. As hee held the Iudiciall Aſſiſes at new *Carthage*, he had intelligence that **Gaule* was in a tumult. And whiles the * Embaſſadour of *Aquitaine* beſought him earneſtly to ſend aide, the letters of VINDEX came in the very nicke: exhorting him to frame and carie himſelfe as the deliverer and protectour of *Mankinde*, even to take upon him to be their generall Captaine. He, making no longer ſtay upon the point, accepted the offer, partly for feare and in part upon hope. For he had both found out the warrants of NERO ſent privily unto his Agents and procuratours there, as touching his death: and alſo much confirmed and ſtrengthened he was, as well by moſt luckie Auſpices and Oſſes, as by the propheſie of an honeſt Virgin: ſo much the rather, becauſe the very ſame verſes containing the propheſie, the prieſt of IVPITER at *Clutia*, had two hundred yeares paſt (by warning and direction given him in a dreame) fetched out of an inward and ſecret vault of the Temple, delivered them likewiſe by a maiden which had the ſpirit of propheſie. The meaning and effect of which verſes was, *That one day there ſhould ariſe out of Spaine the ſoveraigne Prince, and Lord of the whole world.*

**For, they bee ſtirring ſpirits, that are looked into in a State.*
A.V.C. 821
**France.*
**Or Lieutenāt*

Therefore, when he had mounted the Tribunall, as if hee intended then the *manumiſing of ſlaues, and ſet before him in open ſight very many pourtraicts and Images of ſuch as had beene condemned and killed by NERO: whiles their ſtood alſo in his preſence a * boy of noble bloud, whom he had ſent for of purpoſe out of one of the Baleare Ilands hard by, where he was * exiled: he bewailed the ſtate of thoſe times. Whereupon being with one accord ſaluted *Emperour, yet he profeſſed himſelfe to be the Lieutenant onely of the Senate & people of *Rome*. After this, having proclaimed a Ceſſation of Iudicial pleas for the time; out of the Commons verily of that Province, he entolled both Legions and Auxiliaries, over and above the old armie, which contained on Legion, two cotners of horſemen, & three cohorts: but out of the better ſort, to wit, the Nobility and Gentrie; ſuch I meane as for wiſdom & age wēt before the reſt, he ordained a body of a Senat: un to whom men ſhold have recourſe touching matters of greater importāce, as need required. He choſe forth alſo young gentlemen, for the knights degree, who continuing ſtil the wearing of (gold) Rings ſhold be called * *Evocati*, & kept watch and ward inſteede of (ſworne) *Soldiers about his lodging and bedchamber. Hee ſent out his Edicts alſo in every Province, counſelling and perſwading all and ſome to ioyne with him in theſe deſignements: and (proportionally to the meanes that every one had) to helpe and promote the common cauſe. Much about the ſame time, in the fortification of a towne which he had choſen to be the Capitall ſeate of the warre, a Ring was found of Antique worke, in the Gemm or ſtone whereof was engrauen the expreſſe reſemblance of (*a*) victorie together with a (*b*) *Trophee*: And ſoone after, a ſhip of ALEXANDREA fraight with armour, arrived * before *Dertoſa*, without pilot, without mariner or paſſenger: that noe man might make any doubt, but that this warre was juſt, lawfull, and undertaken with the favour and approbation of the Gods. But lo, ſodainely and unlooked for, all in manner was daſht and put out of frame. One of the two Cornets of horſemen above mentioned; as bethinking themſelues and repenting that they had changed their military oth was at the point to fall away and forſake him as hee approched the Campe, yea and hardly kept in their alleageance to him: Certaine ſlaues alſo, whom (being prepared a forehand to doe him a miſchiefe) hee had

10
** Enfraunchesing.*

**Some noble mans ſonne of Rome.*
**By Nero.*
**or L. General*

**As if they had ſerued their full time, and were now called forth as gaire by way of honour.*
** Who vſually wore rings of yron.*

**Dertoſam appulit: al. Decurſa appulit, i* hulled down the tide: or, as the wind did drive it

received

received as a present at the hands of a freed man of NERO's, missed but little of killing him, as he passed through a crosse lane to the Baines for to bath. And surely done the deed they had, but that as they exhorted and incouraged one another not to * overslip the opportunitie presented, they were over heard: who being examined and asked, upon what occasion they spake such words? were by torture forced to confesse the truth.

*Omitterent or, amitterent i. to loose.

11

Besides these daungers so great, there fel out (to helpe the matter well) the death of VINDEX. wherewith being most of all amased, and like to a man vtterly forlorne, he went within a little of renouncing this world and forgoing his owne life. But by occasion of messengers comming with newes from the Citty in the verie instant, no sooner understood he that NERO was slaine, and all men in general had sworne allegeance unto him, but he laide away the name of Lieutenant and tooke upon him the stile of CAESAR. So, he put himselfe on his Iourney clad in his Coatearmour, with his dagger hanging downe from about his necke iust before his breast: neither tooke he to the use of a gown and long robe againe, before they were surprised and suppressed, who made insurrections and rose up in armes against * him: namely, at *Rome* NYMPHIDIVS SABINVS Capitaine of the *Pretorian* guard: in *Germanie* FONTEIVS CAPITO, & in *Africke* CLODIVS MACER, ye Lieutenants.

*Notwithstanding that vpon the death of *Nero*, he was declared Emperour at *Rome*.

12

There had a rumour beene raised before of his crueltie and covetousnesse both: for punishing the Citties of *Spaine* which were somewhat slacke in comming to side with him, by laying very heavy tributes and taxes upon them: some of them also by dismanteling and razing their wals: likewise for putting to death certaine Presidents and Procuratours together with there wives and children: as also for melting a Coronet of gold weighing 15. pound: which the men of *Tarracon* from out of the old Temple of IVPITER had presented unto him: and commanding that the three ounces which wanted of the full weight should be exacted and made good. This report was both confirmed and also increased uppon his first entrance into *Rome*. For when he would haue compelled the servitours at Sea (whom NERO had made of mariners and oaremen, full and lawfull souldiers) to returne againe to their former state and condition: when they made refusall, and besides called malapertly for their Aegle and other militarie ensignes: hee not onely sent in, among them a troupe of horsemen and so trode them under foote, but also executed with death euery tenth man of them. Semblably, the Cohort of Germaines which in times past had beene by the CAESARS ordained for the guard of their persons, and by many good proofes were found most trustie, hee dissolved: and without any availes and recompence for their service sent them home againe into their Country: pretending that they stood better affected unto CN. DOLABELLA (neere unto whose Horthyards and gardens they quartered) than to him. Moreover, these reports also (whether truely or falsely I wote not) went commonly of him by way of mockerie. That when there was a more plentifull supper than usual served up before him, he gaue a great grone thereat. His Steward verily in *ordinary cast up his bookes and rendred unto him a breviary of all reckonings, and accompts. For his great care and serviceable diligence, hee reached unto him a dish of *pulse. But when CAIVS the minstrill played upon the Haubois and

*Either by wast in melting or by the crafty conueiance of the gold founder.

*Ordinario Dispensatori or this one Ordinarius his steward.

*As of peasen or beanes &c.

the Hautbois and pleased him wonderous well, hee bestowed liberally upon him for his labour five good Deniers, and those he drew with his owne hand out of his privie purse. *Or pence, 3 S. 1 d. ob. English.

At his first comming therefore, he was not so welcome. And that appeared at the next solemnitie of publick Shewes. For when as in the Atellane Comædies, some had begun a most vulgar Canticle with this verse,

St: Venit Io Simus a villa, &c.

*St: See; Our SIMUS that Country clowne
Is from his Ferme now come to towne.

*See *Turneb: Advers: 5. cap. 2.* *Husht or whist, an Interiection of silence.

The Spectatours all at once with one accord and voice, sung out the rest in manner of a respond: and repeating withall the said verse oft, as the fore-burden of the Song, acted (and with gesture) noted him.

14

Thus verily with farre greater favour and authoritie obtained hee the Empire than menaged it when he was therein; notwithstanding, hee gave many proofes of an excellent Prince: But nothing so acceptable were his good Acts, as those were odious and displeasant wherein he faulted and did amisse. Ruled he was according to the will and pleasure of three persons: whom dwelling as they did together and that within the *Palatium*, (readie evermore at his elbow and in his eare) men commonly called his *Pædagogues*. These were, TITUS *IUNIUS, his Lieutenant in *Spaine*; a man infinitely covetous: CORNELIUS LACO, who being of his Counsell and assistance was advanced by him to be Capitaine of the guard; one for his arrogancie and *luskishnesse intollerable: and a freed man of his, ICELUS; who but a little before, being honoured with the *golden ring, and endowed with the surname MARTIANUS, looked now for to bee the Provost and Captaine of the Pretorian Gentlemen and Knights Degree. Vnto these men, I say, playing their parts and committing outrages correspondent to their vices in divers kinds, hee yeelded and wholly gave himselfe to be abused so much, as that scarcely he was like himselfe, but alwaies variable: one while precise and neere, otherwhiles as remisse and careless; more, ywis, than became a Prince elected, and a man of those *yeeres. Some honourable persons of* both degrees he condemned upon the least suspition, before their cause was heard. The Freedome of *Rome* Citie he seldome graunted to any. The priviledge and Immunitie due to those who had three children, hee gave to one or two at most with much a-doe: nor to them verily, but for a certaine time limitted and set downe. The Iudges making suite for to have a sixth Decurie adioyned unto them, he not onely denied flatly, but also this benefite of vacation graunted unto them by CLAUDIUS, *That they should not be called forth to sit in the Winter (a) season, and at the beginning of the yeere*, he tooke from them.

*Or *Vinius.* *Secordia, or sottishnes. *Knighthood. *Summæ æquestris gradus, or Summi equestris ordinis. *73 *Gentlemen and Senatours.

15

It was thought also, that hee purposed to determine and limit the Offices belonging to Senatours and Gentlemen, within the compasse of two yeeres: and not to bestow the same but upon such as were unwilling and refused to take them. The Liberalities and bountifull * Donations of NERO, hee tooke order by a Commission directed unto * fiftie Gentlemen of *Rome*, for to bee revoked: yea, and the same to bee exacted for his behoofe, allowing out thereof

*Which amounted according to *Tacitus* into *his & vicies millies* 2200 millions. *Tacitus saith 30.

thereof not above the tenth part: with this ſtraight condition moreover, *That if Actours upon the Stage, or Wreſtlers and Champions otherwiſe, had ſold any ſuch donation given unto them aforetime, the ſame ſhould be taken from the Buiers, ſince that the parties who had ſold the ſame had ſpent the money, and were not ſufficient to repay it.* Contrariwiſe, there was not any thing, but by the meanes of his followers, Favorites and freed men, hee ſuffred either to bee purchaſed for money, or graunted freely for favour: as for example, *Cuſtomes, Impoſts, Immunities, Puniſhments of the Innocent, and Impunitie of Malefactours.* Moreover, when as the people of *Rome* called upon him for luſtice, & namely to have HALOTUS and TIGELLINUS executed, the onely men of all the bloud-hounds and inſtruments of NERO that wrought moſt miſchiefe, he ſaved them from daunger: and beſides, advaunced HALOTUS to a moſt honourable Procuratorſhip: and in the behalfe of TIGELLINUS rebuked the people by an Edict, for their crueltie unto him.

16

Having heereby given offence and * diſcontentment, to the States and Degrees in manner all, yet he incurred the diſpleaſure and ill will moſt of the Souldiours. For, when his Provoſts had promiſed and pronounced unto them, (what time they ſware alleageance unto him), a greater Donative than uſually had beene given, hee would not make good and ratifie the ſame; but eſt-ſoones gave it out, *That his manner had ever beene to chooſe and not buy his Souldiours.* And as, upon that occaſion verily hee angred all his Souldiours whereſoever: ſo, the Pretorians and thoſe of his guard he provoked moreover with feare, and netled with offring them indignities; namely, by removing and diſplacing moſt of them one after another, as ſuſpected perſons, and the adhærents of NYMPHIDIUS. But the forces of higher *Germanie* grumbled and fumed moſt of all, for being defrauded of their rewards for ſervice performed againſt the French and *Vindex*. They were the firſt therefore that durſt breake out into open diſobedience: and upon the Newyeeres day refuſed to take an oath and binde themſelves in alleageance unto any other than the Senate of *Rome*. They intended alſo to diſpatch forthwith an Embaſſie unto the Pretorian guard, with theſe advertiſements and meſſages from them, Namely, *That they were diſpleaſed with an Emperour made in Spaine: and therefore themſelves ſhould elect one, whom all the Armies in Generall might allow and approve.*

* *Præpè univerſis ordinibus offenſis.*

17

No ſooner heard he this newes, but ſuppoſing that hee was become contemptible, not ſo much for his olde age, as his childleſſe eſtate; hee preſently out of the thick throng and middle multitude that came to ſalute him, caught hold of PISO FRUGI LICINIANUS, a noble young Gentleman and of excellent parts; one whom in times paſt he had made right great account of, and * alwaies in his will remembred as Inheritour to ſucceede in his goods and name: Him he now called Sonne, him he preſented unto the Pretorian Campe; and there before a publick aſſembly, adopted. But of the fore-ſaide Donative not a word all this while, no not at that very time. Whereby he miniſtred unto M. SALVIUS OTHO better occaſion and readier meanes to accompliſh his enterpriſes within ſixe daies after this Adoption.

* *Semper*, or *ſuper.* beſides.

Many

18

Manie prodigious ſights and thoſe preſented continuallie even from the verie firſt beginning, had portended unto him ſuch an end as enſued. When all the way as hee iourneyed, beaſts were ſacrificed to doe him honour in everie towne on both ſides, it chaunced that a Bull aſtonied with the ſtroke of the Butchers axe, brake the bond wherewith hee ſtoode tied and ranne full upon his Chariot; and riſing up with his (fore) feete, all to be ſpreinct and drenched it with bloud. As he alight out of it, one of the guard and Penſioners about him, with the thruſting of the throng had like with his ſpeare to have wounded him. As he entred alſo the Citie of *Rome* and ſo paſſed forward up to the *Palatium*; hee was welcomed with an Earthquake, and a certaine noiſe reſembling the lowing of a beaſt. But there followed after theſe, greater Prodigies ſtill and more fearefull. He had ſelected and layed by it ſelfe out of all his Treaſure, a iewell ſet thick with pearle and pretious ſtones, for to beautifie and adorne his Goddeſſe Fortune at *Tuſculum*. This Iewell (as if it had beene worthy of a more ſtately and ſacred place), all of a ſuddaine hee dedicated to VENUS in the Capitoll, and the next night following he dreamt, that he ſaw Fortune making her moane and complaining, how ſhee was defrauded of the gift intended and meant unto her: threatning withall, that ſhee her ſelfe alſo would take away what ſhee had given him. Now, being affrighted with this viſion, when in great haſt hee was gone apace to *Tuſculum*, and had by breake of day ſent certaine before of purpoſe to provide an expiatorie * ſacrifice for this dreame, he found nothing there but warme embers upon the altar herth, and an olde man all in * blacke ſitting hard by, * holding in a diſh of * glaſſe, Frankincenſe, and in an earthen cup, wine. Obſerved alſo it was, that upon the Kalends of Ianuarie while hee ſacrificed, his coronet fell from his head. As he tooke his *Auſpices*, the pullets flew away. And upon the Solemne day of the fore-ſaid Adoption, when hee ſhould make a Speech unto the Souldiours, the * Camp-Throne ſtoode not, (as the manner was) before his Tribunall; (ſuch was the forgetfulneſſe of his Miniſters) and in the Senate, his Curule chaire was placed wrong, with the back toward him.

* To avert the harme progneſticated thereby.
* Like a mourner.
* Ominous tokens preſaging haply his brittle ſtate.
* Or chaire of Eſtate.

19

But before he was ſlaine, as he ſacrificed that morning, the Southſayer oftentimes warned him to beware of daunger: For murderers were not farre off. And not long after hee tooke knowledge that OTHO was poſſeſſed of the * Campe. And when moſt of thoſe about his perſon perſwaded him ſtill to make what ſpeed hee could and goe forward thither (for why? by his authority and preſence hee might beare ſway and prevaile) hee reſolved to doe no more but keepe cloſe within houſe: to ſtand upon his guard, and to fortifie himſelfe with the ſtrength of his legionarie Souldiours, in many and divers places quartered. Howbeit, hee put on a good linnen (*a*) Iack: although hee ſeemed to acknowledge, that in ſmall ſteed it would ſtand him, againſt ſo many ſword-points. But being borne in hand & ſeduced with rumours which the Conſpiratours had of purpoſe ſpread abroad to traine him out into the open ſtreet: whiles ſome few raſhly affirmed, *That all was diſpatched; The rebels & ſeditious perſons defaited: and the reſt coming in great frequencie with ioy & gratulation, ready to do him all the obſequious ſervice they could:*

* Prætorian.
* Cuirace.

Hee to meete them went forth; and that with ſo great confidence as that unto a Souldiour who made his boaſt, *He had ſlaine* OTHO, *hee anſwered, And by whoſe warrant?* This advaunced he as farre as into the Market-place. There, the Horſemen having commiſſion and commaundement to kill him: When they had voided the common people out of the way, and put their horſes forward through the Streetes, and eſpied him a farre off, ſtaied a while: but afterwards, ſetting ſpurres to againe, fell upon him and ſlew him outright, forſaken as he was of all his traine and followers.

There be that report, How at the firſt uprore, hee cried aloud: *What meane yee my fellow Souldiours?* I am yours, and yee are mine: and withall promiſed (to pay) the Donative: But, many more have left in writing, that of himſelfe he offred them his throat, and willed them (ſince they thought ſo good) to mind that onely which they came for, even to ſtrike and ſpare not. A ſtrange and wonderfull thing it was, that of thoſe who were there preſent not one went about to helpe their Emperour: and all that were ſent for, reiected the meſſenger, ſaving onely a guidon of Germane Horſemen. Theſe in regard of his freſh demerite (in that hee had tenderly cheriſhed and made much of them being ſicke and feeble) haſtned to the reſcue: Howbeit they came too late, by occaſion, that beeing ignorant of the ſtreetes and places they tooke a wrong way and were hindered. Killed hee was at the * Lake *Curtius*, and there left lying even as hee was; untill ſuch time as a common Souldiour as he returned from foraging and providing of corne, threw downe his load and cut his head off. Now, becauſe hee could not catch hold of the haire of his head (ſo bald hee was) hee hid it in his lap: and anone thruſt his thumbe into his mouth and ſo brought it to OTHO: who gave it to the * Scullians, Lackies & * Varlets that follow the Campe. Theſe ſticking it upon a ſpeare caried it, not without reproachfull ſcorne all about the Campe ſetting up ever and anone this Note, * GALBA, *thou lovely* CUPID *take thy time, and make uſe of thy freſh and youthfull yeeres*: Provoked they were, eſpecially to ſuch malapert frumps and floutes, becauſe ſome daies before there ranne a rife report abroad, that unto one who commended that viſage and perſon of his, as continuing ſtill freſh, faire, and vigorous, he made this anſwere, ἔτι μοι μένος ἐμπεδόν ἐστιν.

I have yet ſtill
My ſtrength at will.

At their hands, a freed man of PATROBIUS NERONIANUS, bought the ſame for one hundred (*a*) peeces of gold, and flung it into that very (*b*) place, where, before time his * Patron by the commaundement of GALBA, had beene executed. At length (late though it was) his Steward ARGIUS buried both it and the trunk of his body within his owne private Hortyards in the way *Aurelia*.

21 Of full ſtature he was: his head bald: his eyes gray, and his noſe hooked: his hands and feete by reaſon of the gout growne exceeding crooked; in ſo much as uneth he was able either to abide ſhoes on the one, or to turne over, or ſo much as hold his bookes with the other. There was an * excreſcence alſo of fleſh in the right ſide of his body; and the ſame hung downward ſo much, as hardly it could be tied up with a * truſſe.

22 A great feeder and meate-man by report, he was. For in Winter time hee uſed to eate before day light: and at ſupper to bee ſerved ſo plentifully, that the reliques and reverſion of the bourd being gathered together into heapes, hee commanded

* The place where ſometime that lake was.

* Or water-bearers and wood purveiers for the Souldiours.

* *Galba, Cupido,* &c.

* *Homer, Iliad.* 5 *Diomedes* to *Sthenelus.*

* *Patrobius.*

* Or bunch.

* Or ſwathing band.

maunded to be caried round about and distributed among those that stoode waiting at his feete. Given he was over much to the unnaturall lust of Male-kind: but such chose he (and none else) for his Dearlings; as were stale-thick-skins and past growth. It was reported that in *Spaine* when Icelus one of his olde Catamites brought him word of Neroes end, he not onely received him in open sight with most kinde kisses, but intreated him without delay to be * plucked, and so led him at one side out of the way. *Made smooth

23 He died in the 73 yeere of his age, and seventh moneth of his Empire. The Senate as soone as lawfully they might, had decreed for him a Statue standing upon a Columne adorned * with the Stemmes and beake-heads of ships, in that part of the Mercate-steed of *Rome* where hee lost his life: But Vespasian repealed that Decree: as being thus conceited of him, That he had suborned and sent under hand out of *Spaine* into *Iurie*, certaine of purpose to murder him. *Rostrata

THE HISTORIE OF Marcus Salvius Otho, vvritten by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



Chap. I.

THE Auncestors of OTHO had their beginning in a towne called *Ferentinum*; extract out of an auncient and honourable family, even from the Princes of *Hetruria*. His grandfather M. SALVIUS OTHO having for his Father a Gentleman of *Rome*, and for his mother a woman of base condition (and whether shee was free-borne or no? it is uncertaine) through the favour of LIVIA AUGUSTA, in whose house he had his rising and growth, was made a Senatour, and exceeded not the degree of a Pretour. His Father, L. OTHO by his mothers side of right noble bloud descended, and thereby allied to many great kinreds, was so deere and in face so like unto TIBERIUS the Emperour, that most men beleeved verily, hee was his owne sonne. The Honourable Offices within the Citie: the Proconsulship of *Asia*, and other extraordinarie places of Conduct and Commaund,

maund, hee managed most severely. Hee adventured also in *Illyricum* to proceed so far, as to put certaine soldiers to death, for that in the commotion of CAMILLVS upon a touch of conscience they had killed their * Captaines and provosts, as authors of the revolt and rebellion against CLAVDIVS, and verily this execution himselfe in person saw performed in the Campe (*a*) even before the *Principia*: notwithstanding that he knew they were for that service advanced to higher places by CLAVDIVS. By which act of his as he grew in glory, so hee decreased in favour. And yet the same he soone recovered againe, by detecting the perfidious plot of a Romaine Knight, whom by the appeachment of his own servants he found to have attempted the death of CLAVDIVS. For, both the Senate endowed him with an honour most rare and seldome seene, to wit his owne statue erected in the *Palatium*; and also CLAVDIVS when he ranged him among the Patritians, and in most honourable tearmes praised him added these words withall, *Hee is a man, than whom I would not wish I assure you to have better Children of mine owne.* Of ALBIA TERENTIA a right noble and gallant Lady he begat two sonnes, LVCIVS TITIANVS, and a younger forenamed MARCVS, and carying the surname of his father: a daughter also hee had by her, whom as yet not mariageable, he affianced unto DRVSVS the sonne of GERMANICVS.

* Or his Camillus.

1. Otho.

2

This OTHO the Emperour, was borne the 4. day before the Kalends of May, when CAMILLVS ARRVNTIVS and DOMITIVS ÆNOBARBVS were Consuls. From the very prime of his youth, hee was roiotous, wild and wanton: in so much as his father (wind ged him well and soundly for it: reported also to use night walking; and as he met any one either feeble or cupshotten or overcome with drinke, to catch hold of him, lay him upon a soldiers gaberdine, and so (*b*) to tosse and hoist him up into the aire. Afterwardes, uppon his fathers death, a certaine Libertine woman of the Court, a dame very gratious (because hee would make the more benefit by following and courting her as his mistrisse) he pretended love unto: albeit an old trot shee was in manner doting for age. By her meanes winding himselfe into the favour of NERO, he easily obtained the cheife place among his minions and favorites (such was the congruence of their humours and dispositions) and as some write by mutuall abusing also of one anothers bodie against kind. But so mightie hee waxed and bare such a side, as that in consideration of a great peece of money agreed upon, he presumed to bring into the Senate house for to give * thankes, a man of Consular degree, who stood condemned for extortion, even before hee had fully obtained his * restitution.

* 28 Aprill. A.V.C. 785

* For pardon
* Restoring to his former state.

3

Being now, as he was, privie and partie to all the counsels and secret designes of NERO: he to auert all manner of suspicion, that very day which NERO had appointed for the murdering of his mother, entertained them both at supper with most exquisite, and the kindest welcome that might be. Semblably, Dame POPPÆA SABINA, being as yet but the paramour of NERO, whom he had newly taken from her * husband, and committed in the meane * while unto himselfe upon trust for to keepe, under a * colour of mariage hee received. And not content herewith that he alienated her hart from NERO and used her body, hee loved her so entirely, that he could not endure NERO himselfe to be his * Corrivall. Certes, it is thought of a truth, that not onely the messengers who were sent to fetch her, came

* *Rufus Crispus* vntill he could put awale *Octauia*.
* So writeth *Plutarch*. But *Tacitus* differeth from this Narration.
* Partner with him in loue of that Mistris

came againe without her: but also that one time he kept NERO himselfe without dores standing there and cooling his heeles, with threates also and prayers intermingled, demanding his * pawne which hee had left with him, but all in vaine. Whereupon after the said mariage broken and dissolved, sent out of the way hee was under a pretence of an Embassage into *Portugal*. Which course was thought sufficient for feare least his proceeding to any sharper punishment might have told * tales abroad and marred all the play: howbeit as secretly conueied as it was, out it came and was made knowne by this Distichon.

* pledge or gage, to wit *Poppæa*.

* How *Nero* had beene excluded & shut out of doores &c.

Cur Otho mentito fit quæritis exul honore?
Vxoris Mœchus cæperat esse suæ.

* ij. Verses.

Exil'd in shew of Embassage was OTHO. Aske yee, why?
With his owne wife begon he had to act (*a*) adulterie.

Having beene afore time in no higher place then Questour, yet governed hee a province for the space of x yeeres with singular *moderation and *abstinence.

* Without rigour

* Without pilling, polling & extortion.

4 As occasion at lenght and opportunitie of * revenge was offred, he was the first that combined with GALBA in his attempts. At which very instant himself also conceived hope of the Empire & great the same was, no doubt; considering the condition and state of those times, but greater somewhat by reason of SELEVCVS the Astrologers words: who having long before warranted him that he should survive NERO, was then of his owne accord come unlooked for & promised againe that shortly also he should be Emperour. Omitting therfore no kind of obsequious office & ambitious popularity even to the very meanest: looke how often he invited the *Emperour to supper, he wold deale throughout the Cohort that the warded, to every man a peece of *gold: & no lesse carefull was he to oblige unto him one way or other, the rest of the soldiers. And when one of them went to law with his neighbour about a parcell of ground in the skirts and confines of both their lands, he being chosen Arbitratour, bought the whole land for the said souldier and enfeoffed him in it. So as now by this time there was scarce one, but both thought and said that he alone was worthy to succeede in the Empire.

A.V.C. 821

* Of *Nero*.

* *Galba*.

* 15.S.7.D. ob. English,

5 Moreover he had fed himselfe with hopes to have been adopted by GALBA & that looked hee for daily: But after that PISO was preferred and himselfe disappointed of his hope, he turned to plaine violence: pricked thereto, over and besides the discontentment of his mind, by occasion that he was so deepely indebted. For he stucke not to professe, *He was not able to stand, unlesse he were Emperour: And it skilled not whether he were ouerthrowne by his enemie in the field, or fell under his creditours hands at the Barre.* Some few daies before, he had fetcht over one of CÆSARS servants in a millene of Sesterces for the obtaining of a Stewardship: & with the helpe of this sum of mony, enterprised he so great a proiect. At the first he cõmitted the matter to 5. * souldiers emploied in *Espiall*: then to x. others whom they had brought forth with them, to wit every man twaine. To ech one of these he payd in hand x thousand * sesterces, & promised 50000 more. By these were the rest solicited, & those not very many: as making no doubt but presuming confidently of this that a number besides would be ready in the very action to second it.

* *Speculatoribus* *100. *Aureis*: every Aureus being 15.S. 7.D. ob.

6 He had minded once, presently after the adoption (of PISO) to seize their campe into his owne hands, and so to set uppon GALBA as hee sat at supper in the Pallace: but the respective regarde hee had of the Cohort, which then kept watch and warde, hee checked this intent of his: for feare least the same should

ſhould incurre the intolerable hatred of the world: conſidering, by the guard of that very Cohort, CAIVS had beene ſlaine before, and NERO perfidiouſlie betrayed afterwards. Moreouer, exception was taken againſt the middle time betweene, partly vpon a *ſuperſtition that hee had, and in part by direction from SELEVCVS. Well then, vpon a *day appointed, after warning giuen aforehand vnto thoſe that were privie to the conſpiracie, for to attend him in the market place at the golden (a) *Milliarium* vnder the Temple of Saturne, hee ſaluted GALBA in the morning, and (as the manner was) beeing receiued with a kiſſe, was preſent alſo as hee ſacrificed and heard the Soothſayers predictions. Which done, a freed man of his brought him word that the Architects were come (this was the watchword agreed vpō betweene thē), whervpō as if forſooth he were to look vpon an houſe that was to be ſold, he departed, gat him quickly away through the backe ſide of the Palace, and hied a pace toward the place appointed. Others ſay, that he feigned himſelfe to have an ague, and willed thoſe that ſtood next to him to make that excuſe in caſe he were asked for. Then lying hidden within a womans *Licter, he haſtened to the Campe: and for that the Licter bearers were tired and faint, hee allighted on the ground and beganne to runne a ſcore: but by occaſion that his ſhooes latchet was ſlacke, he ſtayed behinde, vntill ſuch time as without any further delay, he was taken vp on mens ſhoulders, and by the traine and Company there preſent ſaluted Emperour; and ſo with lucky acclamations among drawen ſwords, came as farre as to the **Principia* whiles every one all the way hee went adhæred vnto him, as if they had beene all priuie and party in the conſpiracy. There, after he had diſpatched certaine away to kill both GALBA and PISO, he to win the ſoldiers hearts by faire promiſes, proteſted before them all aſſembled together, *That himſelfe would haue and hold no more, then inſt that which they would leaue for him.*

* Scrupuloſity.
* 15 Ianuarij
*Creſe chaire, wherein women vſe to be carried.
A,V,C, 822.
* A principall place within the Camp.

7

This done, as the day drewe toward euening, he entred into the Senate: and briefely laying before them a reaſon of his proceeding, as if he had been caried away perforce out of the market place and compelled to take the Empire vpon him (which he would adminiſter according to the generall will and pleaſure of thē al), to the pallace he goeth. Now when as beſide other ſweet & plauſible words deliuered by ſuch as did congratulate and flatter him, he was by the baſe cōmon people called NERO, he gaue no token at al that he refuſed it: nay rather as ſome haue reported, euer in his patents, graunts and miſſiues which he firſt wrote vnto certaine preſidents & gouernours of Prouinces, he added vnto his ſtile the ſurname of NERO. This is certen, he both ſuffered his *images and *Statues to be erected againe in their own places: & alſo reſtored his Procuratours & freed men to the ſame offices that they had enioyed before. Neither, by his imperiall prerogatiue and abſolute power ſubſcribed he any thing, before a warrant for fiftie* millians of Seſterces to the finiſhing of (NEROES) golden houſe. It is ſaid that the ſame night being affrighted in his ſleepe hee groned very ſore, and was by his ſeruitours that ran thick into the chamber found lying on the bare floore before his bed: alſo that he aſſaied by all kind of propitiatorie ſacrifices and peace offrings to appeaſe the *ſpirit of GALBA, whome hee had ſeene in his ſleepe, to thruſt and drive him foorth: Semblably, the morrow after as he was taking his *Auſpices, there aroſe a ſodaine tempeſt wherevpon hee

* Which either were of wax, or peirced
* Commonly of braſſe ſtone or ſuch ſolid matter.
**quingenties* *Hs* or *Seſtertiam*
* Or Ghoſt
* by obſerving the ſacred Birds:

hee caught a grievous fall, and oftentimes hee mumbled this to himselfe.

Τίγαρ μοι κἀμμιχρὸς ἀὐλοῖς.
For, how can (a) I (whose blast is short)
With these long hautboies fitly sort?

8

And verily about the same time, the forces and Armies in (a) *Germanie* had sworne fealtie and alleageance unto VITELLIVS, which when he understood, hee propounded unto the Senate, *That an Embassage might be sent thither, to advertise thē that there was an Emperour chosen alreadie, and advise them with all to peace and concord: yet, by entercourse of messengers and letters between, he made offer unto* VITELLIVS *to pertake equally with him in the Empire, and accept of a marriage with his daughter*: But when there was no way but one and that by open warre: seeing that now alreadie the Capitaines and forces which VITELLIVS had sent before, approched hee had good proofe what loyall and faithfull harts, the pretorian souldiers caried towards him, even to the utter ruine and destruction well neere of the most honourable degree of Senatours. Nowe decreed it had * beene, that by the Sea servitours the * armour should be conveied over and sent backe (to *Ostia*) by shipping. And as the said armour was in taking foorth out of the armorie in the Campe, at the shutting of the Evening, some (souldiers) suspecting treacherie and treason; raised a tumult and gave an Alarum: wherewith sodainely all of * them without any certaine leader to conduct them, ranne to the Palace, calling hard to have the * Senate massacred: and when they had repelled some of the Tribunes who assaied to represse their violence; and killed other of them, all embrued in bloud as they were, and askinge still where the Emperour was? they rushed in as farre as into his banquetting rowme, and never rested untill they had seene him. Then set he forward his expedition lustilie: and beganne with more hast then good speed; without any care at all of religion and the will of God: as having onely stirred and taken those sacred *shields (b) called *Ancilia*, and not bestowed them quietly againe in their due place (a thing in olde time held ominous and ever presaging ill lucke): Besides, the very same day it was upon which the priests and ministers of (*Cybele*) the mother of the Gods, beginne to lament, weepe and waile: to conclude, when all signes and tokens, were as crosse as possibly they might be. For not onely in the beast killed for sacrifice unto Father *DIS, he found the Inwards propitious (whereas in such a sacrifice as that the contrarie had beene more acceptable) but also as his first setting out, staied he was by the inundation, and swelling of the riuer *Tiberis*. At the twentie miles ende likewise, he found the high way choaked and stopped up against him with the ruines of certaine houses fallen downe.

9

With like inconsiderate rashnes, albeit no man doubted but that in good pollicy, the warre ought to have been protracted, because the enimie was distressed as wel with famine, as the streight wherein he was pent, yet resolved hee with all speed, to hazard the fortune of the field and to trie it out by fight; as one, either impatiēt of longer thought and pensiveneesse hoping that before the comming of VITELLIVS most part of the businesse, might be dispatched, or else because hee could not rule his souldiers calling so hotely upon him to give battaile. Yet was not he present in that conflict but staied behind at *Bryxellum*. And verily in three severall, skirmishes

(a) For *Fabius Valens* and *Aulus Cecina* were come with a power out of *Germanie* into Italie.

*By *Otho* & the Senate.

*with which the 17 *th.* cohort sēt for out of the Colonie *Ostia* before to *Rome* should be armed.

*The Pretoriā or guard Souldiers.

*who to the number of four score, with many Ladies were at supper that night with *Otho* and by the souldiers suspected to have plotted his death.

*Or *Mars*.

**Galli*.

* The infernall God so named *quasi dives*. i. rich as *Pluto*, of *Ploutose* riches because all things arise out of the earth and fall into it againe.

skirmiſhes, which were not great, to wit, upon the Alpes, about *Placentia* and at *Caſtoris*, *(a place ſo called) he wan the victorie: but in the laſt battaile of all, (which was the greateſt) he loſt the day, and was by a treacherous practiſe vanquiſhed, namely, when upon hope of a parly pretended, as if the ſoldiers had been brought out of the Campe to treat of conditions of peace: ſodainely and unlooked for, even as they *ſaluted one another, there was no remedie but fight it out they muſt. And ſtraight wayes in a melancholy, he conceived a reſolution to make him ſelfe away (as many are of opinion and not without cauſe) rather for ſhame, that he would not be thought to perſevere in the maintenance of his ſoveraine dominion with ſo great jeopardie of the State and loſſe of men, than upon any diſpaire or diſtruſt of his forces. For ſtill there remained a puiſſant armie whole and entier, which he had detained with him for tryall of better fortune: and another poure was comming out of *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Meſia*. Neither verily were they diſcomfited ſo much daunted and deiected, but that, for to be revenged of this diſgrace and ſhamefull foile, ready they were of themſelues, and alone without helpe of others, to undergoe, any hard adventure whatſoever.

*Tacitus calleth it *Caſtrorum*, or rather *Caſtorum* of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.

* By the name of *Commilitones: in ipſa conſalutatione.* Some read *in ipſa conſultatione*, as they were in conſultation.

10 In this warre ſerved mine own father SVETONIVS LENIS, in qualitie of a Tribune of the thirteenth Legion, and by degree a Senatour* of the ſeconde rancke. He was wont afterwards very often to report that OTHO even when hee lived a private perſon, deteſted all civile warres ſo farre foorth, that as one related at the table the ende of CASSIVS and BRVTVS, he fell a quaking and trembling thereat. Alſo, that he never would have beene GALBAES concurrent, but that he confidently thought, the quarrell might have ended without warre. Well then, upon a new accident incited he was to the contempt of this preſent life, even by the example of a common and ordinary ſouldier: who reporting this overthrowe of the armie, when he could of no man have credite, but was charged one while with the lie, another while for his feare and cowardiſe (as who was run away out of the battaile) fell upon his owne ſword at OTHOES feete. At which ſight, hee cryed out alowd and ſaid, *That he would no more caſt ſo braue men and of ſo good deſert into danger*. Having exhorted therefore his owne brother, his brothers ſonne & every one of his freinds ſeverally, to make what ſhift they could for themſelues, after hee had embraced & kiſſed them ech one, he ſent them all away: And retyring himſelfe into a ſecret rowm, two letters he wrot ful of conſolation unto his ſiſter, as alſo to MESSALLINA, NEROES widow, whom he had purpoſed to wed, recōmending the reliques of his bodie and his memoriall. And looke what Epiſtles ſoever hee had in his cuſtody, he burnt them al, becauſe they ſhould breed no man any danger loſſe, or diſpleaſure with the conquerour. And out of that ſtore of treaſure which hee had about him, he dealt monie to his domeſticall ſervitours.

* Or Colonel, * Anguſticlavius,

11 Being now thus prepared and fully bent to die, perceiving by occaſion of ſome hurliburly, which while he made delay, aroſe, that *thoſe who began to ſlip away & depart, were (by his ſouldiers) rebuked as traytors & perforce detained. Let vs quoth he, prolong our life yet this one night: Vpon which words and no more, hee charged that no violence ſhould be offred to any; but ſuffering his bedchamber (doore) to ſtand wide opē until it was late in the euening, he permitted al that wold to have acceſſe unto him. After this, having allayed his thirſt with a draught of cold water he caught up two * daggers, & when he had tryed how ſharpe the points of them both were, and layed one of them vnder his *pillow; & ſo the dores being faſt ſhut he

* i. The Senatours.

*Or rapier *Or beds-head

he tooke his reſt and ſlept moſt ſoundly. Wakening then at laſt about day light and not before, with one onely thruſt under his left pap he ſtabbed himſelfe. And whe at the firſt grone that he gave, his ſeruants brake in, hee one while concealing and another while diſcouering the wound, yeelded up his vitall breath, and * quicklye (according as he had given charge before) was brought to his funerall fire: in the yeere of his age 38. and the 95 day of his Empire.

*For feare his head ſhould be ſevered from his bodie &c. A,V,C,822.

12 Vnto ſo great a mind & generous courage of OTHO, neither was his perſō nor habite anſwerable: For he was by report of a meane and low ſtature: feeble feet he had beſides, and as crooked ſhanks. As for his manner of attire, as fine and nice he was well neere as any woman: his bodie plucked and made ſmooth: wearing by reaſon of thin haire a * perrucke, ſo fitted and faſtened to his head, that no man there was, but would haue taken it for his owne. Nay his very face he was wont euery day to ſhave and beſmeere all ouer with (a) ſoked bread. Which deviſe he tooke to at firſt, when the downe began to bud forth, becauſe he would neuer haue a beard. It is ſaid moreouer, that many a time hee openlie celebrated the divine ſeruice and ſacred rites of ISIS, in a religious veſtiment of linnen. VVhereby, I would thinke it came to paſſe, that his death nothing at all conſonant to his life was the more wondered at. Manie of his ſouldiers who were preſent about him, when with plentifull teares they had kiſſed his hands and feete dead as he lay; and cōmended him with all for a moſt valiant man, and the onely Emperour that ever was, preſently in the place, and not farre from his funerall fire, killed themſelues. Many of them alſo, who were abſent, hearing of the newes of his end, for very greife of heart ran with their weapons one at another to death. Finally moſt men who in his life time curſed and deteſted him, now when he was dead highly praiſed him: ſo as it came to be a common and riſe ſpeech abroad, *That* GALBA *was by him ſlaine; not ſo much for that he affected to be Soueraine Ruler as becauſe he deſired to reſtore the Sate of the Republike,* and recouer the freedome that was loſt.

*Or counterfeit cap of falſe haire.

THE HISTORIE OF Aulus Vitellius, vvritten by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



AS touching the Originall and beginning of the VITELLII, *Chap. 1*
some write this, others that; and all as contrary as may be: reporting it partly to be auncient and noble, and in part now start up and obscure, yea and very base and beggerly. Which I would suppose to have hapned by meanes of the flatterers and backbiters both, of VITELLIUS the Emperour: but that I see there is sometime variance and diversity about the very condition of that family. A little booke there is extant of one (*a*) Q. EUTROPIUS his making, written unto Q VITELLIUS, Questor to AUGUSTUS CAESAR of sacred memorie: wherein is contained thus much, *That the Vitellij descended from* FAUNUS *K. of the Aborigines and Lady* VITELLIA (*who in many places*

(*a*) *Extat Q. Eutropij opus.*

*was worshipped for a Goddesse) reigned over all Latium: That the of-spring remaining of them, remooved out of the Sabines Country to Rome, and were taken into the ranke of the Patritij: That many monuments giving testimonie of this race, continued a long time, to wit, the high * way* VITELLIA reaching from * Janiculum to the sea: likewise a Colonie of the same name, the defence and keeping whereof against the Æquiculi, they in times past required, with the strength onely and puissance of their owne family: Moreover, that afterwards in the time of the Samnites warre, when a garrison was sent * into Apulia, some of the Vitellij remained behind at Nuceria: and their progenie many a yeere after returned to Rome and recovered their Senatours degree.*

* Or causey.
* An hill on the other side of *Tiberis*, adioyning to Rome by a bridge.
* B. the Romaines:

Contrariwise, more Authors there be, who have left upon record, that their Stock-father was a Libertine, CASSIUS SEVERUS, and others as well as hee, doe write. That the same man was also a very * Cobler: whose sonne having gotten more by * chaffering (*a*) at a price for the confiscate goods of men * condemned, and by games arising of (*a*) undertaking mens suites, of a common naughty pack, the daughter of one ANTIOCHUS a Baker, begat a sonne, who proved afterwards a Gentleman of *Rome*. This dissonance of opinions I leave indifferent for men to beleeve which they will. But, to the purpose; PUBLIUS VITELLIUS borne in *Nuceria*, (whether he were of that auncient linage, or descended from base parents and Grandfathers) a Romaine Gentleman doubtlesse, and a Procuratour under AUGUSTUS of his affaires, left behind him foure sonnes, men of qualitie all and right honourable persons; bearing also their Fathers * surname: and distinguished onely by their forenames, AULUS, QUINTUS, PUBLIUS and LUCIUS. AULUS died even when he was Consull: which dignity he had entred upon with DOMITIUS the Father of NERO CÆSAR: a man very sumpteous otherwise in his house and much spoken of for his magnificent suppers. QUINTUS was displaced from his Senatours estate, what time as by the motion and perswasion of TIBERIUS there passed an Act: *That such Senatours as were thought insufficient should be culled out and removed*. PUBLIUS a Companion and Dependant of GERMANICUS, accused and convicted CN. PISO his * mortall enemie, and the man who murdred him: And after the honourable place of Prætour, being apprehended among the Complices of SEIANUS Conspiracie and committed to the keeping of his * brother, with a penknife cut his owne veines: and after that, not so much repenting that hee sought his owne death, as overcome with the earnest intreatie of his friends about him, suffred his wounds to be bound up and cured: but in the same * imprisonment hee died of sickneſse. LUCIUS, after his Consulship being * Provost of *Syria*, with passing fine slights and cunning deuises trained and entised forth ARTABANUS King of the Parthians, not onely to parly with him, but also to worship and adore the Standard, of the Romaine Legions. Soone after, together with CLAUDIUS the Emperour, he bare two ordinarie Consulates, one immediatly upon another, and the Censureship also: likewise the charge of the whole Empire, whiles CLAUDIUS was absent in the expedition of *Britaine*, he sustained: an harmlesse person; active and industrious: howbeit blemished with a very bad name, for the love (*b*) he bare unto a Libertine woman: whose spettle mixed with honey he used as a * remedie (and that not closely and seldome but every day and openly) washing therewith his * pipes and throat. He was besides of a wonderfull glavering nature and given to flatteries. He it was, that first by his example brought up the order to * adore CAIUS CÆSAR as a God, what time as being returned out of *Syria*, he durst not come

* *Sutorem veteramentarium.*
* Or proscribed and outlawed:
* *Sectionibus & cognituris:*
* Which as *Onuphrius* saith, was *Nepos*. A,V,C. 785
* Of *Germanicus Cæsar*: A,V,C. 773
* *Aulus*. A,V,C, 788
* Or restraint of liberty and duresse. A,V,C, 788
* Or Prætendent A,V,C. 787 796 800 802 797
* A Collution.
* *Arteries*.
* Or salute after a devout manner.
* *Caligula*.

come into his presence otherwise than with his head * covered, turning himselfe about, and then falling downe prostrate before him at his feete. And because he would omit no artificiall meanes to curry favour with CLAUDIUS, a Prince so (*b*) addicted to his wife & freed-men, he made suit unto MESSALLINA, as if it had beene for the greatest gift shee could bestow upon him, to doe him the grace that he might have the D'offing of her shoes: and the (*c*) right foote pumpe which he had drawne off, hee caried in his bosome continually betweene his gowne and inward clothes; yea, and many times would kisse the same. The golden images also of NARCISSUS and PALLAS hee reverently honoured among his domesticall Gods. This was a word likewise of his, when he did congratulate CLAUDIUS at the exhibiting of the * Secular plaies, *Sæpe facias*. i. Many a time may you this doe. He died of a (*a*) palsey, the very next day, after it tooke him: leaving behind him two sonnes, whom SEXTILIA his wife a woman for her vertue highly approved, and of no meane parentage descended, bare unto him. Them he saw both, Consuls, and that in one yeere, yea and the same throughout; for that the younger succeeded the elder for sixe moneths: When hee was departed this life, the Senate graunted unto him the honour of a publick funerall: a statue likewise before the *Rostra* with this Inscription, *Pietatis immobilis erga principem*. i. * Of constant devotion and irremoveable pietie to his Prince.

* Which be the reuerent gestures vsed in worshipping the Gods See, Plin. lib. 28, cap. 2.

* So called. because they were solēnized but once in an hundred, or an hundred & x. yeeres A, V, C, 768

3 AULUS VITELLIUS the sonne of LUCIUS, and Emperour, was borne the * eighth day before the Calends of October: or, as some will have it, the * seventh day before the Ides of September, when DRUSUS CÆSAR and NORBANUS FLACCUS were Consuls. His * Nativity foretold by the Astrologers, his parents had in such horrour; that his father endevoured alwaies what he could, that no Province whiles he lived should be committed unto him: and his mother what time he was both sent unto the Legions and saluted * Lord Generall, straight-waies lamented as if then he had beene undone for ever. His childhood & flower of youth hee spent at *Capreæ* among the Strumpets and Catamites that TIBERIUS kept there: Himselfe noted alwaies with the surname of * SPINTRIA, was thought also by suffring the abuse of his owne body to have beene the cause of his fathers rising and advauncement.

* *Sulaudi* (a man).

* 24 September

* 7 *ib*, Of September.

* Or fortune by the *Horoscope* of his Nativity.

* Or Emperour

* A deuiser of new fashions & formes of filthy vncleanes

4 All the time also of his age ensuing stained as he was with all manner of reproachable villanies, so hee caried a principall sway above others in the Court, growen into familiar acquaintance with CAIUS for his love to chariot running, and with CLAUDIUS for his affection to dice-play: but in greater favour he was a good deale with NERO, both in the selfe same regards afore-said, as also for this especiall demerite, in that being president at the solemnity called *Neroneum*, when NERO was desirous to strive for the prise among the Harpers & Musicians, but yet durst not promise so to do, (notwithstanding all the people called instantly upon him) and thereupon went out of the Theater: hee pretending that hee was sent Embassadour unto him from the people persisting still in their earnest request, had called him back and so brought him in the end to be entreated.

5 Through the favourable indulgence therefore of three Emperours, being advaunced not onely to right honourable offices of State, but also to as high Sacerdotall dignities, he managed after all these the Proconsulate of *Africk*, & executed the charge of surveying and supravising the publick works: but with mind and reputation both, far unlike. For in his Province he demeaned himselfe for two yeeres

together with singular *innocencie* and integrity; as who after his brother succeeded in his stead, staied there still in quality of his Lieutenant. But in his office within the Citie, he was reported to have secretly stollen away, the oblations, gifts and ornaments of the Temples; to have embecilled and chaunged some of them; yea, and in lieu of gold and silver to have foisted in Tinn and Copper.

6

Hee tooke to wife PETRONIA the daughter of one that had beene Consull, by whom hee had a sonne with one eye named PETRONIANUS, Him being by his * mother ordained her heire upon condition that he were freed once out of his fathers power, he manumised in deede: but soone after (as it was thought) killed: having charged him besides with parricidie, and pretending withall, that the poison which was provided to worke that mischiefe; hee upon remorse of conscience had drunke himselfe. After this, he wedded GALERIA FUNDANA, whose father had beene Pretour: and of her body also begat children of both sexes: but the male child had such an impediment of stutting and stammering, that little better he was than dumbe and tongueless.

* Deceased:

7

By GALBA, sent he was contrary to all expectation into the Low-Countries of *Germanie*: furthered as it is thought by the voice and favour of T. VINIUS a man in those daies most mighty; and unto whom long before, he had been wonne by favourizing the * faction (*a*) unto which they both were equally affected: but that GALBA professed plainly, that none were lesse to be feared than those who thought of nothing but their victuals onely, and that his greedy appetite and hungry belly might bee satisfied and filled with the plenteous store that the Province did yeeld. So that evident it was to every man, that he chose him in contempt rather, than upon any speciall grace. This is for certaine knowne, that when he was to goe forth, he wanted provision for his iourney by the way; and for the maintenance of his family was driven to those hard shifts and extremities, that muing up his wife and children (whom he left at *Rome*) in a little upper * lodging that he * rented: and let out his owne dwelling house for the rest of the yeere: yea, and tooke from his mothers eare a pearle, which he laid to gage: and all for to defray the charges of that voiage. As for a number verily of his Creditours, who waited for him as ready to stay his passage: and among them, the Sinnessanes and Formians, whose publick imposts, tollage, and revenewes he had intercepted and converted to his owne use, he could not be rid of; but by terrifying them with an action of the case: seruing one of them, and namely a Libertine (who very eagerly demaunded a debt) with processe upon an action of batterie, as if he had stricken him with his heele; and would not withdraw the suit before he had extorted from him fiftie thousand Sesterces. In his comming toward the Campe, the armie maliciously bent against the Emperour, and ready to intertaine any revolt and chaunge of State, willingly and with open armes received him, as a gift of the Gods presented unto them from heaven above; the sonne of one thrice Consull; a man in the vigour and strength of his yeeres; of a gentle disposition besides, and of a frank and prodigall heart. Which opinion and perswasion, being of old conceived and settled in mens heads, VITELLIUS had augmented by some fresh proofes lately given of himselfe: kissing all the way as hee went along every meane common Souldiour that hee met: so courteous and affable above all measure, ito the very mulitiers and wayfaring passengers, in every Inn and baiting place, that he would

*Venete, which *Galba* likewise with them favoured. A,V,C,821

* For in such, tenants dwelt, whereas the Lord himselfe kept beneath. * Tooke for rent.

in

in a morning betimes aske them one by one, whether they had yet broken their fast? and shew unto them even by his belching, that hee had beene at his breakfast already.

8

Now when hee was entred once into the Camp, no suit denied he to any man: nay, of his owne accord hee tooke off their marks of ignominie who stoode in disgrace; dispenſed with those that were obnoxious to the Lawes for wearing poore and sullied garments; and forgave condemned persons their punishments. Whereupon, before one moneth was fully come and gone, without all respect either of day or time, when the very evening was now shooting in, suddainly by the Souldiours called forth he was out of his bed-chamber: and clad as he was in his domeſticall and home-apparrell, saluted by the name of *Imperator*, and caried round about through the most frequented and populous * townes, holding in his hand the naked sword of IVLIVS (Dictator) of famous memorie: which being taken out of the temple of *Mars*, was at the first gratulation presented by one unto him. Neither returned he into the * Pretorium, before the dining roome was on a light fire, by occasion of the chimney there, where it first caught. And then verily, when all besides were amazed and in great perplexity upon this adverse and ominous accident; *Be of good cheere*, quoth hee, *it hath shined faire upon us*: and no other speech at all made hee unto his Souldiours: After this, when the armie also of the higher Province, consented now by this time with the other, (that armie I meane which had revolted before from GALBA & sided with the Senate): the surname of GERMANICVS generallie offred unto him hee gladly accepted; the addition of AVGVSTVS he put off; and the stile of CÆSAR hee utterly forever refused.

A,V,C.822

* *Vici*, or streets of *Colonia Agrippina* where all this was done, as some write.

* The L. Generals lodging.

9

And soone after, when newes came unto him that GALBA was slaine; having settled the State of *Germanie*, he divided his forces thus; sending one part thereof * before, against OTHO; and minding to leade the rest himselfe. Vnto the armie which was sent before, there hapned a fortunate and luckie signe: For on the right hand, all on a suddaine flew an Eagle toward them: and when shee had fetched a compasse round about the Standerds and Ensignes, hovered softly before them as they marched on the way. Contrariwise, as himselfe removed and set forward, the Statues on horseback, erected in many places for him, all at once suddainly brake their legges and tumbled downe: and the guirland of Lawrell, which most devoutly he had done about (his head) fell from it into a running river. Within a while after, as he sate iudicially upon the Tribunall to minister Iustice at * *Vienna*, a Cock first settled upon his shoulder, and anone perched upon his very head. Vpon which prodigious sights, ensued an event correspondent thereto. For the Empire which by his Lieutenants was confirmed and established unto him, he by himselfe was not able to hold.

* Vnder the conduct of *Fabius Valens* by the Alpes and of *Cæcina*, over the Apennine.

* In Fraunce within the province *Narbonensis*.

10

Of the victorie before BEBRIACVM and the death of OTHO, he heard whiles hee was yet in *Gaule*: and without delay, whosoever belonged to the Pretorian Cohorts, hee by vertue of one edict casſed and discharged all, for the most daungerous precedent and example that they had * given, commaunding them to yeeld up their armour into the * Marshals hands. As for those hundred & twenty, whose

* In betraying *Galba* their Soveraigne.

* Or Tribunes.

Supplications exhibited unto Otho hee had found, such I meane as claimed rewards for their good ſervice in killing Galba, hee gave commandement they ſhould be ſought out and executed every one. A worthy beginning I aſſure you, and a magnificent: ſuch as might give good hope of an excellent Prince, had hee not managed all matters elſe, according to his owne naturall diſpoſition and the courſe of his former life, rather than reſpecting the maieſtie of an Emperour. For no ſooner put he himſelfe in his journey, but he rode through the midſt of Cities in Triumphant wiſe: and paſſed along the great rivers in moſt delicate barges, garniſhed and adorned with Coronets of ſundry ſorts: Faring at his table moſt ſumptuouſly and ſerved with all manner of dainty Viands: obſerving no diſcipline either of houſhold ſervitour or of Souldiour: but turning the outrages, villanies and licentious prankes of them all to a ieſt: who, not content with their ordinary diet allowed and provided for them in every place where they came at the common charges of the State, looke what ſlaves or Aliens it pleaſed them, they manumiſed and made free: but paied as many as withſtoode them with whipping cheere, blowes, knocks, bloudie wounds oftentimes, yea and otherwhiles with preſent death. When hee came into the fields where the * battaile was fought: and ſome of his traine loathed and abhorred the putrified corruption of the dead bodies, he ſtuck not to harten and encourage them with this curſed ſpeech: *That an Enemie ſlaine had a very good ſmell, but a Citizen farre better.* Howbeit to qualifie and allay the ſtrong ſavour and ſent that they caſt, hee poured downe his throat before them all, exceeding great ſtore of ſtrong wine, and dealt the ſame plentifully about, * with as much vanity as inſolent pride. When he beheld the Stone, under which Otho lay interred, with an Inſcription * in his memoriall: *Worthy was he of ſuch a monument*, quoth hee. And the very ſame dagger wherewith he had killed himſelfe, he ſent to Colein for to be dedicated unto Mars. Certes, upon the top of the *Apennine Hill*, hee celebrated a ſacrifice, with a* *Vigil* all night long.

* Before *Bebriacum*, or *Bretriacum*.

* Some conclude† former periode heare, and begin a new ſentence thus *Pari vanitate &c.* with like vanitie &c.

* M. *Othonis*, *Plutarch.*

* or *Mauſoleum*

* Or wake.

II

At length hee entred the Citie with warlike ſound of trumpet, in his coate armour, and with a ſword girt unto him, among * Enſignes, Banners and Flags: his followers and dependants clad in militarie caſſocks, and the armour of all his fellow Souldiours diſcovered in open view. Thus neglecting more and more from time to time, all Law of God and man, upon the very diſaſterous day (*a*) *Allienſis*, he was enſtalled in the Sacerdotall dignity of High Prieſt. Hee ordained, that the ſolemne aſſembly * for Election of Magiſtrates ſhould be held every tenth yeere; and himſelfe bee perpetuall dictatour. And to the end that no man might doubt what patterne hee choſe to follow for government of Common-weale, calling a frequent number of the publick Prieſts about him in the middle of *Mars* field, hee ſacrificed to the Spirit and ghoſt of Nero: and at a ſolemne feaſt openly put the Harper in minde ſinging as he did to his great contentment, for to ſay ſomewhat alſo of * Domitius (*b*): And as he began to chaunt Nero's Canticles, he was the firſt that leapt for ioy and clapped his hands withall.

* Or among the Standards and other Enſignes: *inter ſigna et vexilla*,

* Or Folk mote.

†. *Nero*,

12

Having in this manner begun his Empire, a great part thereof he adminiſtred no otherwiſe, than according to the adviſe & pleaſure of the baſeſt Stage-plaiers and

and charioteers that could be found: but especially of ASIATICVS, a freed man of his owne. This ASIATICVS when he was a very youth had in mutuall filthines with him abused his owne bodie: and afterwards loathing that abominable sinne, runne his way. Now, finding him once at *Puteoli* selling of a certaine drinke made of * Water and Vineger; first he laied him by the heeles, and hung a paire of fetters at his feete: but foorthwith *loosened him and intertained him as his derling a-gaine. After which a second time being offended with his contumacy & malapert *stubbornesse: he sold him to one of these common fencers that went from *market to market; and by occasion that he was vpon a time put of to the last place in a sword fight for to play his prises: at unwares he privily stole him away: and no sooner was hee gone into his province but he manumised him. The first day of his Empire, as he sat at supper, hee dubbed him knight of *Rome*: and gave him the golden Ring: notwithstanding that the very morning before, when all the souldiers intreated in his behalfe, he detested so foule a blot to disteine and discredite the worshipfull degree of knighthood.

* *Posca, oxycraton.*
* *Statimque solvit.*
* *Ferocitatem or furacitatem.* the enterie.
* In manner of mount bankes.

13

But being given most of all to excessive bellie cheere and cruelty; he devided repast into three meales every day at the least, and some time into foure, to wit, Breakefast, Dinner, Supper and * rere-bankets; able to beare them all very well, hee used to (*a*) vomit so ordinarily. Now his manner was to send word that hee would breake his fast with one (freind) dine with another, &c. and all in one day. And everie one of these refections, when it stood them in least, cost * 40000 Sestercés. But the most notorious and memorable supper above all other was that, which his brother made for a welcome at his first comming (to *Rome*) at which by report were, served up to the Table before him two thousand severall dishes of fish the most daintie & choisest that could be had, & seven thousand of foule. And yet, even this (as sumptuous as it was) himselfe surpassed at the dedication of that *platter, which for the huge capacitie therof he used to call the targuet of *Minerva*. and ἀγιδα πολιοῦχον. i. the sheild of the Cities *protectresse. In this he hudled and blended together the livers of (*b*) * Gilt heads: the delicate braines of Phesants & Peacockes: the tongues of the Birds Phœnicopterie: the tender small guts of Sea-lampries fet as farre as from the Carpathian sea and the straights of *Spaine*, by his Captaines over Gallies. And, as a man that had not onely a wide throat of his owne to devour much, but also as greedie a stomach to feede both unseasonably and also grossly of what ever came next hand, he could not so much as at anie sacrifice whensoever, or in any iourny wheresoever forbeare but amonge the altars snatch up by and by the flesh, the parched corne also and meale even from the very hearth, and eate the same: yea and at every victualling house by the way side, fall to viands piping hote, yet reaking and not cooled one iote; and not spare so much as meats dressed the day before and halfe eaten alreadie.

* After supper.
* 3125. l. sterling.
* Or charger.
* *Minervæ*
* *Scarorum,*
* *Per naucrates actiretus, Hen die dan.*

14

Being forward enough to put to death and punish any man, what cause soever was pretended; Noble men, his schoole fellowes, and play-feeres in times past, (whom by al faire meanes & flattering allurements he had enticed & drawn to the societie as it were of the Empire with him) by sundrie sorts of fraud & trechery, he killed & one above the rest he made away with poyson, which he raught unto him with his owne hand in a draught of cold water, that he called for lying in a fit of an

ague. As Vsurers, *takers of bonds and obligations, and publicanes, who ever at any time had demanded of him either at *Rome* debt, or by the way as he travailed toll and custome, hee hardly spared one. And one of them, whom even as he came to salute him and doe his dutie, he had delivered over to the executioner for to suffer death, hee called straightwaies backe againe: and when all that were by, praised him for his clemencie, he commanded the said partie to bee killed before his face, saying with all, *That he would feede his eyes*. At the execution of another, he caused two of his sonnes to beare him companie, for nothing in the world, but because they presumed to intreat for their fathers life. There was besides a gentlemã of *Rome* who being haled away to take his death, cryed alowd unto him, sir I have made you my heire. Him he compelled to bring foorth the writing tables containing his last will: and so soone as he red therein that a freed man of the Testatours was nominated fellow heire with him, he commanded both Maister and man to be killed. Certaine Commoners also, for this onely that they had railed alowd uppon the faction of the *watchet liverie, he slew: being thus conceited, that in daring so to doe, they had him in contempt and hoped for a day. Yet was he to none more spitefully bent than to the wisards and Astrologers. Was any of them presented and enformed against? he made no more a do, but without hearing what he could say for himselfe, bereaved him of his life. Netled he was and exasperate against them, for that after an edict of his, wherein he gave commandement that all iudiciall Astrologers should depart out of *Rome* and *Italie* before the first of October: presently, there was a writing or libell set up in open place to this effect, that the* *Chaldeans* made this Edict, as followeth, *BONVM FACTVM &c.* WE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS, VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS, THAT BY THE CALENDS OF THE SAID OCTOBER, HE BE NOT *EXTANT IN ANY PLACE WHERESOEVER. Suspected also hee was to be consenting unto his owne mothers death, as if hee had straightly forbidden that any food should be ministred unto her lying sicke: induced thereto by one *CATTA, a wise woman, (in whom hee rested as in an Oracle.) That then and not before, hee should sit sure in his Emperiall Throne and continue very long, in case he overlived his mother. And others report, how his mother her selfe wery of the present state, and fearing what evill dayes were toward, obtained at her sonnes hand poison, and that without any great intreatie.

* As our Scriuenars and Atturneyes do, for other men.

* Of *Chariot riuners: venetæ factionis.*

* Astrologers

* Or first day,
* Or to bee seene
* Not in *Rome* and *Italy* onely, as before he denounced vnto them
* Or by a wise woman of that country where the people *Catti* inhabit, in *Germanie*

15

In the eight moneth of his Empire, the armies of MAESIA* both the one and the other, as also at *Pannonia* revolted from him: likewise, of the forces beyond sea, those of *Iurie* and of *Syria*, and some of them sware alleageance unto VESPASIAN who was present among them. To retaine therefore the love & favour of all other men, he cared not what largesses he made both in publike & private, beyond all measure. Hee mustred also and levied souldiers within the City, with this covenant and faire* condition, That all voluntaries should by vertue of his promise, have not onelie their discharge from service after victorie, but also the availes & fees due unto olde souldiers for serving out their full time. But afterwardes, as the enemie came hotely uppon him both by land and sea, on the one side he opposed his brother with the fleete and younge untrained souldiers, together with a crewe of sworde fencers; on the other, what forces hee

* *Mæsiarum*: because there was the high & the low.

* Or offer.

had abovt *Bebriacum* and the Captaines there: And in everie place, being their discõfited in opẽ feild or privily betrayed, he capitulated & covenanted with FLAVIVS SABINVS brother of VESPASIAN, (to give up all) reserving his owne life, & a 100. millians of sesterces. And foorthwith upon the verie staires of the Palace professing openly before a frequent assemblie of his souldiers; how willing he was to resigne up that emperiall dignity which hee had received against his will, when they all gaine said it, hee put of the matter for that instant; and but one night betweene, even the next morning by breake of day, hee came downe in poore and simple array to the *Rostra*; where, with many a teare, he recited the same words out of a little written skrow. Now, as the souldiers & people both, interrupted him a second time and exhorted him not to cast downe his heart, promising also with their utmost endeavour, and striving a vie who should do best to assist him; hee tooke courage againe and pluckt up his spirits: So that now *fearing nothing at all hee came with a sodaine power and violently chased SABINVS and the rest of the FLAVIANS into the Capitoll: & there having set on fire the Temple of IVPITER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS vanquished & slew them: whiles himself beheld both the fight & the fire out of TIBERIVS his house, *sitting ther at meat & making good cheere. Not long after repenting what hee had done, and laying all the fault vpon others, hee called a publicke assembly: where hee swaie & compelled all the rest to take the same oth. *That he and they would respect nothing in the world before the common peate.* Then loosened he his *dagger (*a*) from his side, and raught it first to the Consul, thẽ upon his refusal to the other Magistrates; & anon to the Senatours one after another. But when none of them all would receive it, hee departed, as if hee ment to bestow it in the Chappell of Concord. Now when some cryed out unto him: *That himselfe was Concord*, hee came backe againe, and protested, that hee not onely retained still the blade with him, but also accepted the surname of Concord.

* *Nihil iam metuens*, some read *metuentes*, to this sense, that he chased them fearing no such thing.

* The faction of *Flavius Vespatianus.*

* For yee must remeber how much hee was given to gourmandise

* *Pugionem* or rapier *a pungendo quia punctim potius quam cæsim vulnerat.*

16

Hereupon hee mooved and advised the Senate, to send Embassadours together with the vestall virgins to craue peace, or else some longer time to Consult vppon the point. The next morrow, as he stood expecting an answere, word was brought unto him by his espiall, that the enemie approched. Immediatly therfore shutting himselfe close within a *bearing chaire, accompanied with two persons onely his * baker and his Cooke, secretly hee tooke his way to the Aventine (hill) and his fathers house: minding from thence to make an escape into *Campania*. Soone after, uppon a flying and headlesse rumour *That peace was obtained*, he suffred him selfe to be brought backe to the Palace. Where, finding all places solitary and abandoned: seeing those also to slinke from him and slip away who were with him, he did abovt him a * girdle full of golden peeces of coine, and fled into the Porters lodge, having first tied a ban-dog (*a*) at the doore & set against it the bedsteed and bedding thereto.

* Or Lictor,

* that made his deinty pastry works & sweet meates: meete grooms to accompanie such a glutton.

* Or bandelier

* 15 Shilling peeces and better.

* Or the vaward

17

By this time had the Avantcurriers of the (FLAVIANS) maine armie broken into the Palace: and meeting noe bodie searched as the manner is, everie blind corner. By them was hee plucked out of his lurking hole: and when they asked who hee was? (for they knewe him not) and where, upon his knowledge VITELLIVS was? he shifted them of with a lie: After this, beeing once knowen, hee

hee intreated hard (as if he had somewhat to deliver concerning the life and safetie of VESPASIAN) to be kept sure in the mean season, though it were in some prison: & desisted not untill such time as having his hands pinnioned fast at his backe, an halter cast about his necke, and his apparell torne from his bodie, he was haled halfe naked into the **Forum*. Among many skornefull indignities offred unto him both in deede and word throughout the Spatious street* *sacra via* from one end to the other, whiles they drew his head backward by the bush of his haire (as condemned malefactours are wont to be serued) and set a swordes point under *his chinne. And all to the end he might shew his face and not hold it down: whiles some pelted him with dung and durtie mire, others called him with open mouth *Incendiarie and *Patinarium: and some of the common sort twitted him also with faults and deformities of his bodie: (For, of stature hee was beyond measure tall: a red face he had, occasioned for the most part by swilling in wine, and a grand fat paunch besides: hee limped somewhat also by reason that one of his thighes was enfeebled withe the rush of a chariot against it, what time he serued CAIVS as his henxman at a Chariot running) and at the last upon the staires GEMONIAE with many a small stroke all to mangled he was and killed in the end: and so from thence drawne with a drag into the River *Tiberis*.

* Or market place.
* *Sacra via*, reacheth from the palace to the *Forum*.
* As a gag.
* Or firebrand because he burnt the Capitoll.
* Or Platter Knight, for his gormandize & image platter aforesaid.
* *Caligula*. A,V,C,822.
* Or *Becco* a beak in English, which may somewhat confirme the learned coniecture of him, who guesseth that both our auncient nation and language were extract from *Gaule*

18 Thus perished he with his brother and sonne togither, in the 57. yeere of his age. Neither falsified he their coniecture who had fore told him, that by the prodigious signe which befell unto him (as we have said) at *Vienna*, nothing else was portended, but that he should fall into the hands of some (a) Frenchman. For, dispatched he was by one ANTONIVS PRIMVS a Capitaine of the adverse part: who being borne at *Tolosa*, was in his childhood surnamed *BECCVS which in the French tongue signifieth a Cockes-bill.

THE HISTORIE OF Flavius Vespatianus Augustus,

written by Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.



THE Empire standing thus a long time in doubtfull termes, unsetled & wandering (as it were) by occasion of the rebellious broils & bloudy slaughter of three princes; the *Flauij* at length tooke into their hands & established: a house I must needs say, of obscure descent and not able to shew any pedigree and images of auncestours to commend their race; howbeit, such as the common weale had no cause to dislike and bee ashamed of; although it be well knowne that Domitian abidd condigne punishment for his avarice and cruelty. TITUS FLAVIUS PETRONIANUS, a burgesse of the free borrough Reate, and a Centurion, siding in time of the ciuill warre, with POMPEIUS (but whether he serued voluntarie or was called footh and prest, it is uncertaine) stedde *out of the battaile in *PHARSALIA* and went home to his house. Where afterwardes, having obteined his pardon and discharge from warre-fare;

*Galba, Otho, Vitellius.

*Or, after the battaile, fled from him.

fare, he became a bailife under the Bankers and mony changers to gather up their monies. This mans sonne surnamed SABINVS, nothing martiall nor skilfull in feates of armes (although some write, that he had beene a principall leader of the formost Cohorts: and others that whilest he led certaine companies, hee was acquit from his militarie oth by * occasion of sicklinesse) came to be a *Publicane in *Asia*, and gathered the custome or impost (*a*) Quadragesima for the state. And there remained certaine Images which the Cities in that province erected for him with this title and superscription, Καλὸς τελωνήσας. i. *For him that was a good and faithfull* **Publicane*. After this he put foorth mony to vsurie among the *Helvetians*, where he ended his life, leaving behinde him his wife POLLA VESPASIA, and two children which he had by her. The elder of which, named SABINVS, was advanced to the provostship of the Cittie: the younger called VESPASIANVS, attained to the dignitie Imperiall: This dame POLLA, borne at *Nursia* and descended of worshipfull parentage, was the daughter of VESPASIVS POLLIO, one that had beene a *militarie Tribune thrice, and *provost Marshal of the Campe besides: and sister to a man of Senatours degree, and promoted to the dignitie of Prætour. There is a place moreover even at this day sixe miles from *Rome*, (as men goe to *Spoletum* from *Nursia*) upon the hill top, bearing the name of *Vespasiæ*: where many monuments of the VESPASII are to be seene: a great evidence to prove the Nobleneſse and antiquitie of that family. I cannot deny, that some have given out, how the father of that PETRONIANVS came out of the * Transpadane region, and was an undertaker by the great, to hire those labourers and hines which were wont yeerely to repaire out of *Vmbria* into the Sabines Countrie for to till their grounds: how hee planted himselfe and stayed in the Towne *Reate* aforesaid, and there maried a wife. But my selfe could never finde (make what search I could) any signe or trace to lead me thereto.

*Such be called *Caussarij*.
**Publicanum*, or *Publicum* both to the same effect.
*Or customer
*Or Colonel.
*Or camp maister,
*Beyond the riuer Po in respect of *Rome*.

2

*VESPASIAN was borne in the Sabines territorie beyond *Reate* within a smal village named *Phalacrine*, the fifteenth day before the *Calends of December, in the evening, when Q. CAMERINVS and CALVS POPPÆVS SABINVS were consuls: five yeeres before that AVGVSTVS departed out of this world. His bringing up he had under TERTVLLA his grandmother by the fathers side, in the land and living that she had about *Cosa*. Whereupon, when hee was Emperour hee both frequented continually the place of his birth and breeding, the Capitall house and manour remaining still as it had beene in former times, nothing altered (because forsooth, his eyes should have no losse nor misse of that which they were wont to see there) and loved also the memoriall of his grandmother so deerely, that on all solemne and festivall, and high daies, hee continued ever drinking out of a silver pot that was hers and out of none other. After he had put on his * virile gowne, he refused a long time the (*a*) Senatours robe, although his brother had attained thereto: neither could he be forced to seeke for it at last but by his owne mother. Shee in the end wrought perforce so much from him, by way of reprochful taunts more than by faire intreatie or reverent authoritie: whiles, ever and anone, shee called him in taunting wise, his brothers huisher. He served as Tribune military in *Thracia*: and in quality of Questor had the government of *Crete* and *Cyrene*, provinces by lot fallen unto him. When he sued to be Aedile, & afterwards Pretour: he hardly attained to the former Offices (and not without some repulse) euen in the sixth place:

*The Emperour,
*17. *th* Of Nouember,
*In 17 *th* yeere of his age,

place: but presently at his first suit and with the formost being chosen Prætour, and upon displeasure taken, maliciously affected against the Senate; because he would by all maner of demerite win the favour of CAIUS the Emperor, he earnestly demanded extraordinary playes & games in honor of him for his victory in *Germanie*, and gave opinion in the Senate house, that to augment the punishment of certeine conspiratours (against him); their dead bodies should bee cast forth and left unburied. Hee gave him also solemne thankes before that right honorable degree, for vouchsafing him the honor to be a guest of his at a supper.

Amid these occurrents, he espoused FLAVIA DOMITILLA, the freed woman of STATILIUS CAPELLA, a Romane gentleman of *Sabrata*, and an Africane borne, committed unto him sometime upon trust, and enfranchised in the freedom of *Latium*: but afterwards pronounced a gentlewoman born & naturalized a Citizen of *Rome*, in the Court of Iudges delegate, upon claime made by her father FLAVIUS LIBERALIS borne at *Ferentinum*, (a man that never rose higher than to be a *Scribe to a Questour) who vouched her freedome. By her he had issew, TITUS DAMITIANUS, and DOMITILLA. His wife & daughter he overlived, and buried them whiles he was yet in State of a private person. After his foresaid wives decease, he called home againe to cohabite with him in his house CÆNIS a freed-woman of ANTONIA, and her *Secretarie, whom he had fansied in former time: and her he kept when he was Emperour, insteede of his true and lawfull wife. 3

*Or notarie.

*Or Keeper of her books and accompts.

Vnder the Emperour CLAUDIUS, by especiall favour of NARCISSUS, sent he was into *Germanie* as Lieutenant of a legion: from thence being removed into *Britaine*, he fought thirtie battailes with the enemie: Two most mightie nations, and above twentie towns, togither with the Isle of *Wight* lying next to the said *Britaine*, he subdued, under the conduct partly of A. PLAUTIUS Lieutenant to the consul, and in part of CLAUDIUS himselfe, for which worthy acts he received trivmphall ornaments, and in short space two sacerdotall dignities with a consulship besides which he bare the two last moneths of the yeere. For the middle time between, even until he was Proconsul, he led a private life in a retyring place out of the way, for feare of AGRIPPINA, who as yet bare a great stroke with her *sonne, and hated to the heart all the friends of NARCISSUS, although deceased. After this, hauing the province of *Africk* allotted unto him, hee governed the same with singular integritie, & not without much honor & reputation: but that in a seditious commotion at *Adrumetum*, there were *Rape-(a)rootes flung at his head. Certaine it is, that from thence he returned nothing richer than he was; as who not able to keepe credit, but growen almost bankrupt, was driven to mortgage all his houses and lands unto his brother: and of necessitie, for the maintenance of his estate and dignity, went so low as to make gaines by huckesters *trade pampering *beastes for better sale. Whereupon he was commonly named MVLIO i. Mulitier. It is said also that conuicted he was for extorting from a young man 200 thousand sesterces, in consideration that by his meanes hee had obteined a Senators dignitie even against his owne fathers will, For which hee had a sore rebuke. Whiles he travailed through *Achaia* in the traine and inward companie of NERO, he incurred his heavie displeasure in the highest degree, for that 4

A.V.C. 804.

*NERO.

*Or Turneps.

*Mangonicos quæstus. Which extendeth also to slaves & old wares or thripperie.

whiles he was chaunting, either he made many ſtarts away out of the place, or elſe ſlept, if he ſtaied there ſtill. And being forbidden not only to conuerſe in the ſame lodging with him, but alſo to ſalute him publikely with others, he withdrew himſelfe aſide into a ſmall cittie, and which ſtood out of the way: untill ſuch time, as lying cloſe there and fearing the worſt, the goverment of a *prouince with the commaund of an armie was offred unto him. There had been ſpred throughout all the Eaſt parts an opinion of olde, and the ſame ſetled in mens heades and conſtantly beleeved, *That by the appointment of the deſtinies about ſuch a time there ſhould come out of IVRY thoſe, who were to be Lords of the whole World*: which being a propheſie (as afterwards the event ſhewed) foretelling of the Romane Emperour, the *Iewes drawing to themſelues, rebelled: and having ſlaine the * Preſident there, put to flight alſo the * Lieutenant generall of *Syria* (a man of conſular degree) comming in to ayde; and tooke from him the *Ægle. To repreſſe this inſurrection, becauſe there was neede of a greater armie and a ualiant Captaine, yet ſuch an one, as to whom a matter of ſo great conſequence might ſafely be committed; himſelfe was choſen above all others, as a man of approved valour and induſtrie; howbeit no way to be feared for the meanneſſe of his birth, linage and name. Having therefore under his hand an addition to the former poure, of two *legions, eight *cornets of horſe and tenne cohorts (of foote): taking alſo unto him among other Lieutenants, his elder *ſon, no ſooner arrived he in that province, but the other *ſtates likewiſe next adjoyning, he brought into admiration of him, for reforming immediatly at his firſt comming the diſcipline of the campe, and giving the charge in one or two battailes with ſuch reſolution, as that in the aſſault of a caſtle, he caught a rap with a ſtone upon his knee, and received in his targuete ſome ſhot of arrowes.

*Iuria.

*Who then looked for their *Meſſias* & doe ſo ſtill.
*Or gouernour, *Sabinus*, *Gallus*.
*i. The maine ſtanderd.

*Romaine.
*theſe cornets and cohorts ſeeme to bee *Auxiliaries*
*Titus.
* Or Prouinces rather in the Eaſt part

5

After NERO and GALBA, whiles OTHO and VITELLIVS ſtrove for Soveraintie, hee had good hope of the Empire, conceived long before, by theſe preſaging tokens (which I wil now relate) within a countrey ferme by the Citie ſide, belonging to the *Flavij*, there ſtood an olde Oke conſecrated unto MARS, which at 3. childbirths of VESPASIA ſodainly did put forth every time a ſeveral bough from the ſtock: undoubted ſignes fore-ſhewing the deſtinie & fortune of each one. The firſt was ſmall and ſlender, which quickly withered (and therefore the girle at that time borne lived not one yeere to an end): the ſecond grewe very ſtiffe and long withall, which pretended great felicitie: but the third, came to the bigneſſe of a tree. Whereupon SABINVS the father (of VESPASIAN) beeing confirmed beſide by the anſwere of a *Southſayer, brought word backe (by report) unto his owne *Mother, *that ſhe had a Nephew borne who ſhould be* * CÆSAR: Whereat, ſhee did nothing elſe but ſet up a laughter, meruailing that her ſonne ſhould have a cracked braine and fall a doting now, ſince that his Mother had her wittes ſtill whole and ſound. Soone after, when CAIVS CÆSAR, offended and angrie with him, for that beeing Ædile hee had not beene carefull about ſweeping and clenſing the ſtreetes, had commanded hee ſhould bee all bedawbed with mire that the Souldiours gathered up and threw into the lap of his embro-

*One of theſe that prie into beaſtes bowels
**Tertulia* the Grandmother of *Veſpaſian*.
*Emperour.

dred

dred robe, ſome were ready to make this interpretation thereof, *that the common weale trodden one day under foote and forlorne by ſome civill troubles, ſhould fall into his protection and as it were into his boſome.* As hee was at his dinner upon a time, a ſtrange dog brought into his dining roome a mans hand and layed it under the boarde. Againe, as hee ſate another time at ſupper, an Oxe having beene at plough and ſhaken of his yoke, ruſhed into the parlour where hee was at meate: and when hee had driven the waiters and ſeruitours out, as if all on a ſodaine hee had beene wearie, layed him downe along at his feete where hee ſate, and gently put his necke under him. A Cypreſſe tree likewiſe in his Grand-fathers land without anie force of tempeſt plucked up by the roote and layed along, the very next day following roſe up againe greener and ſtronger than before. But in ACHAIA hee dreamed, *That hee and his, ſhould beginne to proſper ſo ſoone as* NERO *had a tooth drawen out of his head.* Now it fortuned, that the morrow following, a Chirurgion that came forth into the court-yeard ſhewed unto him a tooth of NERO'S newly drawen. In *Iurie*, when hee conſulted with the Oracle of the god (*a*) CARMELUS, the anſwere which was given, aſſured him in theſe tearmes, That whatſoever he thought upon and caſt in his minde (were it never ſo great) it ſhould ſo come to paſſe: And one of the Noble men of that Countrey taken captive, named *IOSEPHUS, when hee was caſt into priſon, avouched and ſayde unto him moſt conſtantly, that hee ſhould ſhortly be ſet at liberty even by him, but hee ſhould be Emperour firſt. There were moreover ſignificant tokens preſaging no leſſe reported unto him out of the very Citie of *Rome*: and namely, *that* NERO *in his latter dayes*, a little before his death, was warned in a dreame to take the ſacred Chariot of IUPITER *Optimus Maximus* forth of the Chappel where it ſtoode, into VESPASIANS houſe, and ſo from *thence into the Cirque. Alſo, not long after, as GALBA held the ſolemne election for *his ſecond Conſulſhip, the ſtatue of IULIUS, late CÆSAR of famous memorie, turned of it ſelfe into the (*b*) Eaſt. And at the field fought before *Bebriacum*, ere the battailes joyned, two Ægles had a conflict and bickered together in all their ſights: and when the one of them was foyled and overcome, a third came at the very inſtant from the ſunne riſing and chaſed the Victreſſe away.

* Who wrote the Iewiſh hiſtorie.

* Inde in Circum
* Veſpaſians.

6

Yet for all this attempted he no enterpriſe (notwithſtanding his friends & ſouldiours were moſt preſt and forward yea and urgent upon him) before that hee was ſollicited by the unexpected favour, of ſome, who as it fell out were both unknowen to him and alſo abſent. Two thouſand drawen out of the three legions of the *Meſian* armie and ſent to ayde OTHO, when they were upon the way marching (albeit newes came unto them that hee was vanquiſhed and had layed violent hands upon himſelfe,) held on their journey nevertheleſſe as farre as to *Aquileia*; as giving ſmall credit to that rumour: where after they had by vantage of opportunities offred, and vncontrolled libertie, committed all manner of robberies and outrageous villanies, fearing leaſt if they returned backe againe, they ſhould anſwere for their miſdemeanours, and abide condigne puniſhment therefore; layed their heades togither, and conſulted about the chuſing and creating of an EMPEROVR. For, worſe they tooke not themſelues nor inferiour, either to the

armie in *SPAINE* that had set up GALBA: or to the Pretorian bands, which had made OTHO: or to the Germanician forces who had elected VITELLIUS, Emperours. Having purposed therefore and nominated of the Consular Lieutenants as manie, as they coulde in anie place thinke upon: when they misliked all the rest, taking exceptions against one for this cause and another for that: Whiles some againe of that third Legion, which a little before the death of NERO had been translated ont of *SYRIA* into *MESIA*, highly praysed and extolled VESPASIAN; they all accorded thereto, and without delay, wrote his name upon their flagges and banners. And verily, for that time this project was smuddred, the companies for a while reclaimed, and all brought into good order. But when the sayde fact was once divulged: TIBERIUS ALEXANDER *Provost of *ÆGYPT* was the first that forced the Legions to sweare allegeance unto VESPASIAN, upon the *kalends of *IVLY*, which ever after was celebrated for the first day and beginning of his Empire. After them, the armie in *Iurie* tooke the same oath before VESPASIAN himselfe, the *fifth day before the Ides of *Iulie*. These enterprises were very much farthered, by the copie of a letter that went commonly through mens hands (true or false I wote not) of OTHO now deceased, to VESPASIAN, charging and willing him now at the last cast, of all love to revenge his death, and wishing him withall, to relieve the distressed state of the Common-wealth: by a rumour also spred abroad, That VITELLIUS upon his victorie ment fully to make an exchange of the legions winter harbours: namely, to remove those that wintered in *Germanie* into the *East Provinces, as to a more secure seruice and easier warfare. Moreover, among the Governours of Provinces, LUCINIUS MUCIANUS, and of the Kings, *Vologesus* of *Parthia*, had promised, the *one (laying downe all grudge and enmitie which unto that time he openly *professed upon a humour of æmulation) the *Syrian* armie: and the *other fortie thousand archers.

*Or Governour.

*The first day.

*The 11 of Iuly

*No marualle then, if the armies there inclined to *Vespasian*.

*Mucianus.

*Vnto *Vespasiã*

*K. *Vologesus*.

7

VESPASIAN therefore having undertaken a civill warre, and sent before him his Capitaines and forces into *Italie*, passed over in the meane time to *ALEXANDRIA*, for to be possessed of the frontier streights and AVENUES of *Ægypt*. Heere when he had voided all companie from him and was entred alone into the Temple of *Serapis*, after he had, upon much propitious favour of that god obtained, devoutly at length turned him selfe about; him thought hee sawe (*a*) BASILIDES one who was knowen to have had accesse unto no man, and long since for the infirmitie of his sinewes, skarce able to set one foote before another, and withall to bee absent a *great way of, to present unto him Veruaine & sacred herbes guirlands also and loaves of bread, (as the manner is in that place. And heereupon immediately letters came unto him, emporting thus much, that the forces of VITELLIUS were discomfited before CREMONA: reporting besides, that himselfe was killed at *ROME*. The onely thing that hee wanted; (being as one would say, a Prince unlooked for, and as yet new come to the Empire) was Countenance, authoritie, and a kinde as it were of royall majestie. But even that also came on apace (by this occasion) It fortuned that a certaine meane commoner starke blinde

*The Palsey.

*80 Miles, happily, the same whom *Tacitus* reporteth to have been the Priest of *Carmelus*.

blind; another likewiſe with a feeble and lame leg, came both togither unto him as heefat upon the tribunall, craving that helpe and remedie for their infirmities which had beene ſhewed unto them by SERAPIS in their dreames: namely, *That *hee ſhould reſtore the one to his ſight, if he did but ſpit into his eyes: and ſtrengthen the others legge, if hee vouchſafed onely to touch it with his heele.* Now when as hee could hardly beleeve, that the thing anie way would finde ſucceſſe and ſpeede accordingly, and therefore durſt not ſo much as put it to the venture: at the laſt through the perſwaſion of friends, openly before the whole aſſembly, hee aſſayed both meanes, neither miſſed hee of the effect. About the ſame time, at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, by the Inſtinct and motion of Prophets, there were digged out of the ground in a conſecrated place, manufactures and veſſels of antique worke: and among the ſame an Image, reſembling for all the World VESPASIAN. *Veſpaſian.

8

Thus qualified as hee was and graced with ſo great fame, hee returned to *ROME*: and after his triumph over the Iewes, hee added eight Conſulſhips more to that which of olde hee had borne. He tooke upon him alſo the Cenſureſhip: and all the time of his Empire eſteemed nothing more deare, than firſt to eſtabliſh and afterwards to adorne the Common weale, brought almoſt to utter decay, and at the point to fall downe. The ſouldiours, ſome preſuming boldly of their victories, others in griefe for their ſhamefull *diſgrace were growen to all manner of licentiouſneſſe and audacitie. The Provinces likewiſe and free ſtates, yea and ſome kingdomes, fell to diſcord & ſeditious tumults among them ſelues. And therefore of the Vitellians he both caſſed and alſo chaſticed very many. As for the partners with him in victorie: ſo farre was hee from allowing them any extraordinary indulgence, that their very due and lawfull rewardes hee payed not but ſlackely. And becauſe hee would not let ſlip anie occaſion of reforming militarie diſcipline, when a certain gallant youth ſmelling hote of ſweet balmes and perfumes came unto him, to give thanks for an *Office obtained at his hands; after a ſtrange countenance ſhewing his diſlike of him, hee gave him alſo in words, a moſt bitter and grieuous checke, ſaying, I would rather thou haddeſt ſtunke of garlicke, and ſo revoked his letters patents for the graunt. As touching the mariners and ſea ſeruitours, ſuch of them as are wont to paſſe to and fro on foote, by *turnes from *Oſtia* and *Puteoli* to *ROME*; who were petitioners unto him that ſome certaine allowance might bee ſet downe for to finde them ſhoes: hee thought it not ſufficient to ſende them awaye without anſwere, but commanded that for ever after they ſhould runne up and downe betweene *unſhod. And ſo, from that time they uſe to doe. *ACHAIA*, *LYCIA*, *RHODES*; *BIZANTIVM* and *SAMOS*, *firſt diffranchiſed: likewiſe, *THRACIA CILICIA* and *COMAGENE*, ſubiect untill that time to Kings hee reduced all into the forme of a province. Into *Cappadocia*, for the continuall rodes and incurſions that the Barbarians made, he brought a poure beſides, of Legions, and in liev of a Romane knight, he placed there for Ruler, a man who had beene Conſul. The Citie of *ROME* by reaſon of olde skare-

A,V,C,823
824
825
827
828
829
830
832

*In taking part againſt him.

*Or charge.

*Per vices, ſome reade *per vias*, i. along the townes and villages

*Barefoote.

*Whereas they had been free States.

fires and ruines was much blemiſhed and disfigured. Hee permitted therefore any man to ſeize as his owne all vacant plots of ground, and to builde thereupon, in caſe the owners and Land-lords were ſlacke in that behalfe. Him ſelfe tooke upon him the reedifying of the Capitoll, and was the firſt man that did ſet his hand to the ridding of the rubbiſh and rammell, yea and upon his owne necke caried ſome of it awaye: three thouſand tables of braſſe alſo which were burnt with the ſayd Temple, hee undertooke to make and ſet up againe, having ſearched and ſought out from all places the pattrons and *copies thereof. A moſt bewtifull inſtrument and right auncient record of the whole Empire hee compiled and finiſhed; wherein were contained from the firſt beginning well neere of the Citie, all actes of Senate, all deedes paſſed by the Communalty as concerning Leagues, Alliances and priviledges granted to any whatſoever.

*For in them were engraven the pubhke evidences and words, &c

9

Hee built alſo newe workes: the temple of peace, ſituate next unto the *Forum*: That likewiſe of CLAVDIVS late Emperour of ſacred memorie, ſeated upon the mount *Cælius* which verily had beene begun by *AGRIPPINA, but almoſt from the very foundation deſtroyed by NERO. *Item* a moſt ſtately Amphitheatre in the heart of the Citie, *according as hee underſtood, that AVGVSTVS intended ſuch an one. The two *degrees waſted by ſundry maſſacres and diſteined through the negligence of former times, he cleanſed and ſupplyed, by a review and viſitation of Senate and gentry both: wherein he remooved the unworthieſt perſons and tooke in the moſt honeſt that were to bee found, either of Italians or provinciall inhabitants. And to the ende it might be knowne, that both the ſaid degrees differed one from another not ſo much in libertie as in dignitie; hee pronounced in the caſe of a certaine braule betweene a Senatour and a knight of *Rome. That Senatours might not be provoked firſt with foule language: mary to aunſwere them with evill words againe, without Civilitie and a matter allowed.*

*Claudius his wife.
*Vt deſtinaſſe compererat Auguſtum, ampliſſimũ
*Of Senatours and gentlemen

10

Suites in law depending one uppon another were growen in everie Court exceeding much: whiles the old Actions by the Intervall of *Iuriſdiction, hung ſtill undecided and new quarrels aroſe to encreaſe them, occaſioned by the tumultuous troubles of thoſe times. Hee choſe therefore certaine commiſſioners by lot, ſome by whome the Gods taken and caried away perforce during the warres might be reſtored; and others, who extraordinarily ſhould determine and iudge betweene partie and partie in (*a*) * Centumvirall caſes; (which were ſo many, as that the * parties themſelues, as it was thought, could hardly by courſe of nature live to ſee an end of them) and reduce them all to as ſmall a number as poſſiblie might be.

*The vacation during the Civil troubles;
*Which pertained to the Centumvirs Court: to wit, Civile cauſes between private perſons, as probates of Teſtaments &c, *Vide Cicer. 1, de Oratore.*

11

Wanton luſt and waſtfull expenſe, without reſtraint of any man had gotten a mightie head. Hee mooved the Senate therefore to make a decree: *That, what woman ſoever ioyned her ſelfe in * wedlocke unto another mans bondſeruant,* ſhould be reputed a bondwoman. Item that it might not bee lawfull for Vſurers to demaund any debt of young men whiles they were under their fathers

*Plantifes & defendants.
* *Si iunxiſſet*, as Sabellicus expoundeth it: or, at large, camally.

thers tuition for mony credited out unto them: I mean, not so much as after their decease. In all other matters, from the very first beginning of his Empire unto the end, hee was curteous enough and full of Clemencie.

12

His former meane estate and condition, hee dissimuled not at anie time: nay hee would often of himselfe professe the same and make it knowen openly: Yea and when some went about to fetch the originall of the Flavian Linage, from as farre as the founders of *REATE*, and the companion of HERCULES whose monument is to bee seene in the way * *Salaria*, hee mocked and laughed them to skorne for their labours. And so farre was he from desiring anie *outward ornaments in shew of the World, that upon his triumph day, being wearied with the slow march and tædious traine of the pompe, he could not hold but say plainely, that hee was well enough serued and iustly punished; who beeing an aged man had so foolishly longed for a triumph: as if forsooth it had of right beene due unto his *forefathers, or ever hoped for *by him selfe. Neither accepted he so much, as the tribunes authority and addition, of *Pater patriæ* in his stile, but it was long first. For hee had forlet altogether the custome of searching those that came in duty to salute him even whiles yet the Civill warre continued.

*By which salt was brought out of the Sabines countrey to Rome.
*Extrinsecus? *who were but of meane calling.
*Being threescore of age, & therefore past the ambitious desire of such glory.
*Libertatem which the greekes call Parrhesian.
*His friend.
*For he was the chiefe helper of him to the Empire.
*Whatsoever you are: noting him for that he was Pathicus.
*A Lawyer.
*Noting Vespasian, as if he had a longing eye after his wealth and therefore sought his condemnation.
*A philosopher
*Post dominationem alias damnationem i. after he was condemned for Vespasian had banished al Philosophers out of Rome & confined this Demetrius to an Iland Xiphilin.
*Or Morbonio according to which phrase we say, the foule ill take thee. The Greekes: Eis Choracas. i. The Crowes eate thee. The Latines *in malam crucem* i go hang

13

The *franke-speech of his friendes: the figurative tearmes and quips of Lawyers pleading at the barre, and the unmannerly rudenesse of Philosophers hee tooke most mildely. *LICINIVS MVCIANVS, a man notorious for preposterous wantonnesse but (presuming confidently of his *good deserts) not so respective of him as reverent duty would, hee could never finde in his heart to gird and nip againe but secretly: and thus farre forth onely as in complaining of him unto some good friend of them both to knit up all with these words for a conclusion, yet *am I a man. When *SALVIVS LIBERALIS, pleading in the defence of a rich client was so bolde as to say. *What is that to* *CÆSAR, *if* HIPPARCHVS *be worth* an hundred millians of Sesterces? him selfe also commended and thanked him for it. DEMETRIVS the *Cynicke meeting him in the way after hee was come *to his Soveraigne dignitie, and not deigning once to rise up nor to salute him, but rather barking at him I wote not what, he thought it enough to call (*a*) Cur-dogge.

14

Displeasures to him done, and enmities, he never caried in mind nor revenged. The daughter of VITELLIVS his enemie he maried into a most noble house: he gave unto her a rich dowry withall, and furniture accordingly. Whē as, by reason that he was forbidden the Court under NERO hee stood in great feare, and was to seeke what to do or whether to goe: one of the gentlemen huishers, whose office it was to admit men into the presence, in thrusting him out, had bidden him *abire* **Morboniam*, i. to be gone in a mischiefe. When this fellow afterwards came to aske forgivenesse, he proceeded no further in heat of anger but to wordes onely, and to quite him with just as many and almost the very same. For, so farre was hee from working the overthrowe and death of anye person, upon anye suspicion or feare conceived:

that when his friendes admoniſhed him to beware of MÆTIUS POMPOSIANUS, becauſe it was generally beleeved that the Aſtrologers had by the horoſcope of his nativitie aſſured him to bee Emperour another day, hee aduanced the ſame MÆTIVS to the Conſulſhip, preſuming and promiſing in the mans behalfe, that hee would be one day mindfull of this benefit and good turne of his.

15

There is not lightly found an innocent perſon to have beene puniſhed, but when hee was abſent and not ware thereof: or at leaſtwiſe unwilling thereto and deceived. With HELVIDIUS PRISCUS who onely had ſaluted him after his returne out of *SYRIA*, by his private name, *plaine VESPASIAN: and being pretour in all his Edicts and Proclamations paſſed him over without any honour at all, or once naming him, hee was not angry and diſpleaſed, before that he had, with his moſt inſolent altercations made him in manner contemptible and little better than an ordinarie perſon. Him alſo, notwithſtanding he was firſt confined to a place and afterwards commanded to bee killed, hee would have given a great deale to have ſaved by all meanes poſſible: as who ſent certein of purpoſe to call backe the murderers: and ſaved his life hee had, but that falſe word came backe that he was diſpatched alreadie. Otherwiſe he never rejoyced in the death of any but rather when malefactours were juſtly puniſhed and executed, hee would weepe and groane againe.

*Not Cæſar nor Auguſtus nor Imperator

16

The onely thing, for which hee might worthily bee blamed was covetouſneſſe. For, not content with this, To have revived the taxes & payments omitted by GALBA: to have laied unto them other newe and heavie impoſitions: to have enhaunſed alſo the Tributes of the provinces, yea and of ſome dupled the ſame: he fell openly to negotiate and deale in certaine trades, which, even for a private perſon were a ſhame to uſe: buying up and engroſſing ſome commodities for this purpoſe onely to put the ſame of, afterwardes at an higher price. Neither made hee it ſtraung to ſell either honourable places unto ſuiters for them: or abſolutions and pardons, to men in trouble, whether they were innocent or gultie it skilled not. Furthermore, it is verily thought that of his Procuratours, if any were greedy and given to extortion more than other, his manner was to promote ſuch for the nonce to higher offices: to the ende, that when they were more enriched, hee might ſoone after condemne them. And commonly it was ſayd, that thoſe hee vſed as ſpunges, for that hee did wet them well when they were drie, and preſſe them hard when they were wette. Some write that hee was by nature moſt covetous; & that an old Neat heard upbraided him once therwith who being at his handes denied freedome without paying for it (which hee hūblie craved of him now inveſted in the Empire) cryed out with a lowd voice and ſaid, *The Wolfe might change his haire, but not his qualities.* Contrariwiſe there bee againe who are of opinion, that hee was driven to ſpoyle, to pill and poll of neceſſitie, even for extreame want both in the common treaſurie and alſo

also in his owne exchequer: whereof he gave some testimonie in the beginning immediately of his Empire; professing that there was neede of fortie thousand Millenes to set the STATE upright againe. Which also seemeth to sounde more neere unto the truth. Because the monie by him ill gotten: Hee used and bestowed passing well. To all sorts of men hee was most liberall. The (a) Estate and wealth of Senatours he made up to the full. To decaied men that had beene Consuls, hee allowed for their maintenance 500 thousand Sesterces by the yeere. Very many Cities throughout the World by Earth-quake or fire ruinate, hee reedified better then they were before.

17

Fine wits and cunning Artisanes hee set much store by, and cherished them above all others, Hee was the first, that out of his owne coffers appointed for professed RHETORICIANS, as well in Latine as in Greeke, an yeerely Salarie of an hundred thousand Sesterces a peece. Excellent POETS, as also *Actours he *bought up. Semblably, upon the workeman who had repaired and set up againe, the Geantlike Image called COLOSSVS, hee bestowed a notable *congiarie, and endewed him with a great stipend beside: to an Enginer also, who promised to bring into the Capitoll huge *Columnes* with small charges, hee gave for his devise onely no meane reward; and released him his labour in performing that worke, saying withall by way of preface, *That he should suffer him to *feed the poore commons.*

*Artifices, for so *Livie* termeth *Ludios et histriones*, stage players.
*Or hyred.
*Or reward
*To allow the wages for their painefull labor in such works rather then to have the same done without them: and as we say, to keep poore people at worke.

18

At those playes during which the stage of MARCELLUS Theatre newly reedified, was dedicated: he had brought into request and use againe even the olde *(a) Acroames. To APOLLINARIS the Tragœdian hee gave foure hundred thousand sesterces. To TERPNUS and DIODORUS two harpers, two hundred thousand a peece: to some one hundred: and to whom hee gave least fortie thousand, over and above a great number of golden Coronets. Hee feasted continually: and for the most part by making *full suppers and those very plentifull: for why? His meaning was to helpe the Butchers and such as solde victuals. As hee delivered foorth giftes unto men at the *Saturnalia*, so hee did to Women upon the (b) Kalends of *MARCH*. Yet verely for all this, coulde hee not avoide the infamous name of his former avarice. The men of *ALEXANDRIA* termed him still CYBIOSASTES after the surname of one of their Kings, given to most base and beggerly gayne. And even at his very funerals, FAYNE the Arch-counterfaict representing his person, and imitating (as the manner is) his deeds and wordes whiles hee lived, when hee asked the Procuratours openly, what the charges might bee of his funerall and the pompe thereto belonging? No sooner hearde that it would arise to tenne Millenes of Sesterces, but hee cried, Give mee one hundred thousand, and make no more adoe but throw mee into TIBER.

*Eare delights as Players Musicians, &c.

*Recta: in opposition to, *sportula*

19

Of a middle stature hee was: well set: his limmes compact and strongly made: with a countenance as if he streined hard for a stoole. Whereupon one,

of

of these plaisants came out with a pretie conceit. For when VESPASIAN seemed to requeſt the fellow for to breake a ieſt upon him alſo; as well as upon others, that I will quoth he, If you had done your buſineſſe once upon the ſeege. His health hee had no man better: although for the preſeruation thereof hee did no more, but rub his owne chawes and other parts of the bodie to a certeine iuſt (*a*) number within the **Sphæriſterium*: and withall, monethly interpoſe abſtinence from all foode one *whole day.

*A roūd place of exerciſe belóging to the baines, ſome would have it to be a tennis court.

*Naturalli. 24 houres.

20

This courſe and order of life for the moſt part he held. Whiles hee was Emperour he waked alwayes very early, and *late in the night. Then, having red through all miſſives, and the Breviaries of everie office: hee admitted his friends: and whiles hee wat ſaluted, he both put on his own ſhooes, and alſo apparailled and made himſelfe ready. After diſpatch of all occurrent buſineſſes, hee tooke himſelfe to (*a*) geſtation, and ſo to reſt: having one of his Concubines, lying by his ſide: of whom hee had appointed a great number in ſteede of CÆNIS deceaſſed. From his *privie cloſet, hee paſſed into his Baine and ſo to his refection roume. Neyther was he, by report, at any time fuller of humanitie, or redier to doe a pleaſure. And ſuch oportunities of time as theſe, his domeſticall ſeruants waited for eſpecially, to preferre their petitions in.

*Or aroſe before day. *de nocte vigilabat* Sextus Aurelius writeth of him that he watched al night. *Plinie* alſo ſaith *Nocte vti ſolitum: ut dierum actus noctibus, et nocturnos diebus traïceret.*

*A *Secrete*, or retiring place

21

At his ſuppers, and *otherwiſe at all times with his friends being moſt pleaſant and courteous, hee diſpatched many matters by way of mirth. For given exceedingly hee was to skoffs, and thoſe ſo skurrile and filthy, that he could not ſo much as forbeare words of (*b*) ribaudrie. And yet there bee many right pleaſant conceited ieſts of his extant. Among which this alſo goes for one. Being aduertiſed by MENSTRIUS FLORUS, a man of Conſuls degree, to pronounce* *Plauſtra*, rather than *Ploſtra*, hee ſaluted him the next morrow by the name of * (*c*) FLAURUS. Having yeelded at length to a certaine woman enamoured of him, and readie as it were to dye for pure love, when ſhe *was brought to his bed, and had given him fortie thouſand ſeſterces for lying with her, his Steward comes to put him in minde in what manner and forme hee would have this ſumme of money to bee ſet downe in his *booke of accompts? marie thus quoth he, VESPASIANO *adamato* i. *Item given to* (*d*) VESPASIAN *beloved.*

**Et ſemper aliàs Cum amicis, &c.* Others read, *et ſuper aleas Communiſſimus* i. & whiles he plaied at hazard &c.

*A word in latine that ſignifieth Carts or waines.

* And not *Florus.*

**Cum perductâ &c.* not *perductæ*, in a quite contrarie ſenſe, as if he had given her ſo much.

22

Hee uſed Greeke Verſes alſo in good ſeaſon and aptly applyed: as namely of a certaine fellow, tall and high of ſtature, but (*a*) ſhrewde and teſtie withall, in this manner,

Μακρὰ βιβᾶς πρασιάων ὁλοιχόσιον ἔγχος,

and eſpecially of CERYLUS, his freed-man: upon whom, for that being exceeding rich, yet to avoyde a payment ſometime to his Exchequer, hee began to give it out that hee was free borne, and ſo changed his name and called himſelfe LACHES, VESPASIAN placed in theſe tearmes:

*Quadraginta Seſtertia. alias quadringenta ſeſtertia i. 400 thouſand.

*To wit, in the page of receits

ὦ λάχης λάχης, ἐπὴν ἀποθάνῃς,
αὐτὸς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εἰρήσῃ κήρυλλος.

O LACHES, LACHES, wert thou once dead in grave:
Thine olde name CERYLUS, againe thou shalt have.

Howbeit, most of all hee affected a kinde of dicacitie in his unseemely gayne and filthy lucre: to the end, that by some skoffing cavill, hee might put by and doe awaie the enuie of the thing, turning all to merrie jests. A Minister and seruitour about him, whom hee loved deerely, made suite in the behalfe of one as his brother, for a Stewardship. When hee had put him off to a farther day, hee called unto him the partie himselfe, that made meanes for the thing: and having *exacted so much monie at his hands, as hee had agreeed for with the Mediatour aforesayd, without more delay, he ordained him Steward. Soone after when the Seruitour interposed him selfe, *Goe your wayes* quoth he, *seeke you another to be your brother: For, this fellow whom you think to be yours is become mine*. Suspecting that his mulitier who drave his carroch alighted one time, as it were to shoo his Mules, thereby to winne some aduantage of time and delay, for one that had a matter in lawe and was comming unto him: hee asked the Mulitier what might the shooing of his mules *cost? and so covenanted with him to have part of his gaines. When his sonne TITUS seemed to finde fault with him for deuising a kinde of tribute, even out of urine: the monie that came unto his hand of the first paiment, hee put unto his sonnes nose: asking withall, *whether he was offended with the smell, or no*, and when he answered *No: and yet* quoth he, *it commeth of Vrine*. Certaine Embassadours brought him word, that there was decreed for him at the common charges of the States a geantlike image, that would cost no meane summe of money. He commanded them to reare the same immediately, shewing therewith his hand *hollow. Here is the base quoth he and *piedstall for it, ready. And not so much as in the feare & extreame perill of death forbare he skoffing. For when as among other prodigious signes the *Mausoleum of the CÆSARS opened sodainely, and a blazing starre appeared: The one *of them he sayde, did concerne IVNIA CALVINA a gentlewoman of *AVGVSTVS (CÆSARS) race: the other had reference to the King of the Parthians, who ware his haire *long. In the very first accesse also, and fit of his disease, *Me thinkes* quoth he, *I am *a deifying*.

*Or received.

*The partie that came to sollicite his owne cause.
*For to receive the money.
*Meaning his hand.
*Monumēt or Sepulchre.
*The Mausoleum
*Wheras himselfwas not of that line.
*A blazing starre
*Whereupō is called *Stella Crinita* & *Cometes* in Greeke.
*Am a dying, & to grow to be a god.

23

In his ninth Consulship, after he had been assayled in *Campania* with some light motions and grudgings of his sickenesse, and thereupon returned forthwith to the Citie, hee went from thence to *Catiliæ* and the lands he had about *Reate*, where every yeere hee was wont to summer. Heere, having (besides the maladie still growing upon him) hurt also his guttes and bowels with the use of *colde (a) water, and yet nevertheless executed the functions of an Emperour, after his accustomed manner, in so much as lying upon his bed, hee gave audience to Embassadours: when all of a sodaine he fell into a loosenesse of the bellie, that hee fainted and was ready to swound therewith, An Emperour quoth he ought to dye standing. As he was arising therfore and streining still to *ease his bodie, he dyed in their hands that helped to lift him up, the 8th day *before the Calends of *July*: when he had lived threescore yeeres and nine, *seven moneths and seven dayes over.

*These waters of *Catiliæ* as *Plinie* writeth were exceeding cold.

*To avoid the order of the guttes.
A.V.C. 832.
*24. Iunē.
*Superq; mēsem ac diem septimū.

All

24

All writers agree in this, that ſo confident he was alwayes of his owne
*Or nativitie, *Horoſcope and his childrens, that after ſo many conſpiracies continually plotted againſt him hee durſt warrant and aſſure the Senate *that either his owne Sonnes ſhould ſucceede him or none*. It is ſayde moreover, that hee dreamed upon a time, How hee ſawe a paire of skales hanging in the midſt of the porch and entrie of his houſe palatine, with the beame thereof even ballanced, ſo as in the one ballance ſtoode CLAUDIUS and NERO: in the other, himſelfe and his ſonnes. And it fell out ſo indeede: for they ruled the Empire of both ſides ſo many yeers, and the like ſpace of time juſt.

THE HISTORIE OF Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus, written by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



TItus, furnamed as his Father was, Vespasianus, the lovely dearling and delightfull ioy of Mankinde (so fully was he, either endued with good nature and disposition, or enriched with skilfull cunning, or else graced with fortunes favour; and that (which is hardest of all) in his Imperiall State; considering that whiles hee lived as a private person under the Emperour his Father, he could not avoid the very hatred and much lesse the reproofe of the world.) This Titus, I say, was borne the * third day before the Calends of Ianuarie: in that yeere which was remarkeable for the death of Caius the Emperour, neere unto the (a) *Septizonium*, within a poore ill-favoured house, in a very little Chamber and darke withall: For it remaineth yet to bee seene. His Education hee had in the Court together with Britannicus, trained up in the like Arts and Disciplines, under the

1

* 30 of December, A.V.C. 794

the ſame teachers. At which time verily, men ſay, that a *(b) Fortune-teller, whom NARCISSUS the freed man of CLAUDIUS brought to ſee BRITANNICUS, after Inſpection affirmed moſt conſtantly, that by no meanes *Hee, but TITUS who then ſtoode hard by, ſhould ſurely bee Emperour. Now were theſe two ſo familiar, that (as it is verily thought) of the ſame cup of poiſon whereof BRITANNICUS drank and died, TITUS alſo ſitting neere unto him, taſted: whereupon he fell into a grievous diſeaſe, that held him long and put him to great paine. In memoriall of all which premiſſes, he erected afterwards for *him one Statue of gold in the *Palatium*; as alſo another of Ivorie on horſebacke (which at the *Circean* Games is even at this day caried before in the Solemne pomp) he dedicated, and accompanied accordingly.

*Mitoposcopũ.

*Britannicus.

*Britannicus.

2

At the very firſt, even in his child-hood, there ſhone forth in him, the gifts both of body and minde: and the ſame more and more ſtill by degrees as hee grew in yeeres: A goodly preſence and countenance, wherein was ſeated no leſſe *maieſtie than favour and beauty: A ſpeciall cleane ſtrength, albeit his ſtature was not tall: but his belly bare out ſomewhat with the moſt. A ſingular memorie: and aptneſſe to learne all the Arts, in manner, as well of warre as of peace. Moſt skilfull he was in handling his weapon, and withall a paſſing good horſman: For his Latine and Greeke tongue, whether it were in making Orations or compoſing Poemes, prompt and ready even to the performance thereof *ex tempore*. Neither was he unſeene in Muſick, as who could both ſing and alſo play upon inſtruments ſweetly and with knowledge. I have heard alſo many men ſay, *That he was wont to write with Cyphers and Characters* moſt ſwiftly, ſtriving by way of ſport and mirth with his owne Clerks, whether he or they could write faſteſt? to expreſſe likewiſe and imitate what hand ſo ever hee had ſeene: yea, and to profeſſe many a time, that he would have made a notable forger and counterfaiter of writings.

*Auctoritatis, which *Tacitus* calleth *maieſtatem*.

3

In quality of Tribune Militare, he ſerved in the warres both in *Germanie* and alſo in *Britaine*, with exceeding commendation for his induſtrie and no leſſe report of *modeſtie, as appeareth by a number of his images and (*a*) titles to them annexed, throughout both Provinces. After this warfare of his, hee pleaded cauſes in Court, which he did rather to winne credite and *reputation, than to make it an ordinarie *practiſe. At which very time, he wedded ARRICIDIA, the daughter of TERTULLUS a Gentleman of *Rome*, but Capitaine ſometime of the Prætorian Bands: and in the roome of her deceaſed, he tooke to wife MARTIA FLAVIA: and from her when ſhe had borne unto him a daughter, he divorced himſelfe. After this, upon his Queſtureſhip, being Colonell and Commaunder of a whole Legion, he brought under his ſubiection *TARICHEA and GAMALA two moſt puiſſant Cities of *Iurie*: Where, in a certaine battaile having loſt his horſe under him (by a deadly wound) within his flankes, hee mounted another whoſe rider in fight againſt him had beene ſlaine and was fallen.

*Temperate behaviour.

*In undertaking cauſes of greateſt importance.

*In entertaining al matters whatſoever.

A.V.C. 820

*Neere to the Lake *Genezareth*.

4

A.V.C. 821

Afterwards, when GALBA was poſſeſſed of the State, being ſent to congratulate his advauncement: What way ſo ever he went, he turned all mens eyes upon him, as if he had beene ſingled forth to be adopted. But ſo ſoone as he perceived all to be full of troubles againe, hee returned back out of his very iourney, and viſited the Oracle of VENUS *PAPHIA: Where, whilſt he asked counſell, about his paſſage at ſea, hee was confirmed withall in his hope of the Empire. Having attained thereto within ſhort time, & being left behind to ſubdue *Iurie* throughly

*In *Paphos* a citie within the Iſle *Cyprus*.

in

in the last assault of *Hierusalem*, hee slew twelue enemies that defended the wall, with iust so many arrowes shot: and wonne the Citie upon the very birth-day of his daughter, with so great ioy and fauourable applause of all his Souldiours: that in their gratulation they saluted him Emperour: and soone after, when he was to depart out of that Prouince, detained him in humble manner, yea and eft soones in threatning wise instantly calling vpon him, To stay, or else to take them all away together with him. Whereupon arose the first suspition, That he reuolted from his father, and had attempted to chalenge the kingdome of the East parts for him selfe. Which surmise himselfe made the more, after that in his way to *Alexandria*, as he consecrated at *Memphis* the *Ox Apis*, he wore a (a) Diademe: Which he did in deed according to the custome & rites of the auncient religion there. But there wanted not some, who construed it otherwise. Making hast therefore into *Italie*; after hee was arriued first at *Rhegium* and from thence at *Puteoli*, embarqued in a Merchants ship of burden; to *Rome* he goes directly with all speed & most lightly appointed: and vnto his father looking for nothing lesse, *I am come* quoth he, *father*, *I am come*: checking thereby the rash and inconsiderate rumors raised of him.

* 12 Propagatores.

* 8 il Of September, Ioseph. lib. 7. de bello Iudaico.

5 From that time forward hee ceased not to carie himselfe as partner with his Father, yea and Protectour also of the Empire: With him hee triumphed: with him hee iointly administred the Censureship. His Colleague hee was in the Tribunes authority: his Companion likewise in seuen Consulships. And hauing taken to himselfe the charge well-neere of all Offices, whiles hee both endited letters and penned Edicts in his Fathers name: yea, and read * Orations in Senate, and that in the Questours turne, he assumed also the Captainship of the Guard, an Office neuer to that time executed but by a Gentleman of *Rome*. In this place hee demeaned himselfe nothing ciuilly, but proceeded with much violence. For euer as he had any in most iealousie and suspition, he, by sending secretly and vnder-hand certaine of purpose, who in the Theaters and Campe should require for to haue them punished (as it were with his Fathers consent) made no more a doe but brought them all to their end. As for example, among these, hee commaunded AVLVS CAECINA, a man of Consular Degree, and a guest by him inuited to supper, when hee was scarce gone out of the Banqueting parlor to bee stabbed. I must needes say, that driuen he was to this violent proceeding vpon an extremity of daunger: considering that he had found out his hand-writing bearing euidence of a conspiracie that he plotted with the Souldiours. By which courses, as he prouided well and sufficiently for his owne securitie another day: so, for the present time he incurred very much displeasure and hatred of the world. Insomuch, as no man lightly, when so aduerse a rumor was on foote, and that which more is, against the wills of all men, would haue stepped to the Imperiall throne.

A.V.C. 823. 824. 825. 824

* Missus A.V.C. 823. 825. 827. 828. 829. 830. 832

6 Beside his cruelty, suspected he was also for riotous life: in that he continued banqueting, vntill midnight with the most profuse and wastfull spend-thrifts of his familiar minions: For want of lust likewise, by reason of a sort of male Catamites & guelded Eunuchs that he kept about him: and the affectionate loue that hee was noted to beare vnto * Queene BERENICE, vnto whom also, as it was said he promised mariage. Suspition there was moreouer of his pilling & polling. For certain it was, that in the beginning of his warres & hearing of causes which his father held, he was wont to let

* The sister as some thinke of Agrippa, & wife for a while of Polemon King of Lycia, other say she was the wife first of Alexander, afterwards of Antiochus brother.

* Agitationibus.

the decision of matters, and to make a gaine thereby. After this, men both reported and also reported him to be even another Nero. But this name that went of him proved good for him and turned to his greatest commendation: considering that no grosse vice could bee found in him, but contrariwise many excellent vertues. The feasts that he made were pleasant merriments, rather than lavish and sumptuous. He chose for his friends such, as in whom the Emperours also his successours reposed themselves, and whom they used especially as necessarie members both for them and also for the Common-wealth. As for Queene Berenice, he sent her quickly away from the Citie of *Rome*; but full loath they were both of them to part a sunder. Certaine of his minions and dearlings whom hee favoured and fansied most, albeit they were such artificiall Dauncers, that within a while after they caried the greatest praise and prise upon the stage, he forbare quite not onely to huggle and embrace long together, but to behold so much as once in any publick meeting and assembly. From no Citizen tooke he ought: and from aliens goods he abstained, if ever any did. Nay, he received not the very contributions graunted and usually paied. And yet, being inferiour to none of his predecessours in munificence, as having dedicated an * Amphitheatre, and built the Baines hard-by, with (*a*) great *expedition, he exhibited a Spectacle of Sword-fencers, with all kindes of furniture thereto belonging in most plentifull manner. Hee represented also a navall fight in the old *Maumachia*; In which very place he brought forth likewise his sword-fencers to play their prises: and in that one day he put out to be baited 5000 wilde beasts of all sorts.

*At which solemnity 5000 wilde beasts were killed. As *Eusebius Chronographus* and *Eutropius* write.
* *Coloriter.*

Furthermore, being of his owne nature most kinde and gracious; whereas by a constitution and order that Tiberius began, all the Cæsars his Successours held not the Benefits graunted by former Princes good and in force, unlesse they also themselves made new graunts of the same againe: hee was the first, that by vertue of one sole edict, ratified and confirmed all that had passed before: neither suffred he any petition to be made unto him for them. In all other Suits and Requests, hee ever more held most constantly mens mindes at this passe, that hee would send none away without hope. And when his Domesticall Ministers about his person, would seeme to tell him, *That he promised more than he was able to performe*: *What!* quoth he, *there ought no man to depart from the speeche of a Prince, sad and discontented*. Calling to minde one time as he sat at supper, That he had done nothing for any man that day, hee uttered this memorable and praise-worthy *Apopthegme*, *My friends, I have lost a day*. The people especially in generall he intreated in all occasions, with so great courtesie, that having propoſed a solemne Sword-fight, he made open profession, that he would set it forth, not to please him selfe but to content the beholders. And verily, even so hee did: for, neither denied he ought to them that would call for it: and of his owne accord, willed them to aske what their mindes stoode to. Moreover, shewing plainly, that hee stoode well affected to the manner of the Thracian-*swordfencers fight and their Armature, hee would many times even with the rest of the people both in word and gesture (as a favourer of that kinde) iest and make sport: yet so, as hee kept still the majestie of an Emperour: and withall judged with equitie indifferently. And because hee would pretend no point of popularity, sometime as he bathed in his owne

*Who were opposite to the *Mirmillones*; & were armed after the french fashion.

owne baines hee admitted the Commons thither unto him. There fell out in his daies certaine miſchaunces and heavie accidents: as, the burning of the mountaine *Veſævus* in *Campania*: A Skar-fire at *Rome*, which laſted three daies and three nights; as alſo a * peſtilence, the like whereof had not lightly beene knowne elſe where at any other time. In theſe calamities ſo many and ſo grievous, he ſhewed not onely a Princely care, but alſo a ſingular fatherly affection: ſometime comforting (his people) by his Edicts; otherwhiles helping them ſo farre forth as his power would extend. For repairing the loſſes in * *Campania*, he choſe by lot certaine Commiſſioners to looke thereto, even out of the ranke of thoſe that had beene Conſuls. The goods of ſuch as periſhed in the ſaid mount, whoſe heires could not be found, hee awarded to the reedification of the ruinate Cities adioyning. And having made publick proteſtation, that in the ſaid skare-fire of the Citie, there was no loſſe at all but to himſelfe: Looke what ornaments were in any of his owne * Palaces and royall houſes, the ſame he appointed to the Citie-buildings and the Temples: For which purpoſe hee made divers of Knights degree Supravifors, to the end that every thing might be diſpatched with greater expedition. To cure the ſickneſſe and mitigate the furie of thoſe contagious Diſeaſes, hee uſed all helpe of God and man; having ſought out whatſoever kindes of Sacrifices and remedies might bee found: Among the adverſities of thoſe times, may bee reckoned theſe Promoters and Informers, with ſuch as under hand ſet them a worke, occaſioned all by old licentiouſneſſe and impunitie. And thoſe he commaunded to be whipped and beaten with cudgels ordinarily in the open Market place: and laſt of all, when they had beene brought in a Shew through the Amphitheatre, partly to be ſolde in port-ſale for ſlaves: and in part to be caried away into the rougheſt and bleakeſt Iſlands that were. And becauſe hee would for ever reſtraine ſuch, as at any time ſhould dare to doe the like: hee made an Acte among many others, prohibiting, One and the ſame matter to bee ſued by vertue of many Statures and Lawes enacted in that behalfe; or to make inquiſition as touching the eſtate of any man deceaſed, after the terme of certaine yeeres limited.

* Wherin there died ten thouſand a day, *Enſes.*

* By the burning of *Veſevus* which conſumed many towns & much people.

* In the Country, as Columnes, ſtatues painted tables, &c.

8

Having profeſſed, that he tooke upon him the High-Prieſthood in this regard, becauſe hee would keepe his hands pure and innocent, hee made good his word. For, after that time, never was hee the principall Author of any mans death, nor priuie and acceſſarie thereto, (albeit hee wanted not ſometimes iuſt cauſe of revenge) but ſware devoutly; *That hee would rather die himſelfe, than doe others to death.* Two noble men of the *Patritian* ranke, convicted for affecting and aſpiring to the Empire he proceeded againſt, no farther than to admoniſh them to deſiſt and give over, ſaying, *That Soveraigne power was the gift of Deſtinie and Divine providence.* If they were Petitioners for any thing elſe, he promiſed to give it unto them. And verily, out of hand, to the mother of the one, who was then farre of (wofull and penſive woman as ſhee was) he diſpatched his owne courſitours and foote-men to carie word that her ſonne was ſafe: As for themſelves hee not onely invited them to a familiar and friendly ſupper that night: but alſo the next day following, at the ſight of Sworde-fencers placing them of purpoſe neere about his owne perſon, the * Ornaments of the Champions that were to fight, preſented unto him, hee reached unto them for to (a) view and peruſe.

* As their armour, weapons &c.

* Ascendents of their Nativity.

It is said moreover, that having knowledge of both their Horoscopes, he avouched that daunger was toward them both and would light upon their heads one day, but from some other; as it fell out in deede. His owne * brother never ceasing to lay waite for his life, but professedly in manner soliciting the armies against him: plotting also and intending thereupon to flie and be gone, hee could never endure either to kill or to sequester and confine, no nor so much as to abridge of any honour: but, as hee had alwaies done from the first day of his imperiall dignity, persevered to testifie and declare, that Partner he was with him in the Soveraigne government, and his heire apparent to succeede him: otherwhiles secretly with teares and praiers beseeching, *That he would vouchsafe him yet at length, mutuall love and affection*

* *Domitian.*

9 Amid this blessed course of life, cut short he was and prevented by death, to the greater losse of mankinde than of himselfe. After he had finished the solemne Shewes and Games exhibited to the people, in the end and upshot whereof, hee had shed teares abundantly: he went toward the Sabines territorie somwhat more sad than usually he had beene: by occasion, that as hee sacrificed, the beast brake loose and gat away: as also because in faire and cleere weather (*a*) it had thundered. Hereupon, having gotten an ague at his first lodging and baiting place, when he was removing from thence in his Licter, it is said that putting by the Curtaines of the windowe, hee looked up to heaven, and complained very piteously, that his life should be taken from him who had not deserved to die: For there was no fact of his extant, of which hee was to repent, save onely one. Now what that one should be, neither uttered he himselfe at that instant, neither is any man able readily to guesse thereat. Some thinke, he called to minde the over-familiar acquaintance that he had with his brothers * wife. But DOMITIA devoutly sware, That he never had such dealing with her: who no doubt would not have denied it, if there had beene any folly at all betweene them: nay, shee would rather have made her vaunt thereof: so ordinary a thing it was with her to glory in all naughtinesse and shamefull deedes.

* *Domitia.*

10 He departed (*a*) this world, in the very same Country-house wherein his father died before him: upon the * Ides of September, two yeeres, two moneths & twenty dayes after that he succeeded his father, and in the two & fortieth yeere of his age. Which being once notified and knowen abroade, when all men throughout the Citie mourned no lesse than in some domesticall occasion of Sorow and Lamentation: The Senate before they were summoned and called together by any Edict, ranne to the *Curia*, finding as yet the dores fast locked: but when they were set open, they rendred unto him now dead so much thanks, and heaped upon him so great a measure of praises, as they never did before, at any time, whiles he was living and present among them.

* 13 of September. A. V. C. 834

THE HISTORIE OF Flavius Domitianus, vvritten by Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.



DOMITIAN was borne the * ninth day before the Caleds of Nouember what time his father was Consul Elect, and to enter upon that honorable place the * moneth ensuing, within the sixt regiō of *Rome* Citty, at the * Pomegranates and in that house which afterwards he conuerted into the temple of the FLAVIAN familie. The floure of his tender yeeres and the verie prime of youth, he passed by report, in so great pouertie & * infamy withal, that he had not one peece of plate or vessel of siluer to be serued with. And ful well it is knowen, that CLODIUS POLLIO, a man of Pretours degree (against whome there is a Poem of NERONS extant, intituled

* 24. Octobris. A.V.C. 104. Ianuarie.
* A place so called like as before, as Bubula and Gallinæ.
* For his impure life.

entituled Lvscio) kept by him a * skro of his owne hand writing, yea and other whiles brought the same foorth to bee seene, wherein he promised him the * use of his bodie one night. Neither wanted some who constantly avouched, that Domitian was in that sort abused, even by Nerva who soone after, succeeded him. In the Vitellian troubles he fled into the Capitol with his Vnkle Sabinvs, & part of the forces which were then present. But when the adverse faction brake in: and while the Temple was on fire; hee lay close all night in the Sextaines lodging and early in the morning disguised in the habit of a priest of *Isis*, and among the sacrificers belonging to that vaine superstition, after hee had passed over *Tiberis* accompanied with one onely person, to the mother of a schoole fellow of his, hee lurked there so secretly, that albeit the serchers traced him by his footing, yet could hee not be found. At last after victory obtained hee went foorth and shewed himselfe; & being generally saluted by the name * of Caesar; the honourable dignitie of the Citi-Prætour in the consular authoritie, hee tooke uppon him in name and title onely: the iurisdiction whereof hee made over to his next Colleague. But in all power of * Lordly rule, he caried himself so licentiously & without controlment that hee shewed even then betimes, what a one hee would prove hereafter. And not to handle every particular: having with uncleane hands offred dishonour to many mens wives, hee fled a way and maried also Domitia Longina the wedded wife of Ælius Longinvs: and in one day gave and dealt above twentie offices, within the Citie and abroad in foraine provinces: in so much as Vespasian commonly said, *That hee marvailed, why he sent not one also to succeed in his place.*

* Or Bil.
* Or abuse rather,

* Betweene *Vitellius* & his father *Vespasian*: and their factions.

* The Emperours soone & heire apparant of the Empire.
* As being a young Prince and a *Cæsar*.

2

Hee enterprised moreover a voiage into *Gaule* and *Germanie*, Notwithstanding the fame was needlesse, and his fathers freinds dilwaded him from it; onely, because hee would equallize his brother both in * workes and reputation. For these prankes of his rebuked he was: and to the end he might the rather be put in mind of his young yeeres and private condition, hee dwelt together with his father: in a litter hee attended the (Curule) chaire of father and brother, whensoever they went foorth of doores: and being mounted upon a white Courser accompanied them both, in their tryumph over *Iurie*. Of 6 Consulships hee bare but one * ordinary; and the same by occasion that his brother Titvs yeelded unto him his own place and furthered him in his suite. Himselfe likewise made wonderfull semblāce of modestie. But above all, hee seemed outwardly to affect Poetrie, (a studie which he was not so much unacquainted with before time, but he despised and reiected it as much afterwards) & recited his owne verses even in publike place. Yet neverthe lesse, when Vologesvs King of the *Parthians* required aide against the *Alanes*, and one of Vespasians two sonnes to be the Generall of those forces, he labou red with might and maine, that himselfe before all others should be sent: and because the quarrel was * dispatched alreadie to his hand, hee assaied by gifts and large promises to sollicite other Kings of the East, to make the same request. When his father was dead, standing in doubtfull tearmes with himselfe a longe time, whether hee should offer unto the souldiers a donative duple to that of his brother Titvs, hee never stucke to give out and make his boast, That left hee was to bee partner with him in the Empire, but that his fathers will was verie much abused. Neither would hee give over from that time forwarde both

* *Operibus*, deeds and exploits.

* Which began the first of Ianuary, in his owne right, & not in y vacant roome of others.

* Peace concluded between the 2. nations

both to lay wait secretly for his brother, and also to practise openly against him, untill such time as he gave commandement when hee was stricken with grievous sickenesse, that he should be left for dead before the breath was out of his bodie: and after he was departed indeed, vouchsafing him no other honour but his *consecration, he carped also at him many a time as well in glauncing figurative speeches as in open Edicts. *Canonization for a God.

3

In the beginning of his Empire his manner was, to retire himself daily into a secret place for *one houre, and there to do nothing else but to catch flies, and with the sharp point of a bodkin or writing steele pricke them through: In so much, as whe one enquired, whether any bodie were with CAESAR within? VIBIVS CRISPVS made answer not impertinently, no, not so much as a flie. After this, DOMITIA his owne wife, who in his second Consulship had borne him a sonne, and whome two yeeres after he had saluted as Empresse, by the name of AVGVSTA, her I say, falling in fansie with PARIS the stage player and ready to die for his love, hee put away: but within a smal while after (as impatient of this breach and divorse) tooke her home, and maried her againe, as if the people had instantly called uppon him so to do. In the administration of the Empire hee behaved himselfe for a good while variablie, as one made of an equall mixture and temper of vices and vertues, untill at length hee turned his vertues also into vices: being, (so far as we may coniecture) over & above his naturall inclination, for want covetous and greedie; for feare bloudy and cruell. *Horarium or for a certaine time of the day: some say three houres.

4

Hee exhibited ordinarily magnificent and sumpteous shewes not onely in the Amphitheatre, but in the Cirque also. In which, beside the usuall running of Chariots, drawen as well with two steedes as foure. Hee represented likewise two battailes of horsemen and foote men both: and in the Amphitheatre a Navall fight. For, baitings of wild beasts, and sword fencers, he shewed in the very night by cresset and torch lights; and hee brought into the place not men onely to fight, but women also to encounter wild beasts. Furthermore, at the games of swordfight set out by the Questours (which having in times past been discontinued and forlet, hee brought into vse againe) hee was alwaies present in person, so as he gave the people leave to choose two paire of swordfencers out of his owne schoole, and those hee brought in, royally, & courtlike appointed in the last place. And at all sights of sword players, there stood ever at his feet a little dwarfe arraied in skarlet with a small head that it was wonderfull: with whome hee vsed to talke and conferre otherwhiles of serious matters. Certes, over heard he was, when hee demaded him of what he knew? & what he thought, of the last dispose of the Provinces: and namely of ordaining METIVS RVFVS Lieutenant generall of Ægypt? Hee exhibited navall battailes performed in manner, by full fleetes and compleat navies: having digged out a great pit for a lake, and built a stone wall round about it, neere vnto *Tiberis* and those he would behold in the greatest stormes & showers that were. Hee set forth also the Secular plaies and games making his computation from the yeere, not wherein CLAVDIVS, but AVGVSTVS longe before had made them. During these, uppon the date of the Circensia solemnities, to the end there might be an hundred *courses the sooner runne, hee abridged the races of every one, to wit, from 7. to 4. He ordained moreover, in the honour of IVPITER *Circumstructo

*Missus. every of which ordinarily consists of 7. races.

CAPITOLINVS,

CAPITOLINVS, Quinquennall Games of three fold Maiſteries, muſicke, horſe-riding, & Gymnicke exerciſes: & in the ſame, rewarding victours with Coronets, more by a good many then now they be. Herein the concurrents ſtroue alſo for the priſe in Proſe, both Greeke & Latin: and beſides ſingle harpers, there were Setts of thoſe alſo that played uppon the harpe, yea and conſorts of ſuch as ſung therto, in a quire. In the running place, Virgins alſo ran for the beſt games. At all theſe maſteries and ſolemnities, he ſat as preſident in his Pantofles, clad in a robe (a) of purple after the Greekiſh faſhion, wearing on his head a golden Coronet, with the Image of IVPITER IVNO and MINERVA: having the prieſt of IVPITER and the Colledge of the religious, called FLAVIALES, ſitting by him in like habit; ſaving that in their Coronets there was his Image alſo. Semblably, hee celebrated everie yeere uppon the Albane mount, the Quinquatria of MINERVA. In whoſe honor he had inſtituted a Societie, out of which there ſhould be choſen by lot, Maiſters and Wardens of that ſolemnitie who were to exhibite peculier and eſpeciall Beaſtbaitings and ſtage playes, yea and contentions for the priſe, of Oratours and Poets beſides. He gave a * largeſſe to the people thrice: to wit, three hundred ſeſterces a peece: & at the *ſhew of the ſwordfight a moſt plentteous dinner. At the ſolemne *Septimontiall ſacrifice, hee made a dole of Viands, allowing to the Senatours and gentlemen faire large paniars: to the commons, ſmal* maunds with Cates in them: and was the firſt himſelfe that fell to his meat. The next day after, he* skattered among thē, *Miſſils of al ſorts: and becauſe the greater part thereof, fell to the rankes of the common people, he pronounced by word of mouth for every skaffold of Senatours and gentlemen, 50. tickets or tallies.

(a) *Or Slippers.*

* *Congiarium*
**Xiphilin.*
* So, Called of the ſeauen hils, whereupon the Citie ſtood.
**Or Baskets.*
**Or Sent.*
* *Gifts or fauours.*

5

Manie buildings, and thoſe moſt ſtately, which had beene conſumed with fire, hee reedified: and among them the Capitoll which had been *fired again: but all under the title of his owne name, without any memoriall of the former founders. Mary, he founded a new Temple in the Capitoll to the honour of IVPITER CVSTOS: alſo the *Forum*, which is now called *Nerue Forum*: likewiſe the Temple of the FLAVIAN familie: a ſhew place for running and wreſtling: another for Poets and Muſicians to contend in, and a Naumachie for ſhips to encounter. Of the ſtone that was about which, the greateſt Cirque of al was afterwards built, by occaſion that both ſides thereof had been burnt downe.

**In Veſpatians dayes.*

6

Expeditions hee made, ſome voluntarie, ſome uppon neceſſitie. Of his owne accord that againſt the Catti: uppon conſtreint one, againſt the *Sarmatians*. By occaſion that one whole Legion together with their Lieutenant fell upon the ſword: two againſt the *Daci*, the former, becauſe OPPIVS SABINVS a man of Conſuls degree was defaited and ſlaine: and the ſecond, for that CORNELIVS FVSCVS, Captaine of the Prætorian bands (unto whom he had committed the whole conduct of that war) loſt his life. Over the *Catti* & *Daci* (after ſundry feilds fought with varietie of fortune) he triumphed twice. For his victory of the Sarmatians, hee preſented only IVPITER CAPITOLINVS with his Lawrel guirland. The civill warre ſtirred up by LVCIVS ANTONIVS governer of the higher *Germanie*, hee diſpatched and ended * in his abſence: and

* By *Norbanus Appius* who ſlew the ſaid *Antonius.*

and that by a wonderfull good hap: when, as at the very houre of conflict, the *Rhene* swelling and overflowing sodainly staied the *Barbarians* forces as they wold have passed over to ANTONIVS. Of which victorie hee had intelligence by presages, before the newes by messengers came. For uppon that very day when the battaile was fought, an Eagle after a straung manner having overspred his statue at *Rome* and clasped it about with her wings, made a great flapping noise in token of much ioy; and within a little after, the bruit was blowen abroade so rife and common, of ANTONIES death, that many avouched confidently, they had seene his head also brought home (to *Rome*.)

7

Many new orders besides in matters of common use, hee brought uppe. The dole of Viands given and distributed in little baskets in lieu of a publike supper, he abolished: and reduced the auncient custome of * compleat and formall suppers: Vnto the *4 factions in former time, of severall crewes running with Chariots at Circean games, hee added twaine; to wit the golden and purple livery. Players & Actours of enterludes hee forbad the open stage: but within house verily, he granted free and lawfull exercise of their Art. Hee gave commandement that no males should be guelded: And of such Eunuchs as remained in the hands of * Huckslers, hee abated the price and brought it downe to a meaner. By reason one time of an exceeding plentiful vintage, and as much scarcity of Corne, supposing that by the immoderate care imployed upon Vineyards, tillage was neglected hee made an Edict, *That no man in all Italie should plant any newe young Vineyardes*: and that in (*a*) foraine Provinces they should cut them all downe reserving at the most but the one halfe. Howbeit, hee continued not in the full execution of his Act: Some of the greatest offices he communicated indifferetly between Libertines & souldiers. He prohibited, that there should be two * Camps of the (*b*) legions. Item that any man should lay up more than a thousand Sesterces about the (*c*) Camp-ensignes. For that L. ANTONIUS intending rebellion in the wintering harbour of two Legions, was thought to have taken heart and presumed more confidently, upon the great summes of monie there bestowed in stocke. Hee added a fourth stipend also for souldiers, to wit, 3.* peeces of gold by the poll.

Whereas contrariwise vnder *Nero, publica cana ad sportas reducta*

* White
Blew
Red
Greene

* Who guelded pampered and set them out to sale.

* *Geminari castra* the greater and the lesse as we read in *Livie* &c.

* Euery one about 15 s. 7 d. ob. sterling.

8

In ministring iustice precise he was & industrious. Many a time, even in the cõmon place, sitting extraordinarily upon the Tribunal he reversed the definitive sentẽces of the Centumuirs, given for favour and obtained by flattery. He warned eftsoones the commissioners and Iudges delegate, not to accommodate thẽselues & give eare unto perswasive and Rhetoricall * Assertions. The iudges that were bribed and corrupted with monie hee noted and disgraced every one, together with their Assessours uppon the bench. Hee mooved also and perswaded the Tribunes of the Commons to accuse Iudicially for extortion, and to force vnto restitution, a base and corrupt * Aedile: yea and to call unto the Senate, for to have a Iurie empannelled upon him. Moreover, so carefull was hee to chastise as well the magistrates within *Rome*, as the Rulers of Provinces abroad of their misdemeanours, that never at any time, they were either more temperate or iust in their places. The most part of whome after his dayes, we our selues have seene culpable, yea and brought into question for all manner of crimes. Having taken uppon him the censuring and reformation of manners, he inhibited that licentious libertie taken up in Theatres,

* Of such bondmen, as against their Lordes & Masters Right claimed freedome & vsed therein the plea of Orators.

* who by taking money exercised his office otherwise then he ought.

of

of beholding the playes and games pell-mell one with another in the quarter and rankes appointed for gentlemen. Diffamatorie libels written & divulged, wherin men and women of good marke were touched and taxed, hee abolished not without shame and ignominie of the Authors. A man of Questours degree, because he tooke pleasure in Pupper-like gesturing and dauncing, hee remooved out of the Senate. From women of dishonest cariage, he tooke away the priviledge and use of their Litters: hee made them uncapable also of Legacies and inheritances. A gentleman of *Rome* hee rased out of the Roll and Tables of Iudges, for receiving his wife againe into Wedlocke, whome hee had before put away and sued in an action of adulterie. Some of both degrees, as well Senatours as Gentlemen, hee condemned, by vertue of the law *Scatinia. The Incestuous whoredomes committed by vestall votaries; negligently passed over, by his father and brother both, hee punished after sundrie sorts. The former delinquents in that kinde, with simple *death: the later sort according to the auncient manner: *(d)* For, having given libertie unto the sisters *OCELLATA as also VARONILLA, for to chuse their owne deaths, and banished those who had defloured them, hee afterwardes commanded, that CORNELIA *MAXIMILLA, who in times past had beene acquit, and a long time after was called into question againe and convicted, should be buried quicke: and the parties who had committed incest with her, beaten with rods to death in the *Comitium*: except on alone a man of Prætours degree; unto whom whiles the matter remained yet doubtful, and because he had confessed and bewraied himselfe (upon his examination by torture which was uncertaine) he granted the favour of Exile. And that no religious service of the Gods should bee contaminated and polluted without condigne punishment, the monument or Tombe, which his freedman had built for a sonne of his with the stones appointed for the Temple of IVPITER CAPITOLINVS, hee caused his souldiers to demolish: and the bones and reliques therein hee drowned in the Sea.

9 At the first hee abhorred all bloudshed and slaughter, so farre foorth, as that (while his father was yet absent) callinge to remembraunce this Verse of Virgil.

Impia quam cæsis gens est epulata iuvencis,
Ere godlesse people made their feasts
With Oxen slaine, (poore harmelesse beasts.)

Hee purposed fully to publish an Edict, Forbiddinge to kill and sacrifice any Oxe. Of *Coveteousnesse also and avarice, hee gave scarcely the least suspition; either at any time when hee led a private life, or a good while after hee was Emperour: but contrariwise rather, he shewed great prouses oftentimes, not of abstinéce onely but also of liberalitie. And whensoever he had bestowed gifts most bountifully upon those that were about him, hee laied uppon them no charge before this nor with more earnestnesse, *than to do nothing basely and beggerly*. Moreover, one Legacie put downe in the last Will of RVSCIUS CÆPIO who had provided therin. *That his heire should giue yeerely unto euery one of the Senatours, as they went into the Curia, a certaine summe of money*, he made voide. Al those likewise, whose suits had hung and depended in the Chamber of the Citie, from before five yeeres last past, hee discharged and delivered from trouble. Neither suffered hee them to be sued and molested againe, but within the compasse of one yeare and with this condition, that the accuser (unlesse hee overthrew his *adversarie by that time) should be banished for his labour. The Scribes and Notaries beelonging to the Quæstours

*A gainst the filthy sin of *Paederastie* or *Sodomie*.
* As to loose their head.
* Surnamed so of a familie in *Rome*.
* Or *Maxima Sc. Vestali*, *i*. the chiefe of those Nunns, as Lady Prioresse or Abbatesse.
2. *Georgicorum*, This hath relation to the last word (*Ante*,) in the verse *precedent*.
* *Cupiditatis quoque atque avaritiæ* By coveteousnesse hee meaneth the greedy desire of other mens goods: by avarice, in this place the pinching expense of his owne.
* Plaintife.
* Defendant.

Queſtours, who by an olde cuſtome, (but yet againſt the Law *Claudia*) uſed to negotiate and trade, he pardoned onely for the time paſt. The od ends and cantels of grounds, which after the diviſion of lands by the * Veteran Souldiours, remained heere and there cut out, as it were, from the reſt, hee graunted unto the olde owners and Landlords as in the right of Preſcription. The falſe information of matters, whereof the penaltie came to the Exchequer, he repreſſed: and ſharplie puniſhed ſuch Informers. And this (by mens ſaying) was a ſpeech of his, *The Prince that chaſtneth not Promoters, ſetteth them on to promote.*

* Old ſouldiers who had ſerved out their full time.

10

But long continued he not in this traine, either of clemencie or of abſtinence. And yet fell hee ſomewhat ſooner to crueltie than to covetouſneſſe. A Schollar of the cunning player and counterfeit *Paris*, being as yet of tender yeeres, and at that time very ſicke, hee murdered: for that, both in skill and alſo in countenance and feature of body he ſeemed to reſemble his Maiſter. Semblably dealt he with HERMOGENES of *Tarſus*, for certaine figures * of Rhetorick interlaced in his Hiſtorie: and withall, crucified the Scrivenars and Writers that had copied it out. An (*a*) Houſholder, for ſaying but theſe words, That the *Thracian* * Fencer was (*b*) equall to the mirmillon; but inferiour to the ſetter forth of the * Game, he cauſed to bee plucked downe from the ſcaffold in the Theater, into the plaine beneath; and there to be caſt before the greedy Maſtives, with this title, *Impie locutus Parmularius.* The * *Parmularius* (*c*) hath blaſphemed. Many Senatours, and ſome of them which had beene Conſuls, hee killed: Among whom CIVICUS CERIALIS, in the very time when he was Proconſull in *Aſia*; SALVIDIENUS ORFITUS and ACILIUS GLABRIO during their exile, he put to death; pretending that they practiſed Innovation in the State: all the reſt every one for moſt ſlight cauſes. As for example, ÆLIUS LAMIA, for certaine ſuſpitious ieſts (I muſt needs ſay) but ſuch as were ſtale and harmleſſe: namely, becauſe unto DOMITIAN when (after he had taken from him * his wife) he tell a praiſing of her * voice. he ſaid, I (*d*) *hold my* **peace*, HELAS. As alſo, for that unto TITUS, moving him to a ſecond mariage, he made anſwer, *Me kat ſu Gameſai Theleis?* What! (and if I ſhould wed another) would not you alſo marie her? * SALVIUS COCCEIANUS, becauſe he had celebrated the *Birth-dayes-minde*, *of* OTHO *the Emperour*, his * Vnkle. * METIUS POMPOSIANUS, for that it was commonly ſaid, *He had the Horoſcope in his Nativity of an Emperour*; and caried about him the Map or Geographical deſcription of the * world in certaine parchments; and withall, the Orations of Kings and brave Capitaines written out of TITUS LIVIUS; for impoſing likewiſe the names of MAGO * and ANNIBAL upon ſome of his ſlaves. SALLUSTIUS LUCULLUS Lieutenant generall of *Britaine*, for ſuffring certaine ſpeares of a new faſhion to be called * *Lucullea*. IUNIUS RUSTICUS, for publiſhing the praiſes of * PÆTUS THRASEA and * HELVIDIUS PRISCUS; and calling them moſt holy and upright perſons. By occaſion of which criminous imputation (charged upon RUSTICUS) hee packed away all Philoſophers out of the Citie of *Rome* and *Italie*. Hee ſlewe alſo HELVIDIUS the * ſonne, for that in an Enterlude (as it were), and by way of an *Exodium* upon the Stage, hee had under the perſons of *Paris* and *Oenone* * acted the Divorſe betweene him

* As Ironia and Antiphraſis. &c. whereby he ſeemed to glaunce at him.
* Who was armed with a buckeler.
* of twordfight.
* The favourer of the armed ſenſer Thrax. above ſaide.

*Domitia longina
* Vocem ſuam, ex Lamia, his voice as ſome expound it.
* As if he had uttered theſe words: This is meere iniury but I muſt ſay nothing.
* Vnderſtand here, and in the other following (he ſlew or put to death
* For his father L. Salvius Otho was Othoes brother.
* See *Veſpaſian.* cap. 14.
* Or earth.
* Two moſt renowmed warriours of the Carthaginians, and mortall enimies of the *Romaines*.
* Of his owne name: another Cato Veſpaſian had ſlaine before.

* Who being preſerved by *Nero* cut of his owne maſters veines. * The ſonne in law of Thraſea, even or Brutus and a man of moſt free ſpeech in the behalfe of the Common wealth. * For the father, *Traſlaſſet*, * handled, *altaxaſſit*, taxed or reproved.

*him and his wife. FLAVIUS SABINUS, one of his couſin germaines, becauſe upon the Election day of the Conſuls, the Crier chaunced to miſtake a little, and before the people to pronounce him (being Conſul Elect) not Conſull, but Emperour. And yet, after his victories in the * Civill warre, hee became much more cruell: For, many of the adverſe part, even ſuch as * lying hid a good while were found out by thoſe that were privie unto them, hee by deviſing a new kinde of torture made to confeſſe: namely by thruſting fire into the paſſage of their ſecret parts: Some alſo hee diſmembred by cutting off their hands. And this is for certaine knowne: That two onely and no more, of the moſt notorious among them, to wit, a Tribune of Senatours degree, and a Centurion, were pardoned: Who the ſooner to ſhew that they were unguiltie, had proved themſelves to have beene effeminate Catamites, and therfore could not poſſibly be of any reckoning, either with Capitaine or Souldiours.

* Domitian,

*Of the Flavians and Vitellians.

* *Dudũ latentes, per conſcios inveſtigatos*

II

Now, in this Crueltie of his hee was not onely exceſſive, but alſo ſubtill and craftie; comming upon men when they looked leaſt for it. A * Controller of his owne, the very day before he crucified him, hee called into his bed-chamber, and made him to ſit downe by him upon a pallet or beds ſide: he diſmiſſed him light-harted and merie: he deigned him alſo a favour and * remembrance from his own ſupper. Vnto ARETINUS CLEMENS, a man of Conſuls degree, one of his familiar minions and bloodhounds to fetch in Booties, when he purpoſed to condemne to death, he ſhewed the ſame countenance, as before time, yea and more grace than ordinary: untill at laſt, as hee * went with him in the ſame Litter, by occaſion that hee eſpied the Informer againſt him, *How ſayeſt thou*, quoth hee, CLEMENS, *ſhall wee to morrow heare this moſt errant knave and varlet, what hee can ſay?* And becauſe hee would with greater contempt and diſdaine abuſe mens patience, hee never pronounced any heavie and bloudie ſentence, without ſome preamble and preface of Clemencie: So that, there was not now, a ſurer ſigne of ſome horrible end and Concluſion, than a milde beginning and gentle exordium. Some that ſtoode accuſed of Treaſon he had inducted into the * *Curia*; and when he had premiſed a Speech, *That hee would make triall that day, how deere hee was unto the Senate*, hee ſoone effected thus much thereby, That the parties ſhould have their iudgement, to ſuffer * *More maiorum*: And then, himſelfe, affrighted as it were with the rigorous cruelty of that puniſhment, would *intercede*, in theſe words (for, it ſhall not bee impertinent to knowe the very ſame as hee delivered them) *Permit my good LL. this to be obtained of your gracious Piety (which I know I ſhall hardly obtaine) that yee would doe ſo much favour unto theſe perſons condemned; as that they may chooſe, what death they will die: for, by this yee ſhall ſpare your owne eyes, and all the world ſhall know, that I was preſent in the Senate.*

* *Aliorum ſummorum.*

* A diſh of meate, &c:

* *Simul geſtans*

*Senate houſe.

*To have their necks faſt locked in pillory, and ſo to be beaten with rods to death.

12

Having emptied his coffers with expences of buildings and Games exhibited to the people, as alſo with that * Stipend paied unto the Souldiours, over and above the former; hee aſſaied verily for eaſement of the charges belonging to the Camp, for to diminiſh the numbers and companies of Souldiours. But perceiving that heereby he was both in daunger of the Barbarians, and alſo never the leſſe to ſeeke which way to be relieved from burdens: hee made no reckoning at all, but to raiſe booties, to rob and ſpoile he cared not how? The goods of quick and

* *i. of 3. aurei.*

and dead both, were every where seized upon: who the Accusers were? or what the matter was? it skilled not. Sufficient it was, if any deede or word whatsoever, were obiected against one, to make it high treason against the Prince. Inheritances, were they never so farre off and belonging to the greatest straungers, were held confiscate and adiudged to the Emperours Coffers, in case but one would come forth and depose, *That hee heard the party deceased say whiles hee lived, That* CÆSAR (*a*) *was his heire.* But, above all others the (*b*) Iewes were most grievously plagued in the Exchequer. Vnto which were presented as many of them as either professed in *Rome* to live as Iewes, or else dissimuling their Nation, had not payed the Tributes imposed upon them. I remember, that my selfe being a very youth was in place when an aged Iew, fourescore and tenne yeeres olde, was by the * Procuratour in a most frequent Assembly searched, whether he were circumcised or no? From his very youth nothing civill * and sociable hee was: bolde of hart, audacious withall, and as well in words as deede beyond all measure excessive. Vnto CÆNIS his fathers Concubine newly returned out of *Istria*, and offring to kisse his lips (as her manner was) hee put forth his hand. Taking it hainously that his * brothers sonne in Law had attending about him his, Servitours also, clad in faire white, he cried out,

* Or Master of the Exchequer.
* But proud & scornfull.
*Who married *Titus* his daughter *Iulia*.

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη.

There is no good Plurality
In Lordship and in Sovraigntie:

* An Hemistichium out of *Homer* Iliad 2, *Vlysses* words: as if he should say, I like not so many *Cæsars*.

13

But when hee was mounted ounce to the Imperiall Seate, hee stucke not in the very Senate to make his boast, *That he it was who had given unto his father and brother both, The Empire, and they had but delivered it up to him againe.* Also when after Divorsement he brought home and remarried his wife, hee bashed not to give it out, that she was called to his * sacred bed. Moreover, upon the day when hee made a great * Dinner unto the people, hee was well content and pleased to heare their acclamation throughout the Theater in these words,

Domino et Dominæ, feliciter.
All happines, to our Lord and Lady.

* *Pulvinar fuit* as if he had beene a God for, their Gods and Goddesses they bestowed in certaine bed lofts called *Pulvinaria*. *During ỹ solemne Games exhibited vnto them.

Likewise at the Solemnity of Trying Maisteries in the *Palatium*, when all the people besought him with great consent and one accord, to * restore PALFURIUS SURA (one in times past degraded and thrust out of the Senate, but at that time crowned among the Oratours for his Eloquence) hee vouchsafed them no answere, but onely by voice of the publike crier Cõmaunded them Silence. With semblable arrogancie, when as in the * name of his Procuratours he endited any formall Letters, thus hee began, *Our Lord and God thus cõmaundeth.* Whereupon afterwards this order was taken up, that neither in the writing or speech of * any man he should be otherwise called. No Statues suffred he to be erected for him in the Capitoll, but of gold and silver; and the same of a certaine weight, iust. As for two-fronted IANI and ARCHES with their foure Steedes, together with the Ensignes and Badges of Triumph, hee built them stately and so many in every quarter and Region of the Cittie, as that in one of the saide Arches there was this Mot in Greeke written, ἄρκει (*a*) *si*. It is enough. Hee tooke upon him seventeene Consulships, more than ever any man before him. Of which, those seven

* A Romane.
* Cõmon talke

* *Ponderis certi*, Sabellicus readeth *centeni*, of an hundred pounds according to *Statius Papinius* of *Domitians* statue *Sylv* 3, *Da Capitolino æternũ sedibus aurum*.

* *Quo niteant sacri centeno pondere vultus Cæsarii.*

seven in the middle, hee bare continually one after another; and in manner all, in name and title onely: but none of them beyond the *Kalends of May; and most, to the *Ides onely of Ianuarie. Now, after his two *triumphs, having assumed into his stile the Addition of GERMANICVS, hee chaunged the Denomination of the moneths September & October; calling them after his owne names GERMANICVS and DOMITIANVS: for that in the *one hee entred upon his Empire, and was borne in the *other.

*Not above 4 moneths.
*Not a fortnight full.
*Over the *Catti* and *Daci*.
*September.
*October.

In these courses that hee tooke, beeing both terrible and odious also unto all men, surprised he was in the end, and murdred by his *friends and freed men that were most inward with him; who together with his wife conspired his death. The last yeere and day of his life, the very houre also and what kinde of death he should die, he had long time before suspected. For when he was but a youth, the Chaldæan Astrologers had fore-tolde him all. His Father also one time at supper, when hee saw him forbeare to eate Mushromes, laughed him to scorne as ignorant of his owne destinie, for that hee did not feare the sword rather. And therefore beeing alwaies timorous and strucken into his pensive dumps upon the least suspitions presented, hee was beyond all measure troubled and disquieted: In so much as it is credibly reported, that no other cause moved him more, to dispense with that Edict which hee had proclaimed for the cutting downe and destroying of Vineyards, than certaine Pamphlets and Libels scattered abroade with these verses.

14
*Minions.

*Alluding to the like verses of the Poet *Evenus*: which *Ovide* seemeth to expresse, *Fastorum* in *Lacinthus*. *Rode caper vitem, tamen hic cũ flabis ad aras. In tua quod spargis cornua posse, scis*

*Κἂν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω,
ὅσον ἐπισπεῖσαι καίσαρι θυομένῳ.

Eate me to roote, yet fruit will I beare still and never misse,
Enough to poure on CÆSARS *head whiles sacrific'd he is.*

In the same fearefulnesse hee refused a new honour and that which never was devised before, offred by the Senate unto him, (though otherwise most eager and greedie of all such things) whereby they decreed, *That so often as hee was Consull, the Gentlemen of Rome, as it fell by lot to their turnes, should in their rich and gay coates and with militare Launces march before him among the Lictours and other Sergeants and Apparitours*. When the time also of that daunger drew neere which he suspected, he became perplexed every day more than other: and therefore he garnished the walls of those galleries wherein hee was wont to rome himselfe and walke, with the stone *Phengites*; by the images rebounding from the brightnesse whereof he might see before his face whatsoever was done behind his back. The most part of prisoners and persons in duresse, hee would not heare but being alone and in a secret place, taking holde first of their chaines in his owne hand. And because he would perswade his household servitours, that no man should be so hardy as to lay violent hand upon his owne Patrone to kill him, no though much good might ensue thereof; hee condemned EPAPHRODITVS the Secretarie of NERO, for that it was thought, his Lord & Maister (after he was forlorne and forsaken of all) had his helping hand to dispatch him out of the world.

15

To conclude, his Vnkles sonne (*a*) FLAVIVS CLEMENS (a man for his lithernesse and negligence most contemptible) whose sonnes being yet very little ones, hee had openly ordained to bee his Successours: and abolishing their former names, commanded the one to be called VESPATIAN and the other DOMITIAN, he killed so dainely, upon a slender & small suspition, even when he was scarce out of his Consulship. By which deede of his most of all, he hastened his own end

and

and deſtruction, For 8 moneths ſpace together, ſo many lightnings were ſeene & reported unto him, that he cryed out, *Now let *him ſtrike whom he will.* The Capitol was ſmitten and blaſted therewith: the Temple alſo of the FLAVIAN Linage: likewiſe his owne houſe in the Palatium, and verie bedchamber. Moreover, out of the* baſe of his triumphall Statue, the *Title being driven by force of a ſtorme, fel down into the Sepulcher next adioyning. That tree which being laid along, had riſen up againe when VESPASIAN was yet a private perſon, fell ſodainely then a ſeconde time. The Image of fortune at* *Preneſte*, which all the time of his Empire, when he recommended unto her the new yeere, was wont to give him an happy anſwere & alwaies the ſame, now in this laſt yeere, delivered one moſt woſull, and not without mention of bloud. He dreamed, that (*b*) MINERVA, whom he worſhipped ſuperſtitiouſly, departed out of her Chappell, and ſaid, *She could not protect him any longer*, for that ſhee was by IVPITER diſarmed. But with no one thing was hee ſo much diſquieted, as with the anſwere of ASCLETARIO the Aſtrologer; & the accident that chanced unto him thereupon. This ASCLETARIO beeing enformed againſt, and not denying that he had delivered what by his art and learning he foreſaw, he queſtioned with and asked, what his owne end ſhould be? & when he made anſwer & affirmed, *That his deſtinie was to be torne in peeces with dogs*, & that ſhortly after; he cauſed him preſently to be killed: but to reprove the raſhnes and uncertaintie of his skill and profeſſion, he commanded with all, that he ſhould be buried with as great care as poſſibly might be. In the doing whereof accordingly, it fortuned that by a ſodaine tempeſt, the corps being caſt downe out of the funerall fire, the dogs tare and rent peecemeale, when it was but halfe burnt: and the ſame happened to be reported unto him among other *tales and newes, of that day, as hee ſat at ſupper, by LATINVS the player and counterfeite ieſter, who as hee paſſed by, chaunced to ſee and marke ſo much.

* *Iupiter* or God.

*Or Pied ſtoole.

*Or Inſcription.

* Where was an Oracle.

* *Fabulas* narrations to make Princes merry

16 The day before his death, when he had given commandement that certaine Muſhromes ſet before him ſhold be kept againſt the morrow, he added moreouer, if I may have vſe of them: & turning to thoſe that were next him he ſaid; *The day following it would come to paſſe, that the Moone ſhould embrue her ſelfe with bloud in the ſigne Aquarius, and ſome act be ſeene, whereof men ſhould ſpeake all the world over.* But about midnight, ſo *skared he was, that he ſtarted out of his bed. Hereuppon in the morning betimes he gave hearing unto the Soothſayer ſent out of *Germanie*, who being asked his opinion about the lighning, had foretold a change in the ſtate: and him he condemned. And whiles he ſcratched verie harde a ta wert in his ſore head which was feſtered and growne to be ſore, ſeeing bloud run out of it, would God quoth he, this were all. Then asked he what was a clocke? and inſteede of the *5 th. houre which he feared, word was brought for the nonce that it was the 6 th. Being ioious hereupon that the danger was nowe paſt, and haſtening to cheriſh his body and make much of himſelfe, PARTHENIVS his principall Chamberlaine turned him an other way; ſayinge there was one come who brought tidinges (I wot not what) of great cõſequẽce, & of a matter in no wiſe to be deferred. Voiding therfore all perſons from him, he retired into his bedchamber, and there was he murdered.

* He dreamt haply that *Iunius Ruſticus* whom hee had killed came vpon him with a naked ſword. *Xiphilin.*

*11 Of ỹ clock

* Whom *Euſebius* reporteth to haue beene neiepe by the ſiſter of *Flavius Clemens* and a Chriſtian, therefore confined to the Iland *Pontia.*

17 As touching the manner how he was forlaide and of his death, thus much (in manner) hath beene divulged. Whiles the conſpiratours were in queſtion with themſelues and doubtfull, when, and how, they ſhould ſet upon him? that is to ſay, whether he bathed or ſat at ſupper? STEPHEN the procuratour of* Domitilla, & at the ſame time in trouble for intercepting certaine monies, offered his adviſe and

helping hand, who having for certaine dayes before bound up and enwrapped his left arme (as if it had beene amisse) with wool and swadling bandes, thereby to avert from himselfe all suspition, at the very houre interposed fraud and made a lie. For, professing that hee would discover the conspiracy, and in that regarde being admitted into the chamber, as DOMITIAN was reading of a bill which hee preferred unto him, and therewith stood amazed, hee stabbed him beneth in the very share neere unto his privie parts. When hee was thus wounded and beganne to struggle and resist; CLODIANVS a* Cornicularius, and MAXIMVS a freed man of Parthenius, and SATVRIVS the Deane or Decurion of the Chamberlaines with one out of his owne swordfencers schoole, came in uppon him, gave him seven wounds, and killed him out right. A youth and page of his, who stood by (as his wonted manner was) because he had the charge of his bedchamber (a) LARES, and was present at this murder committed, made this report moreover, that DOMITIAN, at the very first wound given, immediatly bad him reach the* dagger, that lay under his pillow, and to call in his ministers and servitours: but at the beds head hee found nothing at al thereof save the haft onely: and as for the doores besides, they were all fast shut: Also, that DOMITIAN in this meane space, tooke hold of STEPHEN, bare him to the ground and wrestled with him a longe time: That he one while assaied to wrest his sword out of his hands, another while (albeit his fingers were hurt and mangled) to plucke out his eyes. Well, killed he was, the 14 th day before the Kalends of October, in the 45 th yeere of his age, and the 15 th of his Empire. His dead bodie was caried foorth upon the common bierre by the ordinary bearers: and PHYLLIS his nource burned it in a funeral fire, within a country manour of his owne neere unto the Citie, situate upon the high way Latina. But the reliques thereof shee bestowed in the Temple of the FLAVIAN family, and blended the same with the ashes of IVLIA the daughter of TITVS, whom she had reared and brought up

* Certaine soul diers were so tearmed,

* Or rapier

* 17, th. of September,

Of Stature he was tall, his countenance modest, and given much to (a) rednes: his eyes full and great, but his sight very dimme. Besides, faire he was and of comely presence especially in his youth: well shaped all his body throughout, excepting his feete: the toes whereof were of *shorteft. In processe of time, he became disfigured and blemished with baldnesse, with a fat grand-panch and sclender shanks: & yet they grew to be so leane upon occasion of a long sickenes. For his modesty & shame facednesse he so well perceiued himselfe to be commended, that one time before the Senate he gave out these words, *Hitherto certainly ye haue liked wel of my minde and of my countenance.* With his bald head he was so much yrked, that hee tooke it as a reproach unto himself, if any man els were either in bord or good earnest twitted therewith: albeit in a certaine little booke, which he wrot unto a freind of his, concerning the nourishment & preseruation of the haire of the head, he by way of consolation both to that friend and also to himselfe, inserted thus much.

* Restrictiores drawen inward

οὐχ ὁρᾷς οἷος καὶ καλὸς τὲ μέγας τε,

See'st thou not yet how big and tall
How faire I am and comely with all?

* Homer Iliad 21. Lycaon the Sonne of Priamus vnto Achilles,

And yet quoth he, my *destinie and fortune wil be to have the same defect of haire: & with a stoute heart I endure, that the bush of my head waxeth olde in my fresh youth. And this would I have you to know, that nothing is more louely, nothing more fraile and transitorie than beautie and fauour.

* Eadem me manent some read te.

19 Being impatient of all labour and paines taking, he was not lightly seene to walke in the Citie. In any expedition and march of the army seldome rod he on horse-

horſebacke, but was caried in a * litour. No affection had hee to feate armes or weld weopons: but delighted he was eſpecially to ſhoot arrowes. Many men have ſeene him oftentimes during his retiring abode at *Alba*, to kill with ſhot an hundred wild beaſts of ſundrie ſorts at a time: & of very purpoſe to ſticke ſome of them in the heads, to, as that with two ſhoots hee would ſet his ſhafts in their fronts like a paire of hornes. Sometimes he would drive his arrows point blanke ſo iuſt againſt the palme of a childs right hand, ſtanding farre of and holding it foorth ſtreuched open for a marke, as they ſhould all directly paſſe through the voide ſpaces betweene the fingers, and do him no hatme at all.

* Vpon mens ſhoulders.

20 All liberall ſtudies in the beginning of his Empire he neglected: albeit hee tooke order to repaire the Libraries conſumed with fire, to his exceeding great charges: making ſearch from all parts for the copies of bookes loſt, and ſendinge as farre as to * ALEXANDRIA, (*a*) to write them out and correct them. But never gave he his minde to know hiſtories; or to have any skill in verſe, or to write ought, though neceſſitie ſo required. Except it were the commentaries and acts of TIBERIUS CAESAR hee never uſed to read any thing. For his Epiſtles, Orations and Edicts, hee employed the wits of other men to drawe and frame them. Howbeit, his ordinary ſpeech was not unelegant: and otherwhiles you ſhold have him come foorth even with mirable ſentences and Apophthegmes. As for example; *Would God quoth he, I were as faire and well fauoured, as* METIVS *thinkes himſelfe to be.* And ſeeing ones head * party coloured, with yellowiſh and white ſilver haires inter-mingled: Hee ſaid it was * ſnow and mede mixed together. His ſaying it was, *that the condition of Princes was moſt miſerable, who could not bee credited as touching a conſpiracie plainely detected unleſſe they were ſlaine firſt.*

* In Aegypt.

* Of two colours.

* A kind of delicate drinke among the *Romains.*

21 Whenſoever his leaſure ſerved, he ſolaced himſelfe with dice play, even uppon the very worke daye, and in morning houres. Hee bathed * by day time, and made his dinner ſo liberall to the full, that ſeldome for his ſupper he tooke any thing, unles it were a * Matium Apple, and a ſmal ſupping or potion out of a narrow mouthed and great bellied glaſſe. He feaſted often, & that very plentifully, but his feaſts were ſhort and after a ſnatching manner. Certes, hee never ſat paſt ſunne ſetting, nor admitted any reare bankets after ſupper. For, towards bedtime, hee did nothing, but in a ſecret chamber walke by himſelfe alone.

* *De die.*

* It tooke the name of one *Matius* who loued an horſe yard well: like as *Appiana* and *Sceptiana mala* of *Appius* and *Sceptius.*

22 To fleſhly luſt he was over much given. The ordinary uſe of VENVS, as it were a kind of exerciſe, hee named Clinopale, as one would ſay, bed-wreſtling. The report went, that him ſelfe uſed, with pinſers to depilate his concubines, and to ſwim among the commoneſt naughtie packes, that were. His brothers * daughter offred firſt unto him in marriage whiles ſhe was yet a maide, when he had moſt reſolutely refuſed, by reaſon he was entangled and overcome with the mariage of DOMITIA; not long after when ſhe was beſtowed upon another, of his owne accord he ſollicited, and was naught with her: even verily whiles his brother TITVS yet lived. Afterwards when ſhe was bereſt of father and husband both, hee loved her with moſt ardent affection, and * that openly: in ſo much, as that hee was the cauſe of her death, by forcing her to miſcarie and caſt away the untimely * fruicte wherewith ſhe went.

* Iulia.

* As his wedded wife.

* Conceived, as ſome ſay, by her former husband: others, by *Domitian* in her widow-head. and here to accordeth *Iuuena. Quum tot aborſiuis, &c.* *Iulia vulnam Soluerat, & patruo ſimiles effunderet offas.*

23 That he was killed the people tooke it indifferently: but the ſouldiers, to the very heart: and forthwith went about to canonize him a God, and to call him * DIVVS: ready enough alſo to revenge his death; but that they wanted heads to lead

* A Saint or of ſacred memorie.

*Petronius and Parthenius. Sext. Aurel.

lead them. And yet within a whiles after they did it, and calling moſt inſtantly and never giving over for* the authors of this murder to be executed. Contrariwiſe, the Senate ſo much reioiced, that beeing aſſembled in great frequencie within the *Curia*, they could not rule themſelues, but ſtrived a vie to rent and teare him now dead with the moſt contumelious and bitterest kinds of (a) acclamations that they could deuiſe: commanding ladders to be brought in, his* skutcheons & Images to be taken downe in their ſight, and even there in place to be throwen and daſhed againſt the hard floore: In the end that all titles whereſoever bearing his name ſhould be raſed and ſcraped out, and his memoriall aboliſhed quite for euer. Some few moneth before hee was murdered, there was a Crowe in the Capitoll ſpake theſe wordes plainely, ἔσαι πάντα καλῶς, i. *All ſhall be well*: And there wanted not one, who interpreted this ſtrang Prodigie thus.

*Coates of armes,

Nuper Tarpeio qua ſedit culmine cornix
EST BENE non potuit dicere, dixit ERIT.

The Crow which latele ſat on top of Tarpeie newes to tell
Tis well when as ſhe could not ſay, ſaid yet, it will be well.

And reported it is that DOMITIAN himſelfe dreamed, howe hee had a golden excreſſence riſing & bunching behind his necke: & knew for certaine, that therby was portended and foreſignified unto the common wealth, an happier ſtate after him. And ſo it fell out, I aſſure you ſhortly after: ſuch was the abſtinent and moderate cariage of the (b) Emperours next enſuing.

FINIS.

ANNOTATIONS VPON
C. Iulius Cæsar Dictator.

(a) LVCIVS CAESAR, hee died ſodainly at *Piſa* in *Italy*, as hee put on his ſhooes in a morning, when hee was newe riſen. *Plin. Natur. Hiſt. Lib. 7. c. 53*

(b) FLAMEN DIALIS. 1. the great Prieſt of IVPITER. Three FLAMENS there were at *Rome*, by the firſt Inſtitution. DIALIS of IVPITER, MARTIALIS of MARS, QVIRINALIS of ROMVLVS; and theſe were the principal: unto whom (in proceſſe of time) 12. more were adjoyned, attending all upon ſe verall Godds and Goddeſſes. *Carol. Sig. de ant. iure Rom. lib. 1. cap. 19.*

(c) *Vt repudiaret.* In the ciuill Lawe, wee obſerve a difference betweene *Repudium* and *Divortium*. *Repudium*, when the man rejecteth and caſteth off the woman betrothed only unto him before mariage in this forme, *Conditione tua non utor.* And in this wiſe CAESAR and COSSVTIA parted before. *Divortium*, when hee putteth her away after ſhee is his wedded wife, with theſe ſolemne words: *Res tuas tibi habeto*, or *Res tuas tibi agito.* Howbeit, in this place *Repudiare* is to be taken in this latter ſenſe, for CORNELIA was his wife, and had borne him a daughter. *Paul. Modeſtin. Cajus.*

(d) I take it, that he meaneth ſuch inheritances, as are not *Teſtamentaria*, but *Legitime*: 1. *Which when one dieth inteſtate*, fall unto the children, firſt and for default of them, to the *Agnati* and *Gentiles*. i. to the next of kinne, and to the name. Theſe are called with us, *the Right heires at common Law. Vide car Sigon. de Iudicijs lib. cap. 4. De antiq: jur. civ. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

(e) The principall of them was, CORNELIVS PHAGITAS, a Freed man of *Sulla*, unto whom CAESAR gave two talents, for to eſcape his hands. See cap. 74. and *Plutarchus.*

(f) It belonged vnto theſe Votaries and Nunnes of VESTA, to goe betweene parties offended, and make reconciliation. See more hereof *Alex. ab Alexandr. Genial. die. lib. 5. cap. 12.*

(a) YOVNG gentlemen of noble bloud, the better to bee trained up in martiall feats, & the knowledge of any Province affaires, were wont to attend the LL. Deputies there, & to be entertained with them in the ſame pavilion, as familiar companions. *Cic. orat. pro Calio. & Plancio.*

(b) *Libertines* were ſuch properly, as of bondmen were manumiſed and made Free, although *Sueto.* elſwhere, to wit in *Cl. Caſ.* nameth the children of ſuch, *Libertines*; by which it appeareth that hee confoundeth them with *Ingenui.* i. Freeborne.

(c) Clients haue a relation to their Patrones: and as theſe were *Patritij* and Nobles, ſo the other were Commoners. And ſuch a mutuall and reciprocall entercourſe of duetie was betweene them, that as the Patrons were ready to inſtruct in the knowledge of the lawes, to defend and protect their Clients, who had put themſelves into their patronage: ſo theſe were bound to attende their Patrons when they went abroad, into the city & returned home, to relieve the with their purſe in the beſtowing of their daughters &c. And lawfull it was for neither of them to enforme, to depoſe, to giue their voices, or to ſide with adverſaries, one againſt another, without the note and guilt of treachery and perfidious prodicion.

(d) Made of oken branches, or of *Ilex*, or *Eſculus*, bearing maſt, in defect of the *Oke* for ſaving the life of a citizen. Although Generals of the field were honoured therewith, in other reſpects.

(a) WHO being Conſull with Q. CATVLLVS LVCTATIVS, went about to repeale and annull all the Actes of SYLLA late deceaſed, and ſo kindled a newe civill warre.

(a) BY the death of LEPIDVS, whom his COLLEAGVE CATVLLVS drave out of *Italy* into *Sardinia*, where he dyed, as ſome write, of a violent Rehume: or as others, with a deepe thought that he tooke, upon intelligence that he had of his wives adultery, in which melancholy he pyned away. *Plutarch.*

(a) Theſe *Tribunes Militarie*, call them Colonels ouer a thouſand ſootmen, whereupon they tooke that name firſt, to wit, when the *Romaine* Legion conſiſted of 3000. according to the three ancient Tribes, *Rhamnium, Lucerum & Tatienſium*: or High Marſhals, as BVDAEVS would have them to be, conſidering the execution of their office in the campe, not much unlike to our *Kn. Marſhals* in theſe daies; Some by vertue of an Act or Lawe preferred by RVTILVS RVFVS, were choſen in the Armie by the L Generall, & named RVTVLI or RVFVLI, others by the voices of the people in their publick aſſemblyes for Elections called *Comitia*, and for diſtinction ſake, named *Comitiati.* And ſuch a Tribune militarie was CAESAR in this place.

(b) *Rogatione Plotia.* A bill preferred, and the ſame as a Lawe not yet enacted, was called *Rogatio*, (as one would ſay) *Interrogatio*: for that the people were demaunded and asked their opinions in this forme of words. *Velitis ſine, jubeatis ſine Quirites &c.* Is it your will and pleaſure, yee citizens of *Rome*, that ſuch a thing ſhould paſſe, or no? And of him who propoſed

the ſame, it tooke the name.

3 (a) By the Latine Colonies, are meant here thoſe beyond the Po, which being before endowed *Latinitate*, i. with the freedome of Latium ſtood not therwith contented, vnleſſe they might be *donati ciuitate*, i. enioy the Franchiſes and Freedome of *Rome*.

9 (a) COMMITIVM, was one part of the *Forum Romanum*, wherein ſtood the *Roſtra*, and the people vſed to aſſemble for election of Magiſtrates, for making of Lawes, and hearing of publike Orations.

11 (a) SVLLA, in the time of his proſcription and outlawing of the aduerſe faction of C. MARIVS, ordained two talents for every one that killed any of the proſcribed and brought him his head, not ſparing Maſter or Father: but that the ſeruant might kill his maſter and the ſonne his Father; nay hee made it death if they ſaued any ſuch.

(b) Of *Cornelius Sulla*.

(a) T. LABIENVS. CICERO and HORTENSIVS pleaded for him.

21 (b) For, to kill a Tribune of the Commons, who were *Sacroſancti* and *Inuiolabili*, would beare the Action *Perduellionis*. And that was laide to *Rabirius* a Senatour his charge, although indeede hee ſlewe him not, but one *Scena*: mary, when he was killed, hee cauſed his head, in moſt ludibrious manner to be caried about.

Now was the crime *Perduellionis*, all one with treaſon againſt the Common wealth, or a principall perſon of State: or elſe Felonie in ſome high degree.

(c) The liberty of appealing vnto the people, was graunted by *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third king of the Romaines, As appeareth by LIVIVS, in the caſe of *Horatius*, for killing his owne ſiſter.

13 (a) *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, and *P. Seruilius Iſauricus*.

14 (a) *Ceſar* enuying ſuch an honour vnto *Catulus*, as to reedifie and dedicate the Capitol conſumed with fire, a peece of worke that *Sulla* the Dictatour tooke in hand but finiſhed not, and the onely thing wherby his felicity was not compleat, would haue put him by it and conferred it vpon another: and therefore put the matter in queſtion, before the bodie of the people, there to bee diſcuſſed and debated, whether it were their minde and; will that *Catulus* ſhould doe it, or ſome other?

(b) A Lawe is ſaid to be promulged, after it is onte propoſed for to bee conſidered vpon, vntill it be fully enacted: during which time, reaſons were alleaged for the conuenience thereof, or otherwiſe; and free it was for any man who had a voice to impugne or allowe it.

(c) *Optimates* and *Populares*, were in the citie of Rome oppoſite either againſt other, and are liuely deſcribed by *Cicero* in his Oration, *pro Sextio*, in theſe wordes. *Duo genera in hac ciuitate ſemper fuerunt eorũ, qui verſari in rep. atque in ea ſe excellentius gerere ſtuduerunt. Quibus ex generibus, alteri Populares, alteri, Optimates & haberi & eſſe voluerũt. Qui ea quæ faciebant, quaque dicebant, multitudini iucunda eſſe volebant, Populares: qui autem ita ſe gerebant, ut ſua conſilia optimo cuique probarentur; Optimates habebantur. Item. Quis ergo eſt Optimas? quis? De numero ſi quaris innumerabiles, neque enim aliter ſtare poſſemus. Sunt principes conſilij publici. Sunt qui eorũ ſectam ſequuntur. Sunt maximorũ Ordinum homines quibus patet Curia, Sunt municipes Ruſticiq: Romæ, Sunt negotia gerentes ſunt etiã Libertini Optimates.* Wherby it appeareth, that thoſe were counted *Optimates*, not ſimply of noble birth, and of great wealth &c. But were they *Patritij*, *Equites*, or *Plebeij*. If they ſtoode for good thinges, or fauoured thoſe that ſo did; Nay, whether they were Burgeſſes of Free Burroughes, yeomen of the Country following huſbandry, Merchants and Tradeſmen, or very Libertines, ſo they affected good cauſes, they were reckoned in the number of *Optimates*. On the other ſide, as many as aymed onely at this, to pleaſe and content the multitude, were they neuer ſo well borne or otherwiſe qualified, they went in the rancke of Populares; ſo that it ſeemeth, that Populares were the *Forenſis factio*, that LIVIE writeth of, and whome Q. FABIVS reduced all in to the foure *Tribus urbanas*; and *Optimates*, the *Tribus ruſtice*, wherein was *integer populus, fautor & cultor bonorum*. Thus much of the ſtrickt ſignification of this worde *Optimates*. But for as much as commonly fewe of the Nobilitie and Gentry of *Rome* were *Popular*, and as fewe of the Communaltie fauourers of the beſt things uſually; by theſe *Optimates*, or the better ſort, are ment the *Patritij* and Gentlemen.

(d) Vpon the Kalends of Ianuary *i.* the firſt day of the yeare, the Conſuls entred their office, on which day attended they were obſequiouſly by thoſe better ſort of the citizens and their friends, waiting vpon them, when they went vp into the Capitoll for to Sacrifice, and home againe. On this day likewiſe it appeareth, that CAESAR began his Pretorſhipp.

(e) This purple Robe bordered, called *Prætexta*, was a Garment not proper to the Pretors onely, but to other Magiſtrates alſo. Embrodered it was or garded about with purple. For PLNIE writeth, that *Lutulus* ſurnamed *Aedile Curule*, wore in his Robe, purple of a duble die, called thereupon, *Dibapha*. And thereupon it was called in Greeke διπορφυρος. And not onely citie-Magiſtrates, but Prieſtes and children of gentle birth vſed the ſame. Setting a ſide the border of purple, it was otherwiſe white.

(f) By *Curia* ſimply without any adiunction, is ment *Curia Hoſtilia*, as witneſſeth *Alex. ab Alexandro* i. A ſtately place built by K. TVLLIVS HOSTILIVS in the *Forum Romanum*, neere vnto the *Roſtra*: where, as in the Parliament houſe aſſembled the Senators ordinarily to conſult vpon the affaires of State. For, other places there were, vnder the name of CVRIA, wherein likewiſe the Senat met together, as CVRIA POMPEII, in which CAESAR was murdered, *Diui Auguſti* &c. but then they had their addition. I am not ignorant, that other CVRIEA there were for the Pontifes and Prieſtes. To ſay nothing how the people was diuided into CVRISA. *id eſt*, Pariſhes, and in every of them was a CVRIA, and a ſuperintendent or Curate called Curio.

(g) Superiour Magiſtrates, bee the Conſuls Pre-

tors

Pretours and Cenſors, the reſt as Aediles, Queſtors, were accounted inferiour. &c.

18 (a) CRASSVS is named for one, who entred into a bond for him of 830. talents, what time CAESAR deeply indebted, ſaid, *bis millies & quingenties centena millia nullũ ſibi adeſſe oportere, ut nihil haberet, id eſt*, that 250. millions of ſeſterces would but ſet him cleare with the world.

(b) By the Lawes, none might make ſuit for a tryumph, but whiles they remained abſent without the citie, nor for a Conſulſhip except they were preſent as priuate perſons within the citie. In theſe ſtreights, CAESAR made choyce to be Conſull, and gave ouer his right to a triumph, for the victorie obteyned in
19 Spaine over the *Callaici* and Luſitanes.

(a) THE manner was at *Rome*, that they who ſued for Magiſtracies ſhould for the obteining of the peoples voices and ſuffrages make promiſe of certaine ſummes of money to be diſtributed amonge them, and ſuch as were appointed to deale the ſaide Largeſſe, they called *Diuiſores*. Now, for that the *Election* of *Conſuls* paſſed by *Comitia centuriata* that is, by the aſſembly of the people, by their centuries or *Hundreds* according as *Serv. Tullus* firſt ordeyned them, therefore was this money to bee devided amongſt them, as they gave their voices.

(b) Prouinces ſignifie three things, the countries conquered or yeilded, and the ſame governed by *Roman Deputies*: and this is the proper and primative ſignification thereof. alſo the Region wherein any *Roman Generall* by commiſſion from the ſtate maketh warr: and laſt of all, what publick functionor affaires ſoeuer is to be adminiſtred. In which ſence it is heere taken.

(c) Either for the cutting downe of trees for the beſt cõmodities: or els for a gaurd to be kept neare vnto them, to ſuppreſſe the outrage committed by theeues, haunting the ſame and robbing and ſpoyling paſſengers.

(d) To amend the waies and beaten pathes, where, either wayfairing men or beaſtes ſhoulde paſſe with more eaſe. And verily theſe were baſe mattes and requiring no great forces to bee performed: and ſo by conſequence, the Conſuls employd therein could compaſſe no greate projects and therefore leſſe to be feared.

(e) This ſocietie bred the Ciuill warre that after enſued, betweene CAESAR and POMPEIVS vnto which the Poet Lucan alluded writing thus.

Tu cauſa malorum
20 *Facta tribus dominis communis Roma.*

(a) As well to auoide tedious canuaſſings and conſultations as to prouide for the hiſtorie and memoriall of euery matter.

(b) One of the *Conſuls* onely had the twelue Lictors going before him, with the rods and axes: to witt, each of them their moneths, by turnes one after the other, *Ne ſi ambo faſces haberent duplicatus terror videretur*. As LIVIE writeth: An ordinance as auncient well neere, as the firſt inſtitution of Conſuls.

(c) ACCENSVS, an officer attendant vpon Magiſtrate, ſo named *ab accienda, id eſt*, of giuing ſummons to any for appearance, or of calling any to the Magiſtrate.

(d) Great indulgences, immunities and priuiledges were graunted by the *Romanes* vnto thoſe that had *ius trium liberorum*: but as APPIAN writeth more particularly to the explication of this place, there aſſembled 20000 together, craving maintenãce and foode euery man, for three children and more that they had.

(e) Publicanes were they that either for a certaine rent tooke to ferme the publicke reuenewes of the City, whether it were corne, paſturage, cuſtomes, impoſtes, &c. or vndertooke by the groſſe to make proviſion for the ſtate, or to build and repaire any citie-workes. &c.

(a) THIS was not *more maiorum*, for then his ſentence ſhould haue bene demaunded firſt, that by the Cenſors was elected *Princeps Senatus. id eſt*, Preſident of the Counſell: but extraordinarily, as appeareth by *Aul. Gel. Noct. Attic. lib. 4. cap. 10. & lib. 14. cap. 7.* 21 22

(a) FOR as LIVIE teſtifieth *lib.* 38. The Romanes triumphed oftener over the Gaules, than euer all the world beſide.

(b) Which VATINIVS a Tribune of the Commons propoſed in the behalfe of IVLIVS CEASAR, that for five yeares together, hee ſhould (without caſting lots, and the Senates decree), goverme CISALPINE Gaule, together with *Illyricum*: contrarie to the Lawe Sempronia, which prouided that ſuch Prouincial Gouernours, or LL. Deputies, ſhould yearely bee choſen by the Senate. *Carol. Sigon. lib. 2. cap. 1. de antiquo jure prouinciarum.*

(c) CISALPINA GALLIA, is that, which lay betweene Italy and the Alpes, divided into CISPADANA and TRANSPADANA, according to the ſite thereof, either on this ſide, or beyond the river PO: it caried the name likewiſe of TOGATA, either becauſe it was much inhabited by the Romanes, or for that vnto this Prouince the Romane Robe TOGA was graunted, or els in regard that the ſaide Prouince was more ciuill and peaceable, than the other called TRANSALPINA.

(d) COMATA GALLIA, a part of GALLIA TRANSALPINA, lying beyond the Alpes, from Italy toward Spaine: ſo called for the long haire that they wore: and συνεκδοχικῶς put for the whole TRANSALPINE Prouince, like as BRACHATA, one part of the ſaid Prouince, ſo called of a certaine kinde of apparell, is taken for the whole and confounded with *Comata*.

(e) This terme, which they commonly vſe, who threaten ſuch as they contemne, may bee drawen to an obſceene and ſilthy ſenſe, not heere to bee named: and albeit CAESAR

hereby was galled to the quick, as privie to himselfe, of the passive abuse of his body with K. NICOMEDES, yet in his answere thereto, he turned it to another signification.

(f) *Warlike women*, so called (as some write) of their paps which they did cut off and sear, therby to bee more expedite and nimble in fight, and to shoot at greater ease. See *Strabo*, *Iust. n. Q. Curtius*, *Herodotus &c.*

23 (a) FOR, if his Questour or Treasurer had beene condemned, it would haue beene a shrewde precedent for his conviction also in the same cause.

24 (a) WHO stoode in Election for the Consulshippe: so called of the whited robe, which they put on, who sued for such Magistracies and places of Honour. For whereas the ordinarie gowne that *Romaine* citizens daily wore, was white of it selfe, against such a time they made it whiter with chalke: so that a difference there was betweene *Toga alba*, and *candida*, whereupon they were called *Candidati*, as appeareth by *Macrobius*, and *T. Liuius*, *lib. 4 ab urb. condita*

(b) *Supplication*, was a solemne Honour done unto the Lord Generall of a Prouince upon some notable victorie For the manner was, that L L. Gouernours, after they were by their Souldiers salute by the name of Emperour. i Soueraigne commanders, should send them Letters dight with Lawrell unto the Senate, wherin they required both to be stiled by the saide name, and also to have solemne processions made by the people in the Temples, and thanksgiuing unto the Gods for their good successe, which solemnity, at the first continued but one day, as *T.* LIVIVS reporteth in the 304. yeare after the foundation of *Rome*: but processe of time, it grewe to 4. and 12. And at length, CEASAR obtained it for 15. yea and 20. daies together, as PLVTARCH testifieth in his life, and himselfe in his owne Comentaries, of the Gauls warre.

26 (a) *Super HS. millies.* This character HS. standeth for a Siluer coyne in *Rome*, which is the three halfe pence, farthing, cue, the 4 part of *Denarius*: & is called *Sextertius quasi sesquitertius*: as one would say, valuing two brasen Asses and the halfe of a third: so common a peece of money there, that *Numus* put absolutely alone, standeth for it and no other coine: so that *Millies sestertium* and *millies nummum*, are both one. Now if the *Romaine Denier* bee valued at vij d. ob. with vs, and 100. Deniers arise to one pound starling: this summe here set downe, that is to say, a Sesterne multiplyed by the Aduerbe *Millies*, amounteth by just account unto 25000. li. starling. And thereto for the overdeale or surplusage *ducenties sestertium*, which is one 5. part of the former summe, it maketh up 270000. li. sterling. A thing that may be thought incredible, but that we reade that CEASAR himselfe saide, hee was 250. millions in debt when he went into *Spaine*, and P. CLODIVS, whom MILO slewe, dwelt in a house, the purchase whereof cost him almost 15. millions. No marvell therefore, if so many houses, which CAESAR must needs buy for the plot of ground aforesaid and in so populous a city, cost not so little as a hundred millions.

(a) THE dole given by a Prince or great man unto the people, was properly called a Congiarie, 27
which word tooke name of the measure *Congius* among the *Romaines*, consisting of *6. Sextarij*, and is answerable to our gallon: by which Oyle or wine was giuen. Howbeit χρηματισμὸς, any such publicke munificence, in mony or otherwise is so called: and in this place, by it are ment other gifts bestowed upon private persons.

(a) IN some copies, wee reade, *Quando nec plebiscito* POMPEIVS *postea abrogasset*. To this 28
sence. That CAESAR beeing absent, was not eligible by vertue of an Act made by POMPEIVS to that effect, considering he had not abrogated the same by any ordinance of the people, but onely of his owne authority corrected it after it stood upon record in the city chamber. 30

(a) THIS hath reference unto his violent dealing with his fellowe *Consull Bibulus*. See before in the 20. chapter.

(a) THE fourth finger next vnto the little one, 33
honoured especially with a golde ring, for that there is an euident arterie from the heart reaching unto it. GELLIVS. But PLINIE alledgeth another reason.

(a) He would doe any thing rather than his souldiers so well deserving at his hands, should not bee satisfied: such a credit caried the ring vpon a Romaines finger.

(c) Which is the State and worth of a Romaine knight or gentleman according to this verce of *Horace Si quadringintis sex, septem millia desint, Plebeseris &c*, & amounteth to 3125. li. starling.

(a) AS if *Petreius*, *Afranius*, and *Varro* had no 34
skill in martiall feats.

(b) He meaneth *Cn. Pompeius*, for his militarie knowledge and warlike exployes surnamed *Magnus*. i. the Greate: whose principall power was now ouerthrowne at *Ilerda* in Spaine.

(a) LYCHNVCHOS *Gestantibus*, bearing either 37
young men that caried Linckes, Torches, and cresset lights: or els braunches and candle stickes, resembling them, and holding the said lights: Some reade, *Lychnos gestantibus*. i. bearing lights: but to the same affect.

(a) *Super bina HS.* i. *Sestertia*: that is to say, 15 li. 38
12 s. 6 d.

(b) *Quaterna Sestertia*. i. 31 li. 5 s.

(c) VICENA *quaterna millia*. 187 li. 10 s. By which reckning, hee gave unto horsemen foure times as much as to footemen. Looke in the marginall note to the text, and you shall finde this donative much more: which may seeme incredible: but consider what prouinces hee spoyled, and what pillage hee made, in regard whereof hee was called of the Greekes χρηματισμοὶς ἀνὴρ.

(d) *Denos modios*, in round reckoning may goe for ten peckes or hoopes with vs

(e) *Totidem libras*. i. so many pynts, with the better

(f) *Trecenos nummos*. 1. 46. s. 10 d. ob.

(g) *Centenos i.* 15 s. 7 d. ob.

Which being put together, make 100. Denarij or Drachmes, that is. one *Mina*, and amount in all to 3. li. 12 s. 6.

(b) *Bino*

(h) *Bina millia nummorum.* 1. 15. *lib.* 12. *ſ.* 6 *d.*

(i) *Quingenos ſeſtertios.* i. 3. *l.* 18 *ſ.* 1 *d. ob.*

39 (a) *Regionatim urbe tota.* Rome, as PLINIE witneſſeth, was divided into 14. regions, and every one of theſe had their ſeverall Stage Playes by themſelues.

(b) The Games Circenſes, I take to be ſo called of the Greet *Cirque* or *Shewplace*, wherein they were performed: and not of ſwordes, wherewith they were environed, as one would ſay, *Circa enſes.* Indeede theſe games reſembled the *Olympick* in Greece by ELIS, where the runners with chariots were hemmed in of the one ſide with the running river, and of the other with ſwordes pitched pointwiſe, that they ſhould hold on the race directly, and not ſwerve aſide without danger. Herein were performed running with horſes and chariots, Iuſting, tilt, and Turnement; baiting and chaſing of wild beaſts, &c.

(c) *Pyrrhica*: Of ſome, thought to bee the ſame that ENOPLIA, was a kinde of Moriske daunce, after a warlike manner with harnois, deuiſed in Creta firſt by *Pyrrhus. Plin. lib.* 7. *Nat. Hiſt. cap.* 56. In which young gentlemen were trained to exerciſe all parts of the body by ſundry geſtures as well to avoide all venues and defende themſelues, as to annoy and offend the enimie.

(d) This DECIMVS LABERIVS was a Poet alſo, that kind which wrote wanton Poems or laſcivious Comedies called *Mimi.* For, howſoever in all Stage Playes, there is repreſented a lively imitation in geſture and voice of others, yet in theſe *Mimi*, theſe ſame are done after a more licentious manner and without all modeſt reverence, even in unſeemely and filthy arguments: as OVID teſtifieth in theſe words, *imitantes turpia Mimi.* It ſeemeth therefore, that as well the Poemes as the Authours and Actours be called *Mimi*

(e) *Orcheſtra*, is here taken for the moſt commodious place in the Theatre, wherein the Senators and Nobles of Rome were allowed to ſit and behold the Stage Playes, apart from the people. For ſo the Poet IVVENAL underſtandeth it in theſe words, *Simulemque videbis Orcheſtram & populum.*

As touching this *Orcheſtra* and the Poet LABERIVS above named, SENECA in his ſecond booke of Controverſies, and third controverſie reporteth thus. IVLIVS CAESAR at the ſolemnitie of his Playes, brought LABERIVS forth to act upon the Stage: and when he had made him a gentleman, or Knight of *Rome*, willed him to take his place among them of that degree, but as he came toward them, they all ſat ſo cloſe and neere one another, that there was no rowme for him. Now by the way, you muſt underſtand that CICERO then in place, had gotten himſelfe an ill name, for that hee was no faſt and faithfull friend, either to POMPEIVS, or to CAESAR, but a flatterer of them both. Againe, CAESAR at that time had choſen many unto the range of Senatours, partly to ſupply and make up their number, which during the late civill warres was much diminiſhed, and in part to gratifie thoſe who had well deſerved of him and the ſide CICERO therefore alluding to the extraordinary number of newe Senatours, ſent unto LABERIVS as hee paſſed by, this word merily, *Recepiſſem te niſi auguſtè ſederem.* i. I would have taken you to mee and give you a place, but that I ſit my ſelfe very ſtreight. Then LABERIVS returned this pleaſant anſwere backe unto him, *Atqui ſolebas duabus ſellis ſedere.* i. And yet you were wont to ſit upon two ſtooles, ſkoffing at him for his double dealing with POMPEIVS and CAESAR.

(f) The Troy fight, was in warlike manner on horſbacke, brought by Aeneas into Italy. The manner whereof is deſcribed by *Virgil. Aeneid.* 5.

(g) Theſe Goales called in Latine *Metes*, above which the horſes and chariots ranne, were in faſhion broad beneath and ſharpe above, in manner of Pyramides, Steeples or cocks of hey, and for their mater, of wood firſt, or of ſoft gritſtone, but afterwards of marble and laid over with gold. Concerning this Cirque why CAESAR enlarged it and brought water round about it, Reade PLINIE 8. *lib. cap.* 7. and 36. *lib. cap.* 15. *Naturall Hiſt.*

(h) To try maiſteries in footemanſhippe, leaping, flinging the coit or hammer,, darting & wreſtling: which Game was called Pentathlon, of thoſe five kindes of exerciſes.

(i) *In minore Codeta*, which was a place on the further ſide of TIBERIS ſo called of certaine plots of young ſprings or ſhootes there growing which reſemble horſetailes, Some reade *In morem cochlee*, that is, narrow beneath and broad above, like to the ſhell of a periwincle or ſuch like fiſh.

(a) This day is called *Biſſextus*, and falleth out to bee the fift day before the end of *Februarie*, to wit, the ſixt before the Calends of March, by interpoſing whereof, wee ſay twiſe Sext Calend *Martij*, of which day our leape yeare hath the name *Biſſextilis.* 40

(a) Which by the firſt inſtitution were 300. and by occaſion of the late troubles much impaired. 41

(b) *Patritios allegit*: For thoſe that were *Plebei generis*, might bee Senatours: or els, as ſome expound it, he advanced divers to the degree & ranck of the *Patritij.*

(c) All but Conſuls, Prætors and Cenſors, were counted inferiour Magiſtrates.

(d) For the Cenſours with the publicke Notaries ordinarily tooke this reviewe, and that in *Campus Martius*, and *Villa publica.*

(e) By reaſon of ſo great a number receiving corne from the State, the purveyance hereof ſtoode the citiy yearely at *Plutarch* writeth in a thouſand two hundred and fiftie talents.

(f) For they might diſcontinue out of Italy eleven yeares. *Plutarch.*

(g) Such were called *Comites*, or *quaſi ex cohorte Prætoria*, as it were gentlemen of the privie chamber.

(h) *Novarum tabularum.* To wit, when the olde bonds being cancelled, and thereby former debts remitted, new obligations were made.

(i) *Parricidas i. Parenticidas*, ſuch as kill father, mother, brother, ſiſters and ſuch like, nere in bloud

as alſo, any other man or woman wilfully, according to the Lawe of K. NVMA, *Si quis hominem liberum ſciens mouerit parricida eſto.*

(a) *Repetundarum convictos.* Such governours as by way of extortion pilled and polled the Provinces which they ruled: who after their time expired, were many times called judicially to their anſweres. 48

(b) Many Lawes there were called *Sumptuaria* and *Cibaria*, to reſtraine the exceſſe at the table, as namely *Fannia, Licinia, Aemilia, Iulia & c. Rend. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 2. cap. 24. Macro. Saturnal. lib. 3.*

(a) Of whom TERENTIANVS writeth thus, *Vir doctiſſimus undecunque Varro.*

49 (b) *Iſmus* is a narrow ſtraite or foreland by *Corinth*, fiue miles over, lying betweene the two ſeas *Lo mium* and *Aegeū*, or as PLINIE writeth. lib. 4. cap. 4. betweene the two Gulfes *Corinthiacus* and *Saronicus*. The cutting through whereof, was attempted before by K. DEMETRIVS, and afterwards by *C.* CALIGVLA and NERO, but without effect.

(c) Which CRASSVS before him had not done: and therefore was overthrowne.

45 (a) COMITIALI MORBO, ſo called, for that the aſſemblies of the people called *Comitia*, were diſſolved and broke up by occaſion thereof, in caſe any one among them fell downe of that diſeaſe, according as Q. SERENVS SEMONICVS hath teſtified in theſe verſes. cap. 57.

Eſt morbi ſpecies ſubiti, cui nomen ab illoeſt,
Quod fieri nobis ſiffragia juſta recuſant.
Sæpe etenim memorīs acri languore caducis,
Concilium populi labes horrenda diremit.

As alſo for that, they who were ſubject thereto, fell into a fit thereof ordinarily at ſuch aſſemblyes, if they were croſſed in their ſuites and buſineſſes there, CORNELIVS CELSVS calleth it *Morbum maiorum*, i. a great ſickneſſe. It is named likewiſe ἱερὸν νόσημα i. the ſacred diſeaſe, either becauſe it affecteth the heade, which is the moſt honorable place of the body and the ſeate of the Soule, or in regard of the greatneſſe thereof, which the Gracians expect by the word ἱερὸν. Alſo *Epileſia*, for the ſodaine invaſion of it. HERCVLEVS MOREVS, either for the ſtrength of the malady, whereby a man is forced to fall, or becauſe HERCVLES was troubled therewith. PLINIE nameth it, *Sinſtium*, for the hurt that it doth vnto the bodie: Others *Caducus*, for that upon it, men fall to the groūdde: it is called *Mereoreus Lunaticus*, of the Moone: becauſe it keepeth time with the courſe of the Moone, or apprehendeth them that are borne in the change thereof, as the ſame SERENVS reporteth in theſe verſes.

Hinc quoque commemorant dubie per tempora Lunæ
Conceptum talem, quem ſæpe ruina profudit.

Laſtly HIPPOCRATES nameth it *Tædicoſum*, i. *puerilem morbum*, for that children bee ſubject thereto: whereupon ſome tearme it, *Mater puerorum.*

(b) This manner of going ſo looſely girt, might ſignifie a diſſolute and effeminate wanton. Hereupon CICERO made choyce in the civill warre to take part with POMPEIVS againſt CAESAR: And when one aſked him how it came to paſſe, that in ſiding with POMPEIVS hee was ſo much overſeene, for that hee had the worſe, this anſwere hee made *Praeciſum me decepit*, deceived I was by that looſe guiding of his.

49 (a) CAESAR derived his pedegree from IVLVS the ſonne of AENEAS whoſe mother was VENVS.

(b) The grace which is in the Latine cannot be expreſſed well in Engliſh, becauſe the word, *Subegit* carieth a double ſence, the one ſignifieth the conquering of a nation, and ſo it is taken in the former place, as it is applyed to Gaule: the other, the wanton abuſe of the bodie: in which acception it is to bee underſtood in reference to CAESAR, abuſed by K. *Nichomedes.*

50 (a) In the twofold ſenſe likewiſe of theſe two words, *Tertia* and *Deducta* lyeth the pleaſant grace of this conceipted ſpeech.

By the one, may be underſtoode, that a third part of the price was deducted: by the other *Cicero* ment, That her daughter TERTIA was brought by her to his bed.

53 (a) THIS Diſtichon, or ij verſes, which his ſouldiers after their licentious manner in the Tryumph chaunted may thus be Engliſhed,

Looke to your wives, yee citizens, a lecher bald wee bring.
In Gaule adultery coſt thee gold, heere'tis for nothing.

For, as hee borrowed of other men, ſo hee lent or paide as much againe, in that his owne wife POMPEIA, as is thought, was kept by P. CLODIVS.

52 (a) SVCH a veſſell as this named here *Thelamegos*, and by *Seneca. 7. lib. de Beneficiis Nauiscubicularia, Ptolomæus Philopater*, as witneſſeth ATHENIVS had, which caried in length * halfe a furlong, in bredth, 30. cubites, and in heigth little leſſe then 40.

* Stadii.

(b) *Impudicitiæ*, I obſerve, that both in this Author and alſo in other approved writers, *Impudicitia*, is properly and peculiarly taken for that abhominable uncleanneſſe onely, which

which is named *Sodome*: Like as *Pudicitia*, for the integritie of the bodie, and cleare neſſe from that deteſtable filthineſſe. And ſo, *Pudicus* and *Impudicus* are to bee vnderſtoode.

54 (*a*) WHICH commeth to 23. pound, 8. ſhillings, 9. pence, and is not much more than halfe the worth. According to *Budeus*: it was 7. pound *d.m* of Siluer for one of Gold.

(*b*) For it was eſteemed a great honour to be called Allies and Aſſociates, or ſtiled Kings, by the people of Rome.

56 (*c*) ANTICATONES. Whereas CICERO had written in the prayſe of CATO [VTICENSIS] he wrote two bookes againſt the ſaid CATO, which he called *Anticatones*.

(*a*) VENVS ſurnamed *Genitrix i.* Mother, 60 CAESAR honoured, as the goddeſſe from the which he was deſcended, by IVLVS or ASCANIVS her nephew.

(*b*) The principall enſigne or ſtanderd of the Romane Legion was an Aegle of Siluer, reared vpon a Speare toppe, the poynt whereof beneath was ſharpe, and faſtened into the ground: and the ſame ſtood within a little ſhrine, not to bee remooved, but when the Armie was on foote.

(*a*) DION, *lib.* 42. and APPIAN. *Ciuil.* 2. report this otherwiſe: namely, that he forſoke the ſaid Coat armour (it clogged him ſo much) and ſo the *Aegyptians* got it.

(*a*) EVIATICO *ſiue*. Albeit *viaticum* properly ſignifyeth the ſtore and proviſion ſet by for a 68 journey, yet heere it is put for the wealth and ſubſtance of a ſouldier: like as in *Horat. lib.* 2. *epiſt.* 2.

Lucullì miles collecta viatica multis
Aerumnis, &c.

In which ſenſe, ὁδίτιον likewiſe in Greeke is taken.

(*b*) PLINIE calleth it *Lapſana. lib.* 19 *cap.* 8. *Naturæ Hiſtor.* A kinde of wilde worte or cole.

(*c*) To be tithed, *i.* euerie tenth man to ſuffer death. *Appian.*

(*d*) Which ordinarily conſiſted of 550. ſootemen, and 66. horſe, whereof ten went to a Legion. Some, I wot well had more, ſome fewer. But for this place it may ſuffice, that it was the tenth part of a Legion.

(*a*) QVIRITES. *i.* Romane Citizens. As 70 freed now from their allegeance, which by their military oath they were bound vnto.

71 (*a*) WHICH was a great abuſe offered, among the *Barbarians*, who ſet great ſtore by their beards, and ſuffered them to grow very long.

76 (*a*) THENSA or *Tenſa & ferculum* a Chariot of Silver or Yvorie with a frame in it ſuſtaining the Images of the gods, which was drawen in moſt ſolemne and ſtately manner vnto the Pulvinar.

(*b*) Pulvinar. A bed loſt, or place where certaine rich beds were made for the ſaid Images to be laid vpon.

(*c*) FLAMIN. A certaine prieſt, bearing the name of that god, for whoſe ſervice he was inſtituted. As *Dialis* of IVPITER, *Martialis* of MARS, *Quirinalis* of ROMVLVS, &c. *Cic.* 2. *Phil.* ſaith that M. ANTONIVS, was Flamen to *Iulius Cæſar*.

(*d*) *Luperci*, were certaine young men, who at the *Licentious* feaſt, *Lupercalia* inſtituted to the honour of PAN LYCAEVS, otherwiſe called IVNVS, by ROMVLVS and REMVS, ran up and downe naked in the Citie of *Rome*. A new kind of theſe *Luperci* ordained CAESAR, of his owne name called IVLIANI. At this feaſt *Lupercalia*, M. ANTONIVS played the part of a Lupercus, at which ſolemnitie, when CAESAR ſat in a Throne of Gold, arayed in a purple robe, the ſaid M. ANTONIVS attempted to doe vpon his head the royall Band, called a Diademe *Cicero*.

(*e*) Whereas, before it was called *Quintilis*, he named it *Iulius*.

(*f*) This was *Caninius Rebitus*: of whoſe Conſulſhip, there go divers jeſtes, as namely theſe, whereof CICERO was the Author, a vigilant Conſull we have had of CANINIVS, who in all his Conſulſhip never ſlept winke. Alſo, a conſull we have had ſo ſevere and Cenſar-like, as that during his Conſulſhip, no man dined, no man ſupped, no man ſo much as once ſlept. Likewiſe PITHALVS ſaid of him Heretofore we had *Flamines Diales*, and now wee have Conſuls *Diales*, playing vpon the æquivocation or double ſenſe of the word *Dialis*, which being derived of Δεὺς *Iupiter* ſignifieth his *Flamin*: but of *Dies. i.* a day, betokeneth a day Conſul or Flamin.

(*a*) ACCORDING to LVCANA. *Omnia* 77.
Cæſar erat. Cæſar was all in all.

(*b*) Well knowne it is that SVLLA was paſſing well learned both in Greeke and Latine. But in that he reſigned up the abſolute power of his Dictatorſhip, which he tooke vpon him, for an hundred and twentie yeares, that is to ſay, for ever. CAESAR ſaid he was no Gramarian, *quia neſciverit dicere, quid munus eſt Grammatici*: alluding to the word *ambiguus dicere i.* to endite, or give precepts as Grammarians doe to their ſchollers, as alſo, to commaund abſolutely, whereof it may ſeeme that *Dictator* tooke the name.

(*a*) WHO were in number. 10.

(*b*) Or, if I may ſo *Pontius Aquila*: ſpoken by 78
way of a ſcornefull Ironia.

(*a*) PLEBEIO, and not *Plebi*, for the com- 79
mons could not endure that name, as may appeare by CICEROES words in his ſecond *Philippica* or invective againſt M. ANTONIVS. Thou ſheweſt the Diademe. The people all over the common place gave a groane thereat. Thou wert about to ſet it upon his head, to the great griefe and ſorrow of the people, hee rejected it, with as great joy and applauſe of theirs.

(*b*) The name OPTIMVS, MAXIMVS, wherewith the auncients ſtyled *Iupiter*, ſignifieth

moſt bountifull and moſt powerfull: wherein it is obſerved that Bountie goeth before Power: becauſe as M. TVLLIVS writeth, it is better and more acceptable to doe good vnto all, then to haue power ouer all.

(c) In *Aegypt*: A renowmed Citie, built by King ALEXANDER the great: for the pleaſant ſite much commended, and therefore might bee affected by CAESAR: at which, there is no day almoſt through the yeare, but the Inhabitants behold the Sunne ſhining cleare vpon them: And which AMMIANVS calleth *Verticem omnium ciuitatum, i.* The chiefe of Cities.

(d) *Ilium*, a Citie where *Troy* ſtood: The Citizens whereof, as STRABO writeth, CAESAR in memoriall of his progenitors from thence deſcended, and namely, from IVLVS or ASCANIVS the Sonne of AENEAS, had indowed with many franchiſes and immunities, and therefore it caried ſome likelihood, that he ment there to make his abode.

(e) Theſe *Quindecim-viri*, or fifteene men, were inſtituted in the daies of CORNELIVS SYLLA with this addition *Sacrorum*: vnto whoſe charge it appertained to ſee that Sacrifices and Diuine ſeruice, that ſupplications, and proceſſions, expiations, & ceremoniall rites ſhould bee duely performed, as alſo to perуſe the bookes and propheſies of SIBYLLA: At firſt they were but two, called *Duumviri*, afterwards x. vnder the name of *Decemviri ſacris faciendis. Alex ab Alex. lib. 3. Genial. dierum. cap. 16.*

80 (a) BONVM *factum*. A forme of preface which in olde time they vſe *boni omnis cauſa*, before their Edictes and decrees. &c. ſo commonly, as that theſe two Capitall letters B. F. did betoken the ſame as ordinarily, as S. C. ſtand for *Senatus conſultum*. It had the ſame vſe, as *In nomine Dei* with vs.

(b) Some take theſe Brachæ, whereof *Bracbata Gallia*, a part of *Tranſalpine*, *Gaule* tooke name, For frize rugges ſtriped with ſundrie colours, which may reſemble Iriſh mantles; but I ſuppoſe them to be a kinde of courſe breches, much like to the Iriſh trouſſes, but that they are more full.

(c) By riſing up vnto him, and ſhouting or applauding as he paſſed along.

(d *Vtinam viveres.*

(e) *Brutus quia Reges ejecit conſul primus factus eſt: Hic, quia conſules ejecit, Rex poſtremò factus eſt.*

(f) Certaine bridges there were for the time made, vpon which the Tribes paſſed when they gaue their voyces in *Campus Martius*, at their ſolemne Leets and aſſemblies for Election of Magiſtrates.

81 (a) Some take it to bee the ſame that REGVLVS, or TROCHILVS. Thought to be the Wren, and is likewiſe named King of Birdes, in Greeke Βασιλίσκος, OMINOVS therefore vnto CAESAR, ſeeking to be king.

(b) This is diverſly reported by authors the occaſion of which varietie ariſeth vpon the affinitie of theſe names CASSIVS and CASCA. For as there were two CASSII at this action, ſo likewiſe were there two SERVILII brethren, both ſurnamed CASCA. By, ALTER CASSIVS or CASCA therefore, you may vnderſtand one of the two brethren, or the ſecond of them. For ſome write, that the one CASCA gaue him in the necke a wound, but not deadly, whereupon CAESAR caught hold of his dagger crying out, *Scelerate* CASCA *quid agis? i.* What meaneſt thou, O wicked CASCA, and then CASCA called vnto his brother for helpe, who came in, and gaue him his deathes wound, in the breaſt vnder the chanell bone, PLVTARCH.

(c) Albeit, *Graphium* doth ſignifie a writing punch, (or ſteele or wier), otherwiſe called *Stylus*, wherewith they wrote in hard matter, as wood, or baike, before the vſe of our parchment and paper, as alſo our pen made of a quill or other ſubſtance, as braſſe, &c. in which ſenſe it is taken in that verſe of OVID. *Amor. lib. 1. Eleg. 11:*

Quid digitos opus eſt graphium laſſare tenendo?

And probable it is that CAESAR ſitting in counſell was not without ſuch a writing inſtrument: yet both DOMINICVS MARIVS vpon the foreſaid verſe, and PEROTVS alſo the author of CORNVCOPIA, expounding this place of SVETONIVS, takes *Graphium, pro pugiunculo, i.* A little poyniard, poinado, or pocket dagger. And hapely therwith CAESAR wounded CASSIVS or CASCA (whether you will) being more readie at hand, hanging at his girdle, than the ſtyle or ſteele aforeſaid, which by all likelihood was yet in the caſe or ſheath, called *Graphiarium*, conſidering CAESAR was but new ſet. But I leaue the expoſition of this place, *in medio.*

(d) VALERIVS MAX. vnder the title of VERECVNDIA, commendeth this maydenlike modeſtie of CAESAR, who notwithſtanding that he was maſakred with 23. wounds, for manhood ſake forgot not to hide his nakednеſſe, and to die in decent manner: but as EURIPIDES writeth of the virgin Ladie *Polixena*,

πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἴσχει ἀσχήμων πεσεῖν.

Where, by the way it may be noted, that the *Romanes* wore not truſſes or breches, as wee doe, to cover thoſe inferior and ſecret parts.

(e) This may have reference to that which is reported before, how in his youth, he loved SERVILIA, the mother of this BRVTVS: For his age falleth out to agree fitly with that time: in ſo much as he was commonly thought to be a ſonne of his. And yet this attribute *Fili*, may ſort well with the familiaritie that was betweene them.

Some read Καὶ σὺ εἰς ἐκείνων; *i.* And art thou one of them?

(a) VIRINI

83 (a) VIRGINI *Vestali Maximæ*. That *Nun* or *Vestall virgin*, who in age and dignity excelled the rest, and was the Misteries as it were, and governesse of them, they called MAXIMA: much like unto the Ladie Abbesse or Prioresse in our daies.

(a) The argument whereof was the deciding of the contention betweene AIAX and VLYSSES, about ACHILLES Armor.

84 (b) FOR, some of these who tooke part with POMPEIVS, he had pardoned.

(c) *Quicquid præterea ad manum aderat*. Others read, *ad donum aderat*: vnderstanding thereby those giftes which they brought as offerings to his Ghost, and be called *Inferiæ*.

(a) Which is counted one of the Climacterich years, in which it falleth out that 7. is multiplied by 8. which two numbers, as CICERO hath observed. 6. *de Rep.* be complete. A revolution fatal to SCIPIO AFRICANVS the yonger to VIRGIL also and PLINIE.

(b) APPIAN writeth, that it was in a sodaine vprore of the people burnt to the ground. 88

(c) To signifie, that vpon that day, *The father of his countrie was killed.*

ANNO

ANNOTATIONS VPON

Octauius Augustus Cæsar.

(a) INTER *diuisores, operasque Compestres.* This was thought to bee but a base occupation, namely, to giue among the Tribes, such sums of money, as the *Candidats*, or those that stood in electiō for offices promised & pronounced for the buying of voices. The name also grew to be odious, howsoever PLAVTVS *in Aulul.* calleth them *Magistros Curie.* Likewise all such seruitours as otherwise gaue attendance in *Campo Martio*, and thereby gat a liuing, whom he termeth here *operas campestres*, were but of meane reckoning.

(a) *Regione Palatij.* In old time Rome was diuided into foure principall regions or quarters. *Suburrana, Esquilina, Collina, & Palatina.*

(b) The manner in old time was, that the newe borne babe should be set up on the bare grouud to cry and call vpon the Goddesse *Ops*, who so gently had receiued it. And the Goddesse forsooth, that helped to lift it vp againe, was called *Leuana. i. a Leuando. Augustin. Macrob.*

(a) THE Virile robe was the ordinary Romane gowne, all white without purple, which they wore when they came to be past. 16. yeares of age.

(b) To wit, bracelets, chaines and collars, Speare staues without iron heads, trappings, chaplets and gürlands, &c.

(c) This was the *Triumvirate*, so much spoken of: during which, M. ANTONIVS, M. LEPIDVS & AVGVSTVS ruled ioyntly together.

(a) MARCVS BRVTVS.

(b) Hee meaneth CICERO, as appeareth by an Epistle of D. BRVTVS vnto CICERO in these words, *Narrauit mihi etc. ipsum Cæsarem. (Augustum) nihil sane de te quæstum nisi dictum quod diceret, te dixisse laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum: se non commissurum ut tolli possis.* In which words, as also in this place of TRANQVILLVS, there is an *equivocation* or doubtfull sense in this Verbe *Tollendum*: which in one signification, is in manner *equivalent* with *laudandum* and *ornandum*; and betokeneth, to bee advanced, extolled, or lifted up: and so is to be taken in good part: but in another, it is all one with *tollendum de medio*, or *occidendum, id est*, to be dispatched out of life: or killed. In which sense CICERO ment it, and AVGVSTVS tooke it, namely in ill part. Much like to this, you shall reade in *Nero, Sustulit hic matrē, sustulit ille patrem.* The grace lieth in the ambiguitie of the Latine word *tollendum*, which cānot in English be so well deliuered.

(a) The *Equatij*, as APPIAN witnesseth.

(a) Which by the Lawe IVLIA THEATRALIS, and ROSCIA, were allowed for the knights or Gentlemen of Rome, whose estate was valued not vnder 400000. Sesterces. The lawes aboyesaid, were promulged by AVGVSTVS CAESAR, & L. ROSCIVS OTHO a Tribune of the Commons. And these 14. Seates named *Equestria*, were the next vnto the stage after the Orcestra arising by degrees and staires, as it were higher & higher, & so farther of. Aboue which in the vpper and more remote scaffolds sat the common people, and thereupon they were called POPVLARIA. Howbeit, for all the lawe *Roscia*, many Commoners of good wealth and credit, vsed to sit indifferently in the said 14. formost seats, vntill the other Lawe IVLIA was enacted, which distinguished the orders more precisely. *Carol. Sigon. De Antiq. Iur. Civ. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

(a) When in stately Pompe, the sacred chariot *Thensa*, with the images of the Gods in it, was deuoutly drawen according to the solemne manner.

(b) A coast-towne of Italy affronting Sicile, from whence it is a very short cut ouer sea: so called by the Greekes, as if euen there a breach was made by the sea, dividing Italy

Italie from Sicilie which before time was a part of the continent or maine land: And no mervaile of that Name: ſince that Mritine Region, wherein *Locri* ſtood, was in times paſt called *Magna Gracia*.

(c) In that hee put downe in his will the children which he had by CLEOPATRA a ſtranger and *Barbarian* borne, which alſo were begotten in baſtardie, as well as if they had beene naturall Romanes and legitimate, hee faulted in common civilitie, but much more, when hee proceeded to call the ſonnes that he had by her, *Reges Regum. i.* the King of Kings. As abſurd alſo and immodeſt hee ſhewed himſelfe, when having by her at one birth two twinnes, the male infant he ſurnamed *Sol. i.* the Sunne, and the Femall, *Luna i.* the Moone.

(d) In the cuſtodie of the Veſtall Nunnes, or Votaries, as IVLVS CAESAR had done before him: of ſuch integritie and ſo good conſcience they were thought to be, as things of greateſt weight were committed unto them in truſt.

(e) This forename, TITVS cannot truly be given to any of the *Domitij*, if that bee true which is written of them afterward in *Domitius Nero. cap. 1.*

(f) But in the behalfe of M. ANTONIVS, conſidering he was their Patrone and Protector. For other forain States and Cities uſually were ſhrouded under the favour of Gentlemen at Rome. In which regard, he laid not to their charge that they had not ſided with himſelfe, but rather taken part with their Patron ANTONII: conſidering that were bond wherewith ſuch Protectors and Clients or Dependents were linked together: which DIONYSIVS ſuppoſeth to bee almoſt as ancient as Rome it ſelfe, and almoſt æquall to that of Allies, yea and kinſfolke in bloud.

(g) A Promontorie or Cape in EPIRVS, ſhooting into the way Ambracium, in the view whereof the ſumptuous *Armada* of *Antonie* and *Cleopatra* was defaited.

17 (a) THESE Pſylli are people in *Affricke* ſuppoſed to haue bodies of a ſingular vertue to kill Serpents, as alſo a ſpeciall skill in ſuckingforth venome out of the wound made by their ſting. Yet CORNELIVS CELSVS. *lib. 5. cap. 27.* is of opinion, that they haue no principall gift or cunning in this feate aboue other men, but more boldneſſe rather, confirmed by uſe and practiſe: For the venome of a ſerpent, ſaith hee, hurteth not by being taſted, but as it is infuſed by a wound, which he proveth by thoſe poyſons that the French uſe eſpecially in hũting. And therefore a verie Snake or Adder it ſelfe, may bee eaten ſafely, how ever the ſting is deadly: and if whiles it lyeth aſtonied or benummed (the caſt whereof theſe *Monte-bankes* or juglers have by meanes of certaine medicines) one put his finger into the mouth thereof, and be not bitten or ſtung withall, there is no ſpettle or ſlimie humous there to doe harme. So that whoſoeuer elſe, by example of theſe Pſylli ſhall ſucke a wore and inflicted by a Serpent, he ſhall doe it ſafely, and cure beſides, the party that is ſtung. Provided alwaies, that hee have no ſore or ulcer, in gummes, palate, or any part of his limmes.

(b) Some thinke this kinde of Aſpis which ſhee uſed, was *Pytas*, * others *Hypnale*; for that the ſting brought drowſineſſe upon her: and *Lucane* called it *Aſpida Somniferam*. But commonit is unto all the ſortes to kill by ſleepe and ſtupefaction without paine, ſome ſooner, ſome later: but all within the ſpace of 6. houres: So that *Hypnale* may ſeeme to be a generall attribute to them all. * Solinus.

(a) AS if hee counted thoſe *Ptolemees* dead, 18
who left no memorable actes behinde them. And *Alexander*, a King ſtill, or worthie alone to be called King, whoſe memoriall was yet ſo freſh and lively.

(a) FOR that one of his parentes was a Parthine, 19
that is to ſay, a ſtranger of *Illyricum*, and the other a Romane.

(a) WARRES take the name of thoſe that bee 20
vanquiſhed. As, *Gallicum bellum, Germanicum, Dalmaticum, &c.* in which *Gaule, Germanie*, and *Dalmatia* be ſubdued.

(b) Some take this bridge to be a kinde of Fabrick or ſkaffold reared for the aſſault of the towne *Metulium*, and not an ordinarie bridge built ouer ſome river.

(a) THIS temple, as appeareth afterwards, hee 21
had vowed in the Philippian warre, which hee undertooke in revenge of his Father IVLIVS CAESARs death, and therefore dedicated it vnto MARS, Revenger.

(a) THE Temple of IANVS QVIRINVS, or 22
QVIRINI, becauſe it was firſt founded by *Romulus, Numa Pompilius* his ſucceſſor ordained to be ſet open in time of warre, and ſhutte when there was peace. Whereupon IANVS was termed under a two-folde name, *Patucius* and *Clauſius*. Once it was ſhutt in the ſaid *Numa* his reigne; and a ſecond time, after the firſt *Punick* warre ended, when *M. Atilius*, and T. *Manlius*, or *Mallius*, were Conſuls. At all times before and after it ſtood open, untill AVGVSTVS CAESARS daies. During whoſe Empire it was thrice ſhut. Firſt, upon the defeature of ANTONIVS and CLEOPATRA before ACTIVM. Secondly, after his victorie in Spaine over the Cantabri; Laſt of all, when all Nations (in manner) of the earth by occaſion of his victories, grew to an univerſall peace. About which time our Saviour IESVS Chriſt, IMMANVEL, that True Peace-maker betweene God and ue, was borne. Thus OROSIVS reputeth, and readeth, *ter*, not *tertio*. Howbeit LIVIE ſeemeth to acknowledge, but once, namely, upon the Actiack victorie.

(b) Ovation was a kinde of petie triumph: wherin the Captaines victors rode not in a Chariot, nor wore a Coronet of Laurell, but of the Myrtle. It tooke the name *ab ovibus. i.* Sheepe Sacrificed, or rather all the voyce, *Ovoe*, which the Soldiour in their acclamations reſounded.

(a) THE Romane Armie conſiſted of Legi- 23
ons, who were all Romanes, and of *Auxilia. i.* aids & thoſe were of Allies and confederate nations.

(b) This day, was *Ante diem quartum non. Sextil. i.* the ſecond daye of Auguſt. Which was alſo that verie daye of the moneth, wherein

wherein the *Romans* in times past suffered the desasterous overthrow at *Came*.

24 (*a*) By which the people of *Rome* wonne their immortall fame, and conquered the whole world: as *Cicero* saith: *Pro Murana*.

(*b*) December, Ianuarie, and Februarie.

(*c*) Thereby disabling them for being serviceable souldiers.

(*d*) These Publicanes, so called for that they fermed their Cities revenewes, as Customes, Tolles, Impostes, &c. were likewise Knightes or Gentlemen of *Rome*, and by being so earnest to buy out one of their owne sort, were thought to fauour him, and minded presently to dismisse him at liberty: which was contrary to his intent.

25 (*a*) For his Vncle and Predecessor Ivlivs Caesar, had taken up that familiar terme of Commilitones, by occasion of so many troubles that followed him, and therefore was driven to speake his Souldiers fayre.

(*b*) *Libertines* were those who having beene bond were made free or manumised: and these were not capable of *Militia Romana*, but in time of great extremitie and desperate cases.

(*c*) It seemeth by this, that these *vallare* and *Murell* coronets were made of some other matter than Siluer and Gold. *Yet Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 6.* writeth that both these, as also the *Nauale*, were of gold. Now, the Vallare or Castrensis coronet, (for they were both one) resembled *vallũ* 1. the Rampier a palaisade about a Camp, made *ex vallis*, 1. stakes or pales sharpened at the head, wherewith the banke or mure was the better fortified. and hee receiued it as an honorable reward, who first mounted the said palaisade, and entered the Camp of his enemies: The *Murell*, was fascioned like to the battlements of a wall, given likewise unto that souldier, who approached the enemies wall first, skaled, and climbed over it into the Citie. As for these *Phaleræ*, albeit they be commonly taken for the ornaments or trappings of horses, yet it appeareth that they be the ornaments of the men themselues: And as well they as Torques were, *Tralatitia militum dona*. 1. Ordinarie and common gifts bestowed upon good souldiers. See *Iuuenal. Satyr. ult. Vt læti phaleris omnes, & torquibus omnes.*

(*d*) Such as he called before Manipvlares and Gregarios: although in other authors, *Caligati* stand for all manner of souldiers.

(*e*) In Latin *Festina lentè*: much to this sense in our English tongue. *No more hast then good speed*: For, *The soft fire makes sweet malt*. This proverbe the same Avgvstvs expressed also in his coines, wherein hee stamped together with lightning or a thunderbolt, the God Terminvs, representing by the one, Celeritie; and by the other, Staydnesse. Like as Titvs Vespasianvs the Emperour joyned an Anchor and a Dolphin together in his coine, to the same purpose.

(*f*) A verse of Evripides, in the Tragedie *Phœnissæ*. 1. A warie Captaine is better than a venterous.

(*g*) It was the Apophthegme of Cato. *Soone enough is that done, which is well done.*

26 (*a*) By the law *Amaria*, that L. Ivlivs, or Villivs rather promulged, required it was, that a Consull should not be under the age of 43. Yet for their worthinesse and demerits, some attaine to that dignitie, under 30.

(*b*) Like unto this was the speech of that Centurion, who being sent by Ivlivs Caesar *Dictator*, for to haue the time of his government and conduct of an Armie in the prouince proroged, standing before the doore of the Senate house, and taking knowledge that it would not be granted, shooke his sword hilt with his hand and said, *Hic prorogabit* 1. This then shall proroge it.

(*a*) Three such Halles there were in *Rome*, 29
wherein Iudiciall courts were held, and causes pleaded. 1. *Romanum*, which was so much frequented with Lawyers and their Clients, that Cato Censorivs deliuered his opinion, that it should bee paued with *Calthrops*, to keepe out that rabble which hanted it. 2. *Cæsareum*, That Cesar *Dictator* built, and adjoyned thereto the Temple of Venvs *Genitrix*. 3. Avgvsti, whereto was annexed by him one Temple of Mars *Reuenger*. For, another he erected in the Capitoll, after he had regained from the *Parthians*, the Roman Standerds and militarie desoignes, which they wonne from Crassvs.

(*b*) An Aphitheater, and a Theater, differs as the full Moone from the halfe, or a compleat roūdle from a semicircle.

(*a*) Pliny writeth, that *Rome* was devided into foureteene Regions, or wards, and into more than 30
a thousand streets.

(*a*) Augurs were certaine Priests employed about the obseruation of Birds, and from them out of their learning gaue directions. In number at first they were but three beloging unto the three ancient tribes of *Rome*. In processe of time there was a Colledge or covent of them to the number of 24. namely, in the daies of Svlla *Dictator*: So that I doubt not but among these were some appointed for this ministerie eyther about the Goddesse Salvs. 1. Health or safety, unto whom there was likewise a Temple built, or else in the name and behalfe of the people, *Captare Augurium salutis*, which as Dio maketh report, was in this manner: *That they should call unto God for safetie, if he would permit: as if it were not lawfull to crave it at the Gods hands, unlesse they first granted it. And one day euery yeare was chosen for this businesse, in which no Armie did set forth to warre: no man warre against them, nor take weapon in hand to fight: A thing that could not be, during the late troubles and ciuill warres. No merveile therefore, if this function being forelet, was now taken up againe by* Avgvstvs, *when by occasion of peace, he did shut the Temple of* Ianvs. And as *this function was called* Augurium, *so I see no reason but the very Augurship or Sacerdotall dignity it selfe in this place might be named* Augurium, *in the same forme, that presently after, the Flamenship or Priesthood belonging to* Ivpiter, *is named* Flaminium: And this I take to be the meaning of our Author.

(*b*) Which were solemnized once in an hundred, 31
or as some say, an hundred and ten yeares.

(*a*) By which addition, there were in the yeare 32
230. Law-daies or pleadeable.

(*a*) More *majorum* ordained it was, that a Pa- 33
ricide, should first be beaten with rods, and then,

sowed

sowed within a lether male or budge togither with a dog, a cocke, a viper, and an Ape, and so throwen into the sea or some running water.

(b) Whereof CORNELIVS SYLLA was the Author intituled: *de falsis*, or *Testamentaria*.

34 (a) MANY lawes went vnder the title *Sumptuaria*, to represse the immoderate expense in apparell, and belly-cheere especially: as namely, *Fannia*, *Didia*, *Oppia*, *Cornelia*, *Iulia*, as well *Cæsaris* as *Augusti*. But in the time of TIBERIVS CAESAR, notwithstanding he did what he could to keepe them in force, yet they were all abrogated.

(b) *Lex Iulia, Cæsaris & Augusti, de Adulteriis & Pudicitia.* For albeit the law * *Scatinia*, prouided against the later, to wit *Pederastie*, yet the penaltie thereof by vertue of the said law was but *Pecuniaria*, i. a mony matter. Whereas by *Iulio* it was *Capitalis*, i. worthie of death. And, that AVGVSTVS established and inforced this law against Incontinencie, it may appeare by this, That *Sextus Aurelius* reprooued him: because being himselfe giuen to lasciviousnesse, yet he was a most severe and sharpe chasticer of that vice: as also by that answere of a young man, who he for cõmitting adultery with his daughter *Iulia* smote with his owne hands. Who thereupon cried out Νόμιν ἔθηκας σὺ Καῖσαρ. i. *Thou hast made a lawe O* CAESAR. Now as touching the foresaid law *Scatinia*, it was so called (as VALERIVS MAXIMVS writeth by occasion of one * *Scatinius* a Tribune of the commons, who against kinde had abused a sonne of MARCELLVS, and was therefore condemned accordingly.

(c) *De ambitu.* Of which there were divers, namely *Acilia Calpurnia*, *Anfidia*, *Bebia Aemilia*, *Cornelia Fulvia*, *Maria*, *Pompeia*, *Patilia*, *Tullia* and *Iulia*, *Cæsaris & Augusti*.

(d) *Lex papia poppæa, de maritandis ordinibus*, whereof, there were many branches and chapters, not only respecting this conjunction of the Gentrie and commons: but also concerning penalties to be laid upon those that neglected mariage, and rewards due to such as lived in wedlocke and begat children, &c.

35 (a) The badges that distinguished Senatours from others, were their Robes purfled or embrodred or with broad studs of purple like naile heads, called thereupon *Laticlavi*, and shoes with peakes resembling the horned tips or pointed ends of the moone, named therefore *Calcei lunati*, in token of their auncient Nobilitie, as some interpret it.

(b) These solemne feastes at which Senators were allowed to be present, were *Epulum ovis* otherwise called *Cena Dialis* within the capitoll: Likewise *Cena Triumphalis Pontificialis*, and *Auguralis*. i. the sumptuous suppers to the honour of IVPITER, at triumphes, given by the Pontifies and Augurs.

(c) The first day of everie moneth. The 13 of March, May, Iuly, and October, the 15 of the rest.

37 (a) A judiciall court there was at *Rome* called *Centumviralia Hasta*, for that it consisted of certaine Commissioners or Iudges named *Centumviri*, i. The Hundred-men. Before whom were debated ciuill matters and causes betweene citizen and citizen, of no great importance. Chosen these were out of everie Tribe three. And those were in all 35. which number doth arise to 105. but in round reckoning they went for an hundred.

(a) What these ornaments and badges were. T. LIVIVS reporteth in the 30 booke of his Romane historie: to wit, *A crowne of Gold, and a faire golden Boll: A curule, Ivorie chaire, with a staffe likewise or scepter of Ivory: A long Robe embrodered of sundrie colours, and a rich coate of Needle worke representing the Date tree.* 38

(b) This solemne shew or Riding of Roman Gentlemen, was upon the Ides i. the 15 day of *Quintilis alias Iuly* yearely: Instituted first by FABIVS RVTILIANVS in the honour of CASTOR and POLLVX, who appeared unto the Romans, at the battell neere the Lake *Regillus*, what time they atchived a noble victorie. They rode from the Temple of Honour, as some write, or as others; of *Mars* without the walles, through the *Forum*, and by the Temple of *Castor*, up into the Capitall, dight with chaplets of Olive braunches, as PLINIE writeth *lib.* 15. *Natur. Hist.*

(a) BY this it appeareth, that ordinarily he might not bee a Tribune of the commons, who was not a Senator: For albeit this be a Plebian Magistrate, yet might a commoner be a Senator. 40

(b) Whereupon, SVIDAS thinketh, *Annenas* to take their name, *quasi* ἀνὰ τὰς Νώνας διδόμενας i. because corne was wont to be dealt among the people, upon the Nones of everie moneth, namely, the seventh day of March, May, Iuly and October, and the fifth of the rest: Whereas indeed *Annona* is derived *ab anno*, i. the yeare, *quasi annalis alimonia*. i. the yeares provision of food.

(c) It seemeth that AVGVSTVS held of two Tribes: to wit, *Scaptia*, unto which the *Octavij* belonged, and wherein he was borne: and *Fabia*, by his adoption into the familie of the Iulij.

(d) For, howsoever the Romane habit was the Gowne, yet permitted were they, upon necessitie, namely to save the said gowne in foule wether, or to defend themselves from cold, to cast over it a cloake in any frequented place of the Citie, as were the *Forum*, i. The common pleading court, ward, or Market place, and the *circus*, i. The Shew place.

(a) FOR the ordinarie Roman Gownes were white and faire kept. 44

(b) Of these spectacles and games, some were *Matutini*, some *Meridiani*, and other *Pomeridiani*: according as they were exhibited, In the morning, at Noone, and after-noone.

(a) These were called likewise sacred Games, as Stage-playes, *Gymnicke* Exercises, and Masteries in Musicke, in NEROS time. 45

(b) They tooke that name of a spatious Gallerie or walking place called *Xystos*, wherein they were woont to exercise in winter time.

(a) COLONIES, were Towne-ships in *Italy* and other Provinces planted with Romane Inhabitants. In which, *Decuriones* as one would say Aldermen, had the same authoritie as Senators in *Rome*. 46

(a) HEREVPON, some Provinces were called *Cæsaris*, or *Præsidiarie*: namely which were ruled by the Emperours sole appointment, and had strong Garrisons placed in them: others, *Populi*, 47

and they were named *Pretoriæ, Conſulares,* or *Proconſulares,* governed by Pretors, Conſuls, or their Vicegerents.

50 (*a*) There is a kinde of Munkey or Marmoſet in *Aethiopia,* going under the name of *Sphinx,* in PLINIE The Poets alſo faine, that a certaine monſterous beaſt ſo called, ſometimes did haunt the Citie of *Thebes* and the Territorie about it: Which from a rocke propoſed ridales unto the paſſengers. This monſter by their report, caried the reſemblance of three creatures, to wit, a Foule, A Lion, and a mayden, according to theſe verſes of *Auſonius.*

Tetruit Aoniam volucris, Leo, virgo triformis
Sphinx: volucris penna, pedibus * *fera, fronte puella.*
Leo. A three-ſhap'd *Sphinx,* Bird Lion-Maid,
Aonian land did fright,
Lion In wing a foule, in feete a * beaſt,
In face a virgin [bright].

PLINIE writeth in the laſt booke of his Naturall Hiſtorie. That AVGVSTVS uſed at the beginning to ſigne with this *Sphinx* engraven upon his Signet. And verily quoth he, in the caſket of his mothers Iewels two of theſe he fouud, ſo like, that one could not be diſcerned from the other. And as hee was woont to weare the one whereſoever he went, ſo in his abſence during the civill warres with *Anthonie,* his friends that menaged his affaires at *Rome,* ſealed with the other, thoſe miſsives and edicts which paſſed in his name. And from hence it came, that thoſe who received any ſuch letters or edictes conteyning matter of difficultie, were wont merily to ſay, that the ſaid *Sphinx* came ever with ſome hard riddle or other, which could not be aſſoiled. Whereupon AVGVSTVS to avoid the obloquie that arole by his *Sphinx* gave over ſealing therewith, and ſigned alwaies after with the image of King ALEXANDER the Great, &c.

(*a*) This humanitie and affable courteſie termed
51 by SVETON. CIVILITAS, was reproved in ALEXANDER the Emperour by his mother and wife both, as not beſeeming the Majeſtie of a Prince: For they told him many times, that thereby he cauſed his Imperiall power and dignitie to be the more contemptible: Yea, but it is by that meanes quoth he both ſurer, and like alſo to laſt the longer *Lampri* in *Alexandro.*

53 (*a*) THIS name *Dominus* among the Romans, like as Sir with us, was diuerſly uſed. In the ſenſe of imperious and Lordly commaund, as wee ſometime take [Lord] it was odious: as having a relation to SERVVS a ſlave or villaine. To mollifie therfore the harſhneſſe of the word, they uſed to terme houſholders or maſters of families, *patresfamilias,* in ſteed of *Domines,* as alſo houſhold ſervants *familiares,* and not *ſervos.* Otherwiſe they uſed it by way of flatterie or faire ſpeech. as appeareth in the *chap.* 21. of CLAVDIVS following. Hence it is, that lovers call their ſweet hearts, *Dominas* i. Miſtreſſes. Alſo if a man ſpeaketh unto one, whom he eyther knoweth not, or hath forgotten he ſaith, *Domine* .i. Heere you Sir, according to that Epigram in *Martiall.*

Cum te non noſſem, Dominum Regemque vocabam,
Or ſir. Al while that I you kenned not, I cald you L. & King
Laſt of all, by way of ſcorne and deriſion. And ſo, the ſame *Martial* teſtifyeth in this Diſtichon.

Cum voco te dominum, ſoli tibi, Cinna, placere,
Sæpe etiam ſervum ſic reſaluto meum.
When I O *Cinna* call you ſir, joy not, I you addreſſe,
For even my ſervant I ſalute oft times no otherwiſe.

In which manner we ſpeake unto our ſervant, or any other in contempt, by this terme ſirrha: to ſay nothing of ſir knave. No mervaile therefore, it AVGVSTVS could not abide this word *Dominus* ſo doubtfully taken, and ſeldome in good ſenſe.

(*b*) If you read, [*adoperta*] i. cloſe and ſhut, it may have reference to this, *That he tooke not ſtate upon him,* nor ſought the peoples applauſe, which accordeth to his other behaviour reported before. If, [*ad aperta*] i. open, it ſheweth likewiſe his courteous carriage and affabilitie: as who was readie to accept of petitions and requeſts: a thing right commendable in a Prince, as it is written of King ARTAXERXES ſurnamed MNEMON, how riding in a Carroch with his Queene, he commaunded her to draw open the curtaines thereof, *That he might the better attend upon his ſubiects.* And this agreeth as well with that which followeth of AVGVSTVS. And hereto I rather encline.

(*c*) He looked not for their attendance at home in his owne houſe, neyther would he be thought to have conferred with any one privately, as touching the publike affaires.

(*d*) It is generally a received opinion, that within ſeven naturall daies ſuch voluntarie abſtinence from food is not mortall, as PLINIE writeth in his eleventh booke, who reporteth alſo, that many have continued faſting more than eleven daies. Which I eaſily beeleeve. For, in mine owne knowledge I may be bold to report, that a Bitch lived ſo long, and yet died not, nor miſcaried the whelps within her? Some meloncholicke perſons therefore, may within the Latitude of Health endure ſo long, yea and thoſe likewiſe who are fraught top-full with a ballanſe of crud and cold humours, which may engender a quartaine ague as well as melancholie doth. For, I doubt not, but in ſuch chronicke diſeaſes occaſioned and maintained by groſſe matters, one may abide above eleuen daies without all manner of food. Yet AVLVS GELLIVS ſaith, that beyond ſeven daies wilfull abſtinence, a man is not able to live.

(*a*) For, as *Vlpian* teſtifyeth. *l.*18. *de Teſtamentis.* 55
A law there was, *that whoſoever to the infamie of any perſon publiſhed a Libell eyther in his owne or another mans name, yea without name at all. If he be convict thereof, ſhall be* Inteſtabilis. i. *diſabled both for making a will himſelfe, and alſo for to be a witneſſe unto another mans.*

(*a*) By theſe *candidates,* he meaneth eyther ſuch 56
as himſelfe recommended unto the people for any office, as CAESAR his predeceſſor did before him, and thoſe were called *Cæſaris Candidati,* or elſe his eſpeciall friends whom he laboured for.

(*b*) PLINIE *lib.*35. *cap.* 12. writeth, that *Caſſius* his accuſer charged him to have killed 130. gueſtes, with one platter of poiſoned meat.

(*c*) Certaine ſouldiers there were going under the name of *Scutarii,* as PAVLVS DIACONVS witneſſeth

neſſeth in his ſupplement upon *Eutropius* writing that *Valentinian* of a Tribune or Colonell over theſe *Scutari*, became Emperour.

64 (*a*) GERMANICVS was the ſonne of *Druſus*, and *Antonia* the younger. Now, had *Druſus* for his mother, *Livia* the wife of *Auguſtus* and *Antonia* for hers, *Octavia* the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*.

(*b*) In all bargaines of ſale, and alienations, the ſolemne and ceremoniall forme at *Rome* was this, that five witneſſes at the leaſt, Romane Citizens and of lawfull age, with one other beſide, of the ſame condition called *Libripens*, (becauſe he held a payre of balances, &c.) the chapman or buyer ſhould come with a peece of Braſſe coyne in his hand, and ſay, (for example ſake, if it were a bondſlave to bee bought and ſold) theſe words, *This man or woman, I avouch by the law of the Romans to be mine, and bought I have him or her, for this peece of braſſe, and with this braſen ballance*, and therewith, ſtriking the ſaid ballance give the braſen peece unto the other partie that is the ſeller, By which imaginarie kind of chaffering, things were alienated, & their property chãged.

ding and ting. (*c*) So ordinarie it was to traine up youth in ſwimming, and in * Grammer, of which the one had relation to the exerciſe of the bodie, the other of the minde, that of ſuch as had no bringing up at all, aroſe this proverbe, μήτε νέιν, μήτε γραμμάτα.

(*d*) CAIVS was ſent by AVGVSTVS with an armie to ſuppreſſe the troubles and inſurrections in the Eaſt-parts: where he was ſtabbed treacherouſly, with a knife or ſhort skeene, by one who preſented unto him a ſupplication, of which wound he died afterwards. A. LVCIVS likewiſe he ſent into *Armenia*, recõmending him unto the Gods in theſe words, *that they would vouchſafe him as welbeloved as* Pompeius, *as valorous as King Alexander, and as fortunate as himſelfe.*

(*a*) Theſe he adopted, becauſe they were out of the tuition of their fathers deceaſed) in the common Hall or *Forum*, before the high prieſtes, and with conſent of the people, by vertue of the law *Curiata*, And this was properly called *Adoption*. Whereas, ſufficient it was to adopt others above named with the aſſent of their fathers, by the formall bargaine of ſaile called *Mancipatio*.

(*c*) Certaine queſtours there were named alſo *Candidati Principis*: whoſe Office it was to read ſuch miſsives or letters in the Senate.

(*d*) Happily, this he did to know thereby, whether ſhe had beene naught of her bodie with them or no? conſidering wee learne out of naturall Philoſophy, that commonly children reſemble their parents in complexion, favour, and markes. Howbeit, this *Iulia* is reported to have brought forth children, all like unto M. *Agrippa*, her husband ſo long as he lived, notwithſtanding ſhe was knowen to be a common ſtrumpet. But beſide her anſwere to that point, unto thoſe who made a wonder at it, which ye may ſee in *Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 2. cap. 5.* read the pleaſant and wittie Epigram of Sir *Thomas Moore*, upon the like example.

(*e*) Alluding to a place of *Homere*, *Iliad. 3.* where in *Hector* curſeth his brother *Paris*, and after ſome approbrious termes ſaith thus,

αἰδ' ὄφελες τ' ἄγονος τ' ἄμμιξ, ἄγαμός τ' ἀπόλοιο.

Would God, thou had'ſt of women ne're bene borne

Or elſe had died thy wedding day beforne.

Which verſe, by inverſion of words and uſing one of them in a contrarie ſenſe, AVGVSTVS transferred unto his owne perſon. For it is to be noted, that ἄγονος heere in *Homer* hath a paſsive ſignification, & ſoundeth, as much, as μὴ γεννηθεὶς, i. notborne, whereas AVGVSTVS taketh it in the active, for one that is childleſſe, or *hath begotten no children.

(*f*) Theſe Cancers be certain tumors or ſwellings, hard & unequal of their nature which he called Scirrhes, and of an ugly, aſpect, as ariſing from unnaturall melancholy, breeding, as CORNELIVS CELSVS writeth, for the moſt part in the ſuperiour region of the bodie, about the face, noſe, eares, lips, and womens breaſts. Which our Author heere and the Greeke writers name *Carcinomata*, for the reſemblance of the Crab-fiſh crooked cleies, which the blacke or ſwart veines all about them doe repreſent, or becauſe they be hardly or uneth removed, if they once take to a place, no more than the ſaid fiſh when it ſeeleth to a thing and claſpeth it. Vntoward to be healed, and commonly the worſe for all the cure done unto them. Theſe Cancers, if they become ulcers once are termed Wolves. In regard of which properties, aptly compared AVGVSTVS thoſe ungracious Impes of his breed, unto them, as being foule *Eyeſores*, diſteining his honour, and by no diſcipline of his corrigible.

or is unable for generation

(*a*) According to that ſage precept of *Solon*, τὸν φίλον μὴ ταχὺ κίλα. i. *Be not haſty making any thy friends* 66 and the ſaying of *Hecuba* in *Euripides*,

εἰς ὃν ἐχθαίρω, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐστὶ φίλον.

No friend, I ſay,

Who loves not eye.

Which two rules *Propertius* elegantly comprehenderh in one verſe,

Amare.

Nec cito deſiſto, nec temere incipio

Late ere I love, as long ere I leave.

(*b*) AESOPE gaue this leſſon, τῇ γυναικὶ μυθίου, πᾶσιν ἀπόρρητα. i. Commit no ſecrets to a woman. And as for this *Mecenas*, he was noted to be *Vxorius*, more than he ſhould, and one, who (albeit his wife was a ſhrew and readie to goe from him every day ſoone admitted attonements and reconciliations. Whereupon *Seneca* in his morall Epiſtles ſaid, *That having but one wife, yet he maried a thouſand times.*

(*a*) EVERY word almoſt in this verſe carieth a 68 double conſtruction without the underſtãding whereof, all the grace is loſt. For, *Cynædus* in one ſenſe, betokeneth one of the Galli, Prieſts of the Gods *Cybele* named alſo, *Ops Mater deum*, and *Tellus*, even the very Earth. Which prieſts were gelded or diſabled for generation, and tooke that name of the river Gallus, the water wherof drunken, cauſed men to be evirate and effeminate. Now, the maner of theſe prieſtes in the divine ſervice of the ſaid goddeſſe, was to beat the Taber or tamper upon the Timbril, which is expreſſed here in theſe words, *Orbem digito temperat.* For that the Timbrill is round & circular, to ſignifie the Globe of the earth ſymbolyze by *Cybele*. And in this ſenſe, may the verſe literally be interpreted: But, beſide this ſignificatiõ, *Cynædus* betokneth a wantõ *Pathick* or *Catamite*, who ſuffereth himſelf againſt nature to be abuſed. *Orbis* alſo is pur, for the habitable world, and *digito temperat*, is as much to ſay, as He hath the world

at a becke, or at his commaund, as if the ſame were ruled by AVGVSTVS CAESAR, who was noted for that abhominable filthineſſe. And in this latter ſenſe did the people of *Rome* expound the ſaid verſe, and apply it unto him.

70 (a) OF twelve Gods and Goddeſſes together: Alluding to thoſe ſixe ſelect Gods, & as many Goddeſſes whom antiquitie in heatheneſſe honoured above, the reſt: whoſe names ENNIVS the Poet compriſed in theſe two verſes,

Iuno, veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius ✠ *Iovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.*

✠ *Iupiter.*

Anſwerable to which number hee intertained ſixe yong women attired like Goddeſſes, & ſix boyes (*lectamites*) in habit of Gods, as his gueſts at this Supper.

(b) I doubt, the firſt verſe of this *Hexaſticon* is not perfect, for, I doe not pleaſe my ſelfe in the tranſlation of it.

(c) Neyther is it certaine what this *Mallia* ſhould bee? Some read *Manlia*, as if it were the name of a chamber within the Laſtell or Citadyll of the Capitall, which this banqueting place of his did counterfeit, and then we muſt admit the figure *Proſopœa*. Others take *Mallia* to be the name of ſome woman, imploied in the furniſhing & ſetting out of ſuch a ſupper

(d) For AVGVSTVS not onely ſate heere among the reſt in the perſon of *Apollo*, but alſo would ſometimes be thought *Phœbus*, otherwhiles *Phœbus* his ſonne.

(e) For, it is not unknowne what adulteries the Poets talke of, betweene *Iupiter* and *Armenia* &c. betweene *Mars* alſo and *Venus*.

(f) No marvaile, if *Iupiter Capitolinus*, with other Gods and Goddeſſes, being before poſſeſſed of the Capitall, abandoned their ſhrines and chappels, when they ſaw ſuch in place.

(g) Wherein Tormentors whips and ſcourges were to be ſold: and there-upon he tooke that name of Tortour (like as before he is ſurnamed *Sandaliarius*, and *Tragadus*) which, AVGVSTVS ſeemed now to verifie in himſelfe, whipping and plauging the people with hunger, as he did.

71 (a) IN which moneth the feaſt *Saturnalia* was kept, and much libertie tolerated of gaming, feaſting and reveling.

(b) In this game called in Latine *Luſus talorum*, or *Talarius*, there is ſome reſemblance of our dies, but that the *Tali* have but foure faces or ſides, and therefore yeeld foure chaunces and no more. Of which the firſt is named *Canis* or *canicula*, anſwering as ſome thinke to our Ace, and is the worſt of all. The oppoſite unto it, they termed *Venus* or *Cous*, and is accompted the beſt, as which may ſtand for our ſiſe. The third bare the name of *Chius*, proportioned to Trey with us: and the laſt *Senio*, and is as much as *Quatre*. For in theſe *Tali* or cockall bones threre is no chance of Deux or Cinque.

(c) *Quinquatrus* or *Quinquatria*, were certaine feſtivall holidaies held for five daies together in the moneth *March* to the honour of *Minerva*. See *Ovid de Faſt. Var. Macro. Aul. Gell.*

72 (a) FOR pleaſure therein he called it *Syracuſe*, comparing it to that beautifull Citie in *Sicily*, and becauſe it ſerved his turne for meditations and inventions, he gave it the name πίνακον.

(a) Employed, as it ſhould ſeeme in his civill warres. Certaine ſoldiers there were attending upon the Prince under the name of *ſpeculatores*, whoſe ſervice he uſed, in ſpying and liſtening, In Greeke ſuch were named, Ὀπτῆρες, ἀκροαταὶ and κατάσκοποι. Alſo in doing execution upon condemned perſons, and in ſending of letters unto the Senate, as *Lavinus Torrentius* hath obſerved verie well in his Annotations vpon CAIVS CALIGVLA. 74

(a) *Sabbatis Ieiunium ſervat.* If Sabbats be but for weeks, as the manner of the Iewes was to ſpeake, according as the Publicane ſaith in the Goſpell after Saint *Luke*, πνστεύω δὶς τοῦ Σαββάτου, and as it appeareth in other places of the Evangeliſts, true it is, that SVETONIVS or AVGVSTVS reporteth of the Iewes, as alſo if by Sabbaths are meant other of their feſtivall and ſolemne daies. But if you take it for the ſeventh or laſt day of the week, it is altogether untrue, and to be imputed unto the errour and ignorance of SVETONIVS and the Romanes, in the Iewiſh rites and ceremonies. For ſeeing them religiouſly to keepe the ſaid ſeventh day or Sabbat holy, whereupon they were commonly called *Sabbatarii*, and obſerving withall their faſting, generally it was thought of ſtraungers that they faſted upon the Sabbat. Alſo for their devout faſting againſt the feaſt of the Paſſover, called by themſelves ſometime the great Sabbat, as alſo by forainers, as it appeareth by *Horatius lib. 1. ſerm. ſat. 9.* in this peece of verſe *Hodie triceſima Sabbata, &c.* they imagined that the Iewes faſted everie Sabbat. And in truth, reckon from September (at which moneth the Iewes in one computation begin their yeare) 30 weeks forward, you come unto their *Caſcha*: According to which time wee Chriſtians alſo doe celebrate our feaſt of Eaſter. This onely is the difference betweene us and them, for that they obſerve the *Neomenia* or new moone at the ſpring *Aequinoc.* and ſolemnize their paſſover in the next full moone, and wee, the Lords day or Sonday after the ſaid full. 66

(a) It ſeemeth, he tooke but a light repaſt: not putting off his ſhoes, as the maner was, at full meals. 78

(b) Some cõpies have, *retectis pedibus*, making (*re*) to be ὑποπτικὸν, as if he meant, verie well covered (contrarie to the uſe of that word *retegere*, which otherwiſe ſignifieth, *to uncover*) like as *recondere*, i. to lay up verie ſafe and ſure. Others, *retractis* i. with his feete ſomewhat drawen or pulled up to him: in the ſame ſenſe as CORNELIVS CELSVS uſeth *paulum reductis, qui fere jacentibus habitus eſt*, as hee ſaith, which is the ordinarie forme of lying, when as men be in health. Laſtly, ſome read, *retectis* i. Let downe or ſtretched out to the full length.

(c) CASABONVS interpreteth, [*Lectiunlam lucubratoriam*] a pallet or low bedde made for the nones, to reſt and ſtudie upon.

(a) BY whoſe report, he wanted not much of the full height of men, to wit, nere ſix foot, according to *Vegetius*. Above which *Stature* the grouth is ſomewhat giantlike. 79

(a) AD *Impetiginis formam*. The ſecond kinde whereof, as CORNELIVS CELSVS writeth, (for willingly do I often cite him as the Roman *Galene*, in explication of a Roman writer) *Varias figuras habet* i. reſembleth many and ſundre formes, *lib. 5. cap. 28.* 80

(b) This

(b) This infirmitie of his was a kinde of gout, which the Greeke writers call *Ischias*, and is commonly named *Sciatica*. As for the remedie or palliatiue cure rather (for easement of paine) with sand: It may be meant eyther of some fomentations with linnen bagges wherein was sand. For, *Cornelius Cæsar* writeth, *That Millet seed, salt, and sand*, or any of them put within a linnen cloath, and so applied to the affected place, eure the said disease: or of walking in sand by the sea side, or else of tumbling and wallowing therein: Which remedie *Q. Serenus Samonicus* in this verse: *Nec non & tepidis conuoluere corpus arenis, &c.* hath prescribed and experience verified.

(c) CATO in his Husbandrie, and PLINIE *lib. 17. cap. vltimo*, maketh mention of curing the *Sciatica* with a clift of a green cane or reed, but there must be forsooth, a charme go with all, and, so, it reposeth dislocations or bones out of ioynt. Indeed, both *Dioscorides*, and also *Galene*, attribute vnto the rinde or barke of Cane-rootes, and to their ashes a desiccatiue vertue: Whereby, they are found good for such dislocations, and so may cure the Articular disease likewise, called *Sciatica*, which differeth not much from a dislocation, of the huckle-bone.

(d) PLINIE reporteth 3. *cap. lib.* 25. That the disease of the bladder, and especially the Strangurie, i. pissing drop-meale, occasioned by grauell, (which I take heere to be meant) is of all others most dolorous.

81 (a) THIS accordeth to an obseruation of *Cornelius Celsus*. *Qui secundis aliquando frustra curatus est, contrariis aliquando restituitur*. i. The patient whose cure deuised by art, and according to the rule of Physicke, sometime speedeth not well, recouereth otherwhile by a course of meanes quite contrarie.

(b) Which the Greekes call *Periodicall*: As the Quartane Ague and other intermittent fevers be so termed, because their fits returne vpon certaine daies. The falling sickneſſe likewise, keeping time with the moone, whereupon some name it *Lunaticus*. And gouts, which are most busie in the spring and the fall, &c.

(c) Toward the end of September. An vnequall season of the yeare, wherin commonly, the mornings and euenings be cold, and the Noone tides hotte, whereby many diseases are occasioned. But as touching the Birth-day heere mentioned, *Valerius Max.* and *Plinie* report, That *Antipater Sidonius* the Poet every yeare vpon the day of his Nativitie onely felt the accesse of an Ague. Whereof he died in the end, after he had lived to a great age.

(d) No maruaile if in cacochymicall bodies, such as his was, the humors which lay still and quiet all Winter, began to spread and swell in the spring, causing *Distentions* and *Pennosities*: especially in that place where they were gathered and laid up as it were in store, to doe a mischiefe when the time came.

82 (a) *Feminalibvs & tibialibus*. In steede of our Breeches and Stockings, the Greeks and Romans, used in those daies certaine loose cloathes in manner of Swathling bands to cover and lap their nakednesse. And long it was, ere they tooke to anie such, unlesse it were upon occasion of some disease. Witnesse hereof PHILIP King of Macedonia who as PLVTARCH, when he sate in Port-sale of certaine slaues or captiues, was admonished by one of them to let downe his vpmost garment for to hide his shame: IVLIVS CAESAR also himselfe, being deadly wounded, was carefull to let fall the lap of his * gowne for to cover his priuie parts when he should fall. In processe of time they tooke to wearing the cloathes aforesaid in lieu of *Braccæ*. i. Breeches, which the French and other barbarous Nations used: but they did so in Winter onely. For, otherwise they went ordinarily in those parts without trusses: covering all as mannerly as they could with their loose upper garment, which upon a small occasion were readie to flie open.

* *which vsually was cast ouer the shoulder.*

(b) Partly, to make a noise, and so to procure sleepe, and in part to refresh and coole the Ayre.

(c) As well to coole him as to drive away gnats, for want of curtaines or a canopie, which thereof tooke the name in Greeke ῥιπιδιον or ῥιπιδειον. Now the manner of this winowing or making wind was for the better and daintier sort, with plumes of peacocks tailes, much like to the fannes or feathers used in these daies as well as in old time, but for the meaner, with beasts tailes.

(d) From *Rome* to *Præneste* or *Tibur*, is about one hundred *Stadia* if then you reckon 125. pales to a *Stadium*, it commeth to 12. miles and an halfe. CATO CENSORIVS was of another minde, who said he Repented when soeuer he went to any place by water if he might, by land.

(e) The abstinence whereof in some measure is good for those that haue feeble ioynts, and be remembred otherwhiles with any gout. as AVGVSTVS was yet a thing that Physicians in old time could hardly bring their patients vnto, so ordinarie it was in those daies to both.

(f) Which, the wanton and delicate Ladies of *Rome*, as PLINIE writeth, used of silver.

(a) *Ad pilam*. Whereas there were diuers kinds of 83
balls to play with, it seemes, that he meaneth in this place that, which of all other was least and hardest, as being stuffed with haire, whereupon it tooke the name: the same no doubt that our Tennis Ball is sent to and fro with the Racket. Named likewise it was *Trigonalis*, of a Tennis court within the baines, three square walled: from which wals the ball did rebound. Of this ball, and the exercise thereof, GALEN wrote a Treatise.

(b) *Follículum*. By *Folliculus* is meant a kinde of wind hand-ball couered with lether: having within it a bladder puffed up with wind, the softest & lightest of all others, smitten, not with a racket as the other, nor with the palme of the hand, as that which they called *Pagnica*, filled with woole, flocks or yarne, but driven with the clutched fist, whereupon it tooke the name PVGILLATORIA.

(c) So TVRNEBVS expounded it. But ISAACVS CASAVBONVS vnderstandeth thereby, *Segestrie* or *Segestrium*, in Greeke στρωμνη, a light blanquet or quilt.

(d) By this, is meant a play, that children vsed, and not that game of hazard resembling dice, at which, hee saide before, they played παιγνιοις.

(*e*) For ought that I can gather out of the ſundry conjectures of expoſitours, theſe *Ocellati* made of ſilver or Iron, reſemble the game of young Gentlewomen called of ſome *Trol-Madame*; or elſe that paſtime of boyes named nine holes.

85 (*a*) BESIDES the pretie alluſion vnto the fabulous hiſtorie of AIAX, TORRENTIVS hath obſerved in the word *Spongia*, a double ſignification: to wit, a ſpunge called *Doletilis*, which writers had at hand, eyther to wipe and waſh out what miſliked them, or to blurre and blot the ſame, according to theſe of the Poet AVSONIVS.

Aut cunctis pariter verſibus oblinat
Fulvam lacticolor ſpongia ſepiam.

Whereupon *Martialis* ſaith of it,

Vtilis hac quoties ſcripta nocere volet.

and alſo a ſword. Which addeth the better grace vnto the conceit, conſidering that AIAX fell vpon his owne ſword. But in this latter ſenſe, I have not yet found *Spongia* taken, in any approved author.

(*a*) AVGVSTVS taxed MAECENAS for be-
86 ing *Cacozelos*, and found as much fault with TIBERIVS, becauſe he was *Antignatius*:

(*b*) By theſe words μυσκηρχεῖς Cincinnos AVGVSTVS noteth the affectate forced phraſes, and curious ynkehorne termes as it were, of MAECENAS, *Cuius oratio*, as SENECA reporteth of him *Epiſt.94. aque ſoluta eſt, ac ipſe diſtinctus.* His manner of ſtile might be compared to thoſe haires of his, curled with criſping pins & beſmered with odoriferous oiles, which CICERO calleth *capillos calamiſtratos & delibutos.* Neither do I thinke that AVGVSTVS rereprehendeth MAECENAS for uſing theſe words, μυσκηρχεῖς cincinnos, becauſe it is his owne manner in writing to enterlace Greeke with Latin. & beſides, *Cacozelon* is therein to be found. But his over curious termes and new deviſed phraſes he ſo calleth, for that MAECENAS was wont in trimming and tricking up himſelfe to be ſomewhat womanniſh.

(*c*) AVGVSTVS in a certaine Epiſtle vnto *Maecenas* by expreſſing his owne nice and delicate phraſes, after a ſort derideth them, and dehorteth him thereto, in theſe words. *Vale mel gemmeum Medullia ebur ex Hetruria, laſer Aretinum, adamas ſupernas, Tiberinum Margaritum, Cilniorum Smaragde, Iaſpi figulorum, Berylle Porcenne, carbunculum Italiæ, καὶ ἐκ συντήμου πινακίδιον Mecharum.* In which words, as in a mirror he might ſee himſelfe.

(*d*) As if he ſhould ſay, *Never a barrell better herring.* There was neyther of them better than other, as offending both waies. The Aſiatick Orators were *Cacozeli*, *Cimber Atticus* and *Veranius*, *Antiquarii.* So that, it was meere folly & vanitie to make any doubt, whether of them to imitate, being all ſtarke naught.

89 (*a*) This SERHAERVS was a deep Scholler & great Humanitian as we ſpeake, and whom the Greekes call *Philologon.* Vnder him AVGVSTVS became πολυμαθὴς i. skilfull in hiſtorie, Antiquities &c. like as, under ARBVS he learned Philoſophy.

(*b*) The principall Authors whereof HORATIVS compriſed in this verſe,

Eupolis atque Cratinus, Ariſtophanesque poetæ.

In this manner of Comedie the vices of men and women were repreſented and taxed upon the ſtage over-boldly, and bravely to their diſcredit. For which it grew to be offenſive, & was laid away a long time.

(*c*) Who was Cenſor in his time, and perſwaded in his orations that al men of what degree ſoever ſhould be compelled to marie for procreation of children. 90

(*a*) PLINIE *lib.2.cap.55. Nat Hiſt.* writeth, that it never lightneth above five foot within the ground. Fearfull perſons therefore thinke ſuch deepe caves moſt ſafe. 91

(*a*) BY this cuſtome and geſture, as the Argument and circumſtance of the place naturally importeth, he thoght to intreat the goddeſſe *Nemeſis* for to ſpare him: *Nemeſis* I ſay, whom the Heathen imagined to attend with an envious eye, upon all exceſſive proſperitie. To avoid therefore adverſe afterclaps, which this ſpiteſull goddeſſe might bring upon him, unleſſe they were pacified, AVGVSTVS thus debaſed himſelfe ſuperſtitiouſly, and in ſome ſort, ſeemed to abridge his owne felicitie. Much after the manner of POLYCRATES that rich tyrant who to be excuſed from this *Nemeſis*, flung into the ſea a Iewel, with a pretious ſtone of inestimable price. 92

(*a*) NVNDINAE among the Romans were thoſe daies in every moneth. Whereon they kept fayres and markets. It ſhould ſeeme therefore, that he held the day after them ominous and of unlucky preſage, as we ſay in our proverbe, *A day after the faire*, or elſe becauſe he had ſometime not ſped very well, when as he did ſet out in his journey upon ſuch a day.

(*b*) *Nonis, quaſi, non is*, which literally oſſeth as much as, *you go not.* Much like to that in *Plinie* 15. *lib. cap.*19. When *M. Craſſus* was readie to embarke in that infortunate expedition into *Parthia* where he was ſlaine, a fellow cried certaine figs to be ſold with this note *Cauneas, Cauneas* (for of that kinde were thoſe figs) which offed thus much unto him, as if in ſhort ſpeech he had cried *cave ne eas, cave ne eas,* 93 i. Take heede you go not this voyage.

(*a*) AN Idoll reſembling an Oxe, which the Aegyptians worſhipped as a God for *Serapis.*

(*b*) He did this, as it ſhould ſeeme in policy, becauſe he would not be thought addicted to the Iewiſh ſect. For otherwiſe it appeareth as well by his gracious Indulgences granted unto them, as his own teſtimonie in Edicts & commiſſions, wherin he giveth unto their God [the true & onely God] the attribute of ὑψιστὸς, and inſtituted for ever certaine *Holocauſts*, or whole burnt offerings, to wit, two lambs and one bul, to be offered unto that ſoveraigne & moſt high Diety. 94

(*a*) SOME have expounded this of our Saviour Chriſt, King, not of Rome onely, but alſo of all the world, who tooke our nature vpon him, and was borne in the daies of *Auguſtus ceſar.*

(*b*) The like conception by a ſerpent is reported of *Olympias* the mother of king ALEXANDER the great, of POMPONIA likwiſe the mother of SCIPIO AFRICANVS.

(*c*) This broad ſeale wherewith were ſigned letters Patents and other publike Inſtruments, caried a ſtamp repreſenting the Citie of Rome: and beingthus put into his boſom, prefigured that he one day ſhould have the government of the ſtate & commonweale.

(*d*) Symbolizing thereby, that the Citizens of *Rome*, who before time might not lawfully be ſcourged were in danger to looſe their liberty in that behalfe:

(*a*) Or

95 (a) Or, when he ſtood the firſt time for to be Conſull. For, the maner was of the *Candidats* or Competitours of the Conſulſhip, the night before the Election day to lie without the Citie abroad in the open ayre: and afterwards earely in the morning to ſit in a chaire made of one entier peece within the precinct of a certaine place therefore appointed (which thereupon was called *Templum*) and there, to waite and expect untill ſome God preſented unto them a good and fortunate ſigne.

96 (a) CVM *augeri boſtias imperaſſet.*] The manner was of the Painims if they could not ſpeed of their Gods fauour at the firſt ſacrifice, to kill more beaſts ſtill, untill they ſaw ſome tokens thereof: which in the Southſayers learning was called *Litare*. Thus did PAVLVS AEMILIVS for 20 together, and obtained no warrant of happie ſucceſſe before he had ſlaine the one and twentith. Yet ſome write, that Sacrifices are then ſaid *Augeri*, whē together with the beaſts, there is uſe of *Salſa mola*, i. meat & ſalt. Which kind of Oſtes be called *Mactæ, quaſi, magis auctæ.*

(b) Significant names both, and eſſes of victorie. EVTICHVS, importeth Luckie or Fortunate: *Nicon* Victour or Conquerour.

(a) This ſolemnitie of purging the Armie everie
97 five yeares was inſtituted by King SERVIVS TVLLVS, and celebrated with the Sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheepe and a Bull, named there upon *Suovetaurilia*. Hereupon, the revolution of five yeares, they called *Luſtrum*. This function or office belonged afterwards to Generals of the field: like as the Expiation and purging of the people unto the Cenſours. And this maner of *Luſtrum* is here meant. *Carol. Sigon. Aſcen.*

(b) Writings or Inſtruments ſigned, conteyning the ſaid vowes: whereby they bound themſelues, as it were, by obligation to pay and performe the ſame. Oftentimes alſo they faſtened them with waxe unto the knees of thoſe Gods or Idols unto whom they nuncupated thoſe vowes, according to that verſe of *Iuvenal. Satyr.* 5

Propter quæ fas eſt genua incerare Deorum.

(c) *Præter conſuetudinem.*] SVETONIVS ſeemeth heere to forget himſelfe, writing that *Auguſtus* contrarie to his olde wont embarked by night, having reported before, that it was his manner ſo to doe. *Torrentius* would ſalve all, expounding it thus, that his haſtie and long journey (for it was a good ſtretch from *Aſtura* to *Beneventum*) was contrarie to his wonted manner. But to ſpeake, what I thinke, his journey now by night, was occaſioned by a gale of winde that ſerued well for *Beneventum*, and hath no reference at all to his accuſtomed travaile. Some would read, (*pro conſuetudine*) i. after his uſuall maner, but they reſpect not the ſcope of our Author, whoſe purpoſe in this place is to put downe certaine particulars that were ominous and preſaging his death. Among which, this may be reckoned for one, *That he did a thing now*, repugnant to his ordinarie guiſe. A point, I wis, obſerved too much even now a daies by thoſe that are ſuperſtitioſly given. Although, I am not ignorant, that of this obſervation, in ſicke folke, there may be a naturall reaſon rendered out of Phiſicke.

98 (a) DE *naui Alexandrina.* By *Navis* he meaneth as I ſuppoſe, *Claſſis* (by the trope *Synecdoche*) i. the whole fleete, like as by the ſame figure, *claſſis* ſignifieth a ſhip. For one veſſell alone arrived not into that haven of *Puteoli*, fraught with marchandiſes conſidering that the ſame is by other writers named *πεγκυπὸς σῖτος*, and *Conveatus*. Yea, and by the figure *Cataclneſis*, *Martial* calleth it *Niliacus cataplus*, which properly betokeneth the fleet when it is arrived. Neyther is it like that Mariners and Paſſengers out of one ſhip onely ſaluted AVGVSTVS in this wiſe.

(b) *Quadragenos aureos.* Euery ſuch peece was worth fifteene ſhillings ſtarling and better, aunſwerable to our Spurre Roials.

(c) Theſe commodities were thought to be Drugs and Spices of all ſorts, webs or clothes in Say, Books, Paper, Glaſſes of ſundrie faſhions, teere of flaxe, hirds, or Tow, findall or fine lanen, twiſted yarne and threed of divers colours, Babylonian and Aegyptian cloath, well favoured bondſlaves, and of good education, &c.

(d) *Vicinam capreis inſulam.*] Yet ſome read otherwiſe, *Vicinam capreas inſulam* i. The Iland *Capree* neere adjoyning, as if AVGVSTVS had abode all this while in the skirt and coaſt of *Campania*, or in ſome other of the neighbour Ilands. But I incline rather to the former expoſition.

(e) The Citie of Eaſe and Idleneſſe.

(f) This MASGABAS, ſeemeth by his name to have beene an Africane, whom AVGVSTVS had made Conſtable as it were of that place, and ruler over a Companie, that he ſent thither to dwell, after he had purchaſed it of the Neapolitanes. And for that AVGVSTVS had in mirth given him the name of *Founder*, he was ſo reputed, and his yeares minde after his death ſolemnized accordingly.

(g) *Morbo variante.* I take it, he meaneth that which *Celſus* calleth *Alvum variam*, and other Phyſitians *Egeſtiones varias*, namely when in a fluxe the excrements & humors be of diverſ colours, an argument that nature is not able to concoct them being ſo irrigular, and therfore ſomtimes a deadly figure. Or, it may be expounded thus, *That otherwhiles he ſeemed to be better and on the mending hand, and thereupon more venterous.* Then read, *Morbo variante tamen, &c.*

(h) Celebrated everie five yeares after the Græcian manner, and called Gymnicke, becauſe the maſteries therein, were performed by Champions for their better agilitie well neere naked.

(a) This was a ſpeciall honour and indulgence 100
granted by a ſingular priviledge, for otherwiſe it was againſt the cuſtome & lawes of the Romans to bring a dead bodie into a ſacred place, or into the Citie, for feare of polluting and profaining it.

(b) The Senatours and Gentlemen of Rome were rings of Gold, the Commoners of Iron

(c) The chiefe Colledges & Societies, at this time were compted foure, that is to ſay. The Pontifies or chiefe Prieſts, the Augures, the Septem-virs, or ſeven wardens called *Epulones*, for that to thē belonged the charge of providing the ſacred feaſts, the ſumptuous ſuppers of the Pontifies, named *Cœnæ adjiciales*, as alſo the ſtately Tables, in the honour of *Iupiter* and other Gods, and fourthly, of the *Quindecimviri, ſacris faciundis*, i. Fifteene overſeers of the Sacrifices. Afterwards adjoyned there was to theſe a fifth, *Auguſtalium Sodalium*, erected by order from AVGVSTVS, and others in proceſſe of time by his precedent.

(d) This

(*d*) This *Roſtra* was the publicke pulpit for Orations, ſtanding in the common Market place, called *Forum Romanum*: ſo called for that it was beautified with the beake-heads of ſhips (named in Latine, *Roſtra*) which in a memorable fight at Sea, the Romans wonne from their enemies. Neere vnto which were certaine ſhops called *Veteres Taberne*: and abſolutely *veteres*, for diſtinction of others, knowen by the name of *Nouæ*, i. the new ſhops. Yet ſome are of opinion, that in this place our Author meaneth *Roſtra vetera* .i. the olde pulpit: to put a difference betweene it and another named *Noua* i. the New.

(*e*) You muſt thinke, That the dead bodie to be burnt in a funerall fire, was ſet therein ſo, as the aſhes and bones thereof remained a part by themſelves from the reſt. Otherwiſe, the aſhes of wood, the bones likewiſe of horſes and other beaſts ſometimes burnt therewith, ſhould have the honour due unto the ſaid dead corps. Some are of opinion that it was lapped in a linnen ſheete of the flaxe called *Aſbeſton*, which would not bee conſumed with fire.

(*f*) The ſumptuons Tombe that Queene *Artemiſia* built for her husband MANSOLVS King of *Caria*, and reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world, was called *Manſoleum*, after his name. Whereupon, at ſuch coſtly and ſtately monuments are ſo named; and more particularly, that of AVGVSTVS. Of which you may read more. 5. *Gergraſti Strebonis*, for the better explanation of this place.

(*a*) DEPOSITVM *apud ſe.*] Some read, *apud ſe, ſeu virgines veſtiles*, as if ſixe of theſe Veſtall virgins had the cuſtodie thereof, or at leaſtwiſe brought the ſame forth, being committed to them all: and the ſeventh, named *Maxima*, the Prioreſſe as it were, and gouerneſſe of the reſt, were left behinde.

(*b*) This hath a reference unto the *As*, or pound waight Romaine conſiſteth of 12. ounces. which ſtandeth for the baſe and rule of many other things: and namely heere for the entiere inheritance that AVGVSTVS diſpoſed of by his laſt will and Teſtament. For, two third parts of 12. he gaue unto TIBERIVS: and another third part unto LIVIA, which made vp the whole.

(*c*) That againſt the law *Voconia*, which expreſly provided, That no man ſhould endow a woman in more the the fourth part of his goods. So that if a man died ſeized of one hundred thouſand pounds, his wife might not enjoy the thirds, but onely 25000 pounds and no more. Howbeit AVGVSTVS had a ſpeciall Indulgence and diſpenſation for this Lawe.

(*d*) Albeit TIBERIVS had beene long before adopted his ſonne, and thereby may be thought to have aſſumed the names of his civil father, into his ſtile: yet this ſurname onely of AVGVSTVS, would not he communicate with him, but left it as hereditarie after his deceaſe; as apeareth in *Tiberius*. As for *Livia*, after *Auguſtus* his death ſhe was commonly called *Iulia Auguſta*: how ever ſome writers retaine her olde name *Livia*, and others againe in *Auguſtus* his life name her *Iulia*: by the figure Prolepſis becauſe ſhe caried that name after he was dead.

(*e*) In moſt copies of SVETONIVS you find this reading, *Legavit populo Romano quadringentis, tribubus tricies quinquies.* In which words there may be thought a Tautologie. For that the people of *Rome* and the Tribes (which were in number 35) be all one. Therefore, ſome learned men have thought good to leave out the later clauſe wholly, or at leaſtwiſe, the word *Tribubus*. Others againe would have heere two legacies to be implied, the one of foure millens given generally in common to the whole bodie and people of *Rome*, the other of three millenes and one halfe, to be diſtributed among the Tribes in particular, or to the pooreſt perſons in everie Tribe according to the diſcretion of their *Vicimagiſtri*. And theſe, put a diſtinction betweene *populus* and *plebs*, which *plebs* is heere underſtood vnder the name of *Tribulus*. But I leave it indifferent, although I am not ignorant, that ſometimes *Populus* and *tribus* be confounded and put the one for the other, as alſo that *tribus* ſtand of the vulgar and meaner ſort of the people onely, expreſly diſtinct from *populus*, *Equites* and *Senatores*, which the Poet termeth *Sine nomine turbam*: and T. LIVIVS not unaptly, *Ignota capita*.

(*f*) Which amounteth by the compution of BVDAEVS to three thouſand and fiue hundred *Myrigdes*.

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Tiberius Nero Cæsar:

1 IT ſeemeth that in his owne Native countrey, where the Inhabitantes, before time were deſcended from the Greeks, he had to name *Atta Clauſus*: and being once incorporate among the Romans, changed it, into APPIVS CLAVDIVS. Now, *Atta* lauoreth of the Greeke word ἄττειν, which is in going, not to ſet the ſole of the foote firmely upon the ground, but rather lightly to tread as it were, on tiptoe. Heereupon, as FESTVS noteth, they that have that imperfection in their feete, whereby they can go no better, be called *Atti*. Which was the occaſion, that one of the ſaid houſe tooke that name firſt, and ſo his poſteritie after him. Like as among the Romanes, of another accident, aroſe the name *Agrippa* firſt. For that one was borne into the world with his feere forward. And theſe additions, whether they were forenames or ſurnames in the beginning, it skilleth not. For ſurnames in continuance of time came to be forenames, and contrariwiſe.

(*b*) If you have recourſe unto the Originall, NERO is as much as Νεύρων, or Νευρώδης i. *Nervatus* or *Nervoſus*: that is to ſay, well compact of nerves and ſinewes: and ſuch are ſtrong.

(*a*) SENECA reporteth in his booke *De brevitate vitæ, cap.* 12. That this CLAVDIVS perſwaded the Romanes firſt, to go to ſea, and embarke: Where-upon he was ſtyled *Caudex*, which in our Latin is as much to ſay, as the framing, and joyning together of many plants or ribs of timber, which is the very Periphraſes of a Barke. 2

(*b*) One if his predeceſſours who had a Iuriſdiction, there, gave it that name, as having built likewiſe a Forum or Hall of Iuſtice there. whereupon the Inhabitants of it and the territout thereabout, owing ſervice to that court, as Clients & dependants to that Family afforded this CLADIVS a meete place for him of Innovation and uſurping unlawfull dominion.

(*c*) Obſerving ſignes from Birds, by their feeding, flying or otherwiſe, that might give him warrant to go forward with the favour of the Gods, in his Enterpriſe.

(*d*) Adoptions by order of Law, ſhould follow the courſe of Nature, whereby the ſonne, cannot be elder than the Father. The cauſe why he ſought thus extraordinarily to bee adopted a commoner, was that he might be choſen Tribune of the law.

(*e*) The uſuall manner in *Rome* was, that thoſe perſons who were arreſted for criminall cauſes, during all the time of their trouble and triall, ſhould chaunge their apparell, and in ſteed of gownes which were faire and white, put on others ſullied and foule, thereby to moove mercie and compaſſion of the people. Whereupon ſuch, *Rei* were called *Sordidati*.

(*f*) Theſe Tribunes of the commons as may appeare in T. LIVIVS were *ſacroſancti*. i. Vnviolable, and ſuch as no violent hands might bee laid upon.

(*a*) SO called, of *Salina*, the ſalt pits or ſalt houſes. For being Cenſor he ſet an impoſt upon ſalt, and thereby augmented the revenewes of the State, little to the benefit or contentment of the people. 3

(*a*) FOR the manner was, that Governours of provinces, who (as they were) ſo would be counted alſo, more courteous than others, ſhould unrequeſted allow ſome of their lectors unto all Roman Senators that repayred unto them, for to doe them honour: *Cic. ep. ad carnificium*. 4

(*a*) IN token of his nativitie there, which as they gave out, was borne to the good *urbis & orbis*, i. Of *Rome* and the whole world beſides, for ſo, by way of flatterie they magnified their Princes. 5

(*a*) Some read, *Luctuoſam*. i. ſorrowfull, in regard of many hurts and dangers. 6

(*b*) When a chariot is drawne by a teeme of foure ſteeds all in one ranke or affront, as we may ſee them pourtraited vpon divers coines, it muſt needs bee that the two middle ate joyned or yoaked as it were to the ſpire pole running betweene them: and theſe be called τυγοὶ. The other two then are without, the one on the left, and the other on the right ſide, called παρωροὶ in Greeke, and in this place by our Authour *Funales*, becauſe they are guided and ruled by a cord, or ſome reines or cheine in lieu thereof. And ſay, that theſe quadrigij or foure ſteeds drawe two by two in files, one payre before the other: thoſe which be next unto the chariot be aptly called *Iugales*, and thoſe before them beyond the ſpire, *Funales*, of which, TIBERIVS rode upon one and MARCELLVS upon the other.

(*a*) ACCORDING to the vulgar ſpeach, *Nimia familiaritas paris contemptum*. 10

(*a*) THESE daies were called *Tali*, becauſe at firſt they uſed with ſuch cockall bones named *Tali* to play: but afterwards they were made of Ivory, gold, &c. Among many ſorts of ſorceries and divinations, one there was by theſe bones or dies, and the wiſards that profeſſed their cunning in it, were termed Ἀστραγαλομάντεις. 14

(*b*) For the greater light to this place, and better proofe of *Thraſillus* skill, *Dion* reporteth, that when TABERIVS intended verily to throw him downe headlong,

headlong, he perceived him by his countenance to be much troubled and diſquieted in minde, whereupon he demaunded the cauſe thereof, and then *Thraſyllus* anſwered, that by ſpeculation of the Stars he forelaw ſome preſent daunger to himſelfe, and ſo *Tiberius* durſt not proceede to execute this intent of his.

17 (*a*) SEPTA, was a place in *Mars Field* raiſed about at firſt like a ſheepe Pen: whereupon it was called *Ovilia*. But afterwards mounted with Marble ſtone, beautified alſo with ſtately galleries and walks, within which cloyſture and precinct, the people oftentimes aſſembled about Election of Magiſtrates and other publicke affayres: yea and with wares which were there ſet out to be ſold. As *Alex ab Alexandro* witneſſeth.

19 (*a*) Some read *Bructero*, of which name there is a nation, as well as of the *Rhutaine* in *Gaule*. Others, *Rutero*, as if he meant one of thoſe horſemen or riders in Germanie, which at this day be called

20 *Rutters*.

(*a*) A long robe embrodred and garded with purple, a caſſocke branched with Date tree worke, a rich mantell of ſundry colours. A chaplet of Laurell, a ſtaffe & chaire, both of Ivorie. *Liv. lib.* 30.

(*a*) BY this ænigmaticall ſpeech, AVGVSTVS compareth the State of the people of *Rome*, unto the

21 miſerable caſe of one, whom ſome ſavage and cruell beaſt hath gotten betweene his teeth, not devouring and diſpatching him at once, but there holdeth and cheweth him along while in exceeding paine: alluding to the ſecret malice, and dreaming nature withall of TIBERIVS.

(*b*) It ſhould ſeeme that in adopting him, he uſed theſe very words, *Hoc Reipub. cauſa facio*. i. This doe I for the common-wealthes ſake.

(*c*) Alluding to this verſe of *Ennius* in the commendation of *Qu. Fabius Max*,

Vnus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem.
One man alone by ſage delay
Reſtor'd our ſtate fall'n to decay.

(*d*) In the tenth booke of his *Iliads*, where *Diomedes* in making choiſe of *Vlyſſes*, to exploit a peece of ſervice with him, giveth him this praiſe.

(*a*) The Tribunes of the commons had power

23 to call a Senate, but not whenſoever they would, without a ſpeciall Decree graunted by the Nobles.

(*a*) THE cohort or band of Souldiers which were

25 of the Princes Guard, were called *Prætoriani*, taking that name of *Prætorium* which ſignifieth the Lord Generals Pavilion in the campe, his Royall Pallace in *Rome* and elſe where. As alſo the Lord Deputies houſe of Eſtate in any Province. Now thoſe Souldiers that gave attendance and ſerved in this place about the Prince or Governour, were intertained in better condition than the reſt, becauſe their wages was greater, and the time of their ſervice ſhorter. For AVGVSTVS had ſet downe their terme twelue yeares, whereas the reſt, before they could be diſcharged, were to ſerve ſixteene:

(*b*) It may be thought, that *Germaniciani* as well by the Grammaticall Analogie of the letter, as alſo by ſome circumſtance of this verie place, import a reference unto *Germanicus* the ſon of *Druſus* diſceaſed. Like as *Vitellini*, *Flaviani*, &c. But the learned obſerve, that as an Armie lying encamped or in Garriſon, in Germanie, is properly in Latin called *Germanicus*, ſo the Soldiours of the ſaid Armie be fitly named *Germaniciani*.

(*a*) Theſe ſolemnities were exhibited about the midſt of November, whereas the other, named *Romani*, were held in the beginning of September. 26

(*b*) It is to be noted, that the name of *Imperator* in the Roman Hiſtorie is taken three waies: Firſt, for him, who by commiſſion or warrant from the State, hath the conducting of an Armie, And in this ſenſe, it hath relation to Souldiers. And is all one, with Lord Generall of the field, or a commaunder, &c. and the ſame that *Prætor* was in olde time. Secondly, for a Victor or Conqueror, namely when ſuch a Generall or chiefetaine hath by naturall proceſſe atchieved many valiant exploits, & put to ſword ſuch a number of enemies; as the law ſetteth downe. For then the ſouldiers were wont to ſalute him by the name of *Imperator*. i. Conquerour. Laſtly for a Soveraigne Prince, King and Monarch. In the firſt acception, it is a meere Relative In the ſecond a ſurname, In the third and laſt, the forename of all the Romane Emperours, to wit, from IVLIVS CAESAR forward Who although they were not the Crowne and Diademe, were nevertheleſſe, abſolute Princes, Soveraignes, Kings and Monarches. The want of this diſtinction may breed ſome trouble in the readers of the Romane Hiſtorie.

(*c*) Made of Oke branches, or in default thereof, of ſome other tree bearing maſt: which garland by the firſt inſtitution, was given to that ſouldier, who in battell had reſcued a Citizen of Rome and ſaved his life. And afterwards, it, together with the Laurell, beautified the gates of the CAESARS Palaces, although ſome of them were bloodie Tyrants, & made no ſpare of their citizens and ſubjects lives.

(*a*) THE manner was, if Prince & Senatour were caried in his Litter, uſually ſupported by eight bond-ſervants, and thereupon called *Octophoren*, to have a companie of Citizens in their gownes going before, and accompanying him by his ſide, as alſo certaine ſervitours to carie his curule chaire of ivory behinde.

(*a*) THIS free embaſſage, called *Libera legatio*, was granted many times to ſuch, as being deſirous 30 eyther to travell and ſee fortraine countries, or to fly, for avoiding of daungerous troubles at home, therby to be better intertained abroad, and with the more honeſt colour, to conceale the occaſion of their departure, & abſence as if they were ſent from the ſtate, about the affayres onely of Common-weale.

(*a*) IT was not ordinarie with the Emperours to accompanie the corpes unto the fi- 31 nerall Fire: but onely to vouchſafe their preſence at the Funerall Oration in the *Forum* or common place. This therefore may be attributed unto TIBERIVS his civill humanitie.

(*b*) It appeareth by *Dion*, that they had omitted to ſubſcribe the clauſe which went in this forme, *Vota facimus pro te, Imperator* i. We make our vowes (and pray) for thee O Emperour.

(*a*) CAVSES were heard judicially, and Iuſtice 32 miniſtred, eyther from a ſuperiour place as the Tribunall

bunali, or beneath upon the even and plaine ground, *de plano*, as the Lawyers ſpeake, ſo that there were a Chaire or ſeat for the judge to ſit upon. And the ſaid place of Iuſtice where ſoever, eyther *pro tribunali*, or *de plano poſita ſella*, is properly called *Ius*: as *Carolus Sigonus* hath obſerved. *lib.* 1. *cap.*7. *de Iudiciis*. Whereupon commeth the uſuall phraſe, *In ius vocare*. It ſeemeth therefore, that *Tiberius* would come into the *Comitium* or Hall of Iuſtice, and take his place, ſometime within the Tribunall (for it was a ſpacious rowme) or elſe ſit in his Curule chaire of Ivory beneath, as a moderator, which is expreſſed heere by the terme *de plana*.

(*a*) As Marchpanes, Tarts, Gingerbreed, Cuſtards, Sugred Bisket, and generally all manner of paſtrie-conceits, wrought with honie or ſugar. The workeman is called *Dulciarius*, and the things, *Bellaria Mellita*, or *Pemmata*. Toyes not onely needleſſe, but hurtfull alſo to the bodie, according to that in *Aulus Gellius*, *lib.*13.*cap.*11. *Noct. Attic. ex* Varrone. *Bellaria ea maxime ſunt mellita quæ mellita non ſunt:* Πέμματα γὰρ πῆγες, *ſocietas inſida*. i. ſuch iunkets ſort not well with ✻ Concoction. 34 35 Ordigeſtion.

(*a*) Diverſe Statutes there were ſharpely puniſhing the adulterie of Matrones or maried wives. An Act likewiſe paſſed in the Senate, that no Perſon of Knights degree or above, ſhould play upon the ſtage, performe ſword-fight, or combat with wild beaſtes for hire. Providing all to preſerve the honour of wedlocke entire, and to maintaine the reputation of Knighthood and Nobilitie. Thoſe ſhameleſſe dames therefore, of whom *Suetonius* writeth in this place, eyther becauſe they would be thought vnworthie to be reckoned within the cenſure of Law, or as Tacitvs writeth, deemed to have abidden puniſhment enough in making profeſſion of ſo baſe a trade and life. Theſe lewde perſons likewiſe, and unreblameable unthrifts ſuffering themſelves thus to appeare noted with infamie, and that upon record, made accompt, both the one and the other not to be obnoxious or liable unto the ſtatutes & acts aforeſaid.

(*b*) The manner was at *Rome*, for Tenaunts to remoove and flit out of one houſe into another, upon the firſt day of Iuly, like as with us, at the feaſtes of Saint *Michaell* and the *Annunciation* of the Virgin *Marie*: which are the ordinarie rent daies.

(*a*) Iosephvs. *lib.*18. *Antiquit. Iudaic.* writeth that *Tiberius* ſent 4000. of them into *Sardinia*, an Iland in Summer time eſpecially, verie intemperate and unwholſome, as may appeare by that pretie Epigram of *Martialis*, wherein he oppoſeth the healthie Citie Tibur, to the peſtilent Iſle *Sardinia*. 36

Nullo fata loco poſſis excludere, cum mors
Venerit, in Medio ſtabure Sardinia eſt.

No place exempt from fatall death, for when our time is come,
Mid-Tibur, will Sardina be found of all and ſome.

(*a*) This *callipides*, who gave occaſion of this By-word, was a famous Stage-player, or one of theſe *Mimi*, counterfaiting other mens geſtures, as *Beraldus* ſuppoſeth. See *Plutarch* in *Apophthegmata Laconica*. 38

(*a*) Biberivs, *a bibendo* i. of drinking. *Calius*, a *Calda*, or *calida*. i. hote. *Mero* of *Merum*. i. ſtrong wine. An elegant Agnominiation: whereby is ſhewed, that he loved to drinke wine hote, which is right delicate, & goeth downe more merily 39

(*b*) The Italicke Amphor conteyneth 48. *Sextarij*, everie Sextarius 20 ounces *Menſurales*, which is a wine pinte and halfe of our meaſure with the better. By which reckoning he dranke at one meale a rundlet of ten wine gallons well neere.

(*c*) A Bird that feedeth upon grapes and figges eſpecially, whereupon it tooke the name. In Autumne or the latter end of Summer it is ſo called: at other times *Melanocoryphos*, or *Atricapilla*, of the blacke cop, or hair-like fethers that it carieth upon the head.

(*d*) Of this Bird for the daintie fleſh of it *Martiall* made this Epigram,

Inter aves, turdus, ſi quis me judice certet,
Inter quadrupedes, gloria prima Lepus.

Of fethered foules, if I may iudge, the blackbirde is the beſt, (reſt.
Among four-footed beaſts the Haire ſurpaſſeth all the

(*e*) To invet and deviſe new pleaſures.

(*a*) Allvding partly to the Iſle *Capræa*, and in part eyther to *Capra* in Latin, a goat, or to Καπρος in Greek, a wild bore, and that member, *Quo viri ſumus*. 43

(*a*) *Seneca* reporteth thus, *lib.*2. *de benefic. cap.*27. *Quater millies ſeſtertium ſuum vidit*. i. He ſaw of his owne, 400 millions of *Seſterces*. 49

(*b*) Provided it was by an auncient law, and the ſame revived by Ivl. Caesar Dictator, that no perſon ſhould in ſilver or gold poſſeſſe aboue 60 *ſeſtertia*, that is, Three ſcore thouſand *ſeſtertii*. This alſo may have a relation to that order ſet downe by him a little before, That named men and vſurers ſhould lay out two third parts of their ſtocke in lands and houſes, &c.

(*a*) As we ſay, to make him Iuſtice of *Quorum*, &c. For the *decuries* of Iudges were they *Quorum nomina*, were written in the Commiſsion Roll. 51

(*a*) The Greeke verſe is red thus, Εἰ μὴ τυραννὶς, θὰλατα, ἀδικεῖν δυνὰς, or Εἰ μὴ τυραννὶς τὰλαν, ὄφε. 53

(*b*) *Scalia Gemonia*. A place at Rome upon the Aventine hill, into which the dead bodies of malefactors were dragged and throwen with ſhame.

(*a*) They ſpeake the Greeke language generally throughout all Greece, yet not after one manner. For in divers parts were different kindes of Greeke called Dialects, to wit, Attick, Ionick, Aeolick, &c. Like as with vs in Great Britaine a common Engliſh tongue goeth wel neere throughout the whole Iland, albeit there is a diverſitie perceived between the Scotiſh or Northren Engliſh, and the Southerne, betweene the Corniſh and the Kentiſh, &c. 56

(*a*) In ſo doing the bodie muſt needes be bared & ſome ſhame diſcouered which being an Impietie before the ſacred Images of the Gods, was made *Treaſon* alſo before the Emperours Statue, unto whom diuine honours were exhibited. 58

(*a*) The laſt Hexaſtichon or 6 verſes, ſeemeth to make one entier *Epigram* by it ſelfe. Every *Diſtichon* before, carieth a ſeuerall ſenſe. And as for the firſt two, they ſeeme to haue a reference to the time, whiles he abode in Rhodes, before he was *Sui Iuris*. 59

(*a*) At which times, both among the Greekes and Romans alſo, the manner was to forbeare Execution yea and to eaſe priſoners of their yrons.

(*b*) As if under his perſon he had offered abuſe vnto the Emperour *Tiberius*. 61

(*c*) He would ſay, The courage and generoſitys of the Romans died with them, ſeing that none aroſe

to

to recover their libertie oppreſſed and trode under foote by this Tytant *Tiberius*.

(*d*) Rather, two hundred and twentie. For *Tacitus lib. 6. Anual.* reporteth, that all the ſuſpected complices of *Seianus* were killed, *Iacuit immenſa ſtrages, omnis ſexus, omnis etas, &c.*

(*e*) The like hypocriticall Religion was practiſed during the bloudie preſcription in the *Triumvirate*. A young Gentleman nobly borne, becauſe he might not be killed lawfully, *pretextatis* i. under age, and wearing ſtill his embrodered garment *pretexta*, hee commaunded to put on his virile gowne, and ſo he was murthered. *Appian. Dio.*

67 (*a*) FOR wonderfully addicted he was to the ſtudie of Aſtrologie, and ſuch curious Arts.

68 (*a*) THE full ſtature of men in *Italy*, was ſix foot wanting two ynches, if men grew higher than ſixe they were accompted exceeding tall, if to ſeven, (and to that height men may grow, as *Varro*, *Gellius* and *Solinus* doe write) they went for Giants. So that in Muſters yong men were choſen ſoldiours, five foote high and ten ynches, which was called *Iuſta ſtatura*.

(*b*) Some read *ſubiti*, and not *ſubtiles*, to ſignifie that ſuch pimples continued not, but aroſe and felt at times, much like to thoſe that the Phyſitians call *Hidroa*, *Sudamina*, *or papulus ſudorum* according to PLINIE, proceeding of heat or ſweat, if the humours be ſharpe.

(*c*) Such be termed in Greeke *ἀνωμαλοι*. And if we may beleeve the Phyſiognomie delivered by ARISTOTLE: they be by nature deceitfull and wilie, given to circumvent, entrap and ſupplant others.

(*d*) CORNELIVS CELSVS, among other good rules and precepts of Health, writeth thus, *Sanus homo qui & bene valet & ſuæ ſponte eſt, nullis obligare ſe legibus debet, ac ne medico neque alipta egere, &c.* But give he what directions he will, and let us ſay what wee can to this point, that men and women may be Phyſicians to themſelves, ſuch is there miſgovernment in diet and otherwiſe, that Phyſitians ſhall never want imployment. And as touching thirty years, of age TACITVS addeth moreover & ſaith, That *he was wont to mock thoſe and hold them to be fooles, who after the ſaid yeares had needs of other mens inſtructions, to know what was good or hurtfull for their bodies. Whereupon might ariſe our Engliſh proverbe, *A foole or a phyſition.*

*Tiberius.

(*a*) SVCH as were ſung to the Harpe. In which
70 kinde *Pindarus* excelled among the Greekes, and *Horace* among the Romans.

(*b*) One of AVGVSTVS [adopted] ſonnes. Yet ſome read IVLIVS CAESAR.

(*a*) A word uſuall with us in theſe daies, for who knoweth not that Monopoly is, when one man engroſſeth ſome commoditie into his owne handes, that none may ſell the ſame but himſelfe, or from him? 71

(*b*) It ſignifieth in this place a peece of workmanſhip ſet upon a cup or other veſſell of Gold or Silver to garniſh the ſame, ſo fitted, as it may be put to, or taken away at our pleaſure. The auncient Poets in Latin called ſuch deviſes *Infertas*.

(*c*) Contrarie to AVGVSTVS CAESAR, whoſe manner was ever and anone in his ſpeeches and writings to interlace Greeke words and ſentences.

(*a*) A place neere the river *Tiberis*, ſo called of a Navell ſight exhibited ſometime there, by *Iulius Ceſar Dictator*, within a ſpatious pit receiving water for that purpoſe. 27

(*b*) In the port high waies from *Rome*, the manner of the Romans, was at everie miles ende to pitch downe a great ſtone, and according thereto were the miles reckoned, like as with us in ſome places there ſtand croſſes of wood or ſtone to that end.

(*c*) i. A creeping Dragon. Which implieth, that there be others winged, or at leaſt wiſe ſuppoſed to flie, in the common opinion of men. For the attribute, Serpens, ſignifieth Creeping. Now, becauſe all of them uſe moſt ſo to do, the general name of Dragons, goeth under Serpents. And as for the word Dragon, it is given to the whole kinde of their quicke ſight, comming of *δρακω*, in Latine, and *δρακω*, in Greeke, *ὁρῶ τῷ ὄμματι* i. of ſeeing.

(*d*) *Recidiva peior radice*, ſay the Phyſitians. The relapſe unto a former diſeaſe is more dangerous, than it was before.

(*e*) It tooke the name of L. LVCVLLVS, the Lord thereof.

(*a*) A towne in *Campania* where he tooke ſo great delight, and a place infamous for the licentious life of the inhabitants, whereupon grew the name of thoſe laſcivious and filthie Comedies, *Atellanæ*. A plague I ſay ſmiting well to hir beaſtly behaviour. As if he had beene vnworthie to be conveyed to *Rome*, the Citie which ſo long before he had abandoned. 75

(*b*) As poore begger bodies were wont to be ſerved in haſt, by the common bearers, and not fully burnt with leaſure.

(*c*) Where malefactors ordinarily were burnt.

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON

Caius Cæſar Caligula.

1 (a) CALLED by ſome, *Annales* or *Annarie*: of others, *Comitiales*. By which provided it was, In what yeares of a mans age, he was capable of Queſture, Preture, Conſulate, or any other like Office of State: as alſo, it was limited, within what time betweene, one might eſtſoones beare the ſame Office againe. *Item*, what the terme of everie Magiſtracie ſhould be? &c. And albeit the auncient Romanes had no ſuch lawes, but (as CORNELIVS SCIPIO at his petition of Aedileſhip made anſwere, when exception was taken againſt him for his young age) whomſoever the Quirites would charge to be a Magiſtrate, hee had yeares enough on his backe, yet afterwards, ſundrie Statutes were enacted in that behalfe: although by vertue of ſpeciall privileges, the ſame were not duly obſerued. By the Chronologie it appeareth, that he was but ninteene yeares old when he became Queſtor, like as TIBERIVS before him.

(b) Which TIBERIVS envying his greatneſſe, wrought, therby to expoſe him unto greater dangers.

3 (a) WELL might this unſeaſonable exerciſe puff up and fill his skin with crudities and foggie humors, but hurtfull unto his health it was, and brought upon him diſeaſes, and namely, that, called *Cardiacus*, of which, ſome ſay, he died. Let them looke to it therfore, who, becauſe they would be fat, not only fall to bodily exerciſe out of time, even upon ful ſtomacks, but alſo every morning eate in their beds and ſleepe upon it, yea and ordinarily take a nap at noone, ſo ſoone as their meat is out of their mouthes.

(a) By this Attribute, Civill, in our Author, ye muſt underſtand, Courteſie, Affabilitie, and a part not exceeding that of private Citizens, without taking any ſtate.

5 (a) As if the Gods, whoſe Images were ſhrined within, were not to be honoured any longer as Gods, ſuffering ſo good a man as *Germanicus* was, to die. For, as in token of honour, the people uſed to adorne the Statues and Images of famous perſons with flowers and greene leaves, ſo, whom they did vilipend and deſpiſe, they were wont to caſt ſtones at their Images and Statues.

(b) The Tutelarie Gods of the houſe which ordinarily ſtood within a cloſet, called thereupon *Lararium*.

(c) For, to what end ſhould they reare children any more? ſince *Germanicus*, growen to ſo good proofe, ſped no better, but was taken away by untimely death.

(d) In this place, the circumſtance ſheweth, that the King of Parthians is meant, how ever the Perſian King and ſuch mightie Monarches, having under their Dominion other petrie Kings as Tributaries or Homagers, be ſo called: like as AGAMEMNON alſo in *Homere*.

(e) Which, at *Rome* betokened a generall mourning, occaſioned upon ſome extraordinary calamitie, or feare of publicke daunger, even as with vs, the ſhutting in of Shop-windowes, &c.

(a) ABOVT the mids of this moneth, began the feaſt *Saturnalia*, celebrated with good cheere, with revels, dances, gaming and all kinde of libertie. 6

(a) For, common ſouldiers wore a certaine ſtudded ſhoe, named *Caliga*. 9

(a) WHICH was later than the ordinarie time, by reaſon of *Tiberius* his lingering. For, uſually theſe complements were performed at 17 yeares of age. 10

(a) IN this habite and manner of attire, counterfeiting a woman, thereby to decline ſuſpicion when he entered into other mens houſes for to diſhonour them and abuſe their wives, whom our author termeth heere *Adulteria*, *pro adulteris*, as elſe where, *conjugia*, *pro conjugibus*. 11

(b) The fabulous Hiſtorie of *Phaethon* is well known, namely, how by miſgovernment of the ſteeds which drew the Chariot of the Sunne his Father, he ſet the whole world on fire: By *Phaethon* therfore is meant, a combuſtion (as it were) and generall confuſion of the Provinces, like as by the waterſnake, the verie bane and poyſon of the Roman State.

(a) To doe him the greater honour, they intertaine him upon the way (as the maner was), with Sacrifices, Torches, Tapers, and wax lights. 13

(a) An opinion there was deepely ſetled in mens heads, that the death of one man might be excuſed and redeemed, with the death of another. 16

(a) The two hundred penie.

(b) His halfe image downeward from the head to the waſt, portrayed with a Shield or Scutchion: & the ſame was commõly ſet out with the largeſt. Hereupon, M. TVLLIVS CICERO, when he ſaw ſuch a demie perſonage repreſenting his brother QVINTVS in the province that he governed (& a very litle man he was of ſtature) My brother, quoth he, in his halfe part, is greater than in the whole.

(b) A feſtivall holiday ſolemnized by heardmen, in the honour of *Pales* their Goddeſſes and Patroneſſe. Vpon which day, the foundation of *Rome* Citie was laid. This feaſt they kept, the 12. day before the Kalends of May, to wit, the 20 of Aprill.

(a) *Mevius*, a riotous unthrift, when he had waſted his Patrimonie and ſold his Capitall houſe in *Rome*, excepted in the ſale, and reſerved to himſelfe 18

and his heires, one Columne or Pillar, from which he projected and put forth into the ſtreet a jettie, and vpon it built a gallerie: out of which he might behold the ſword-fencers in the market place, whereunto he had a fayre proſpect from the ſaid Pillar. Whereupon all ſuch galleries or buildings jetting out in the ſtreet, be called *Maniana*.

(a) THE end of one verſe, and beginning of another, cited out of *Homer* in the ſecond of his *Ilias*. The Poet aſcribeth them unto ſage *Vlyſſes*, in this ſenſe.

One [*Soveraigne*] *Lord,*
One King let there be.

(b) By exchaunging the enſignes and Ornaments of the Roman Soveraigne or Emperor, with the Regall Diadem, purple Robe and Scepter.

(c) *Phœnicopterus* is a water foule haunting lakes and fennes, and the river Nilus, as *Heſiodus* writeth. The fethers be of colour read, or purple. Whereof it taketh the name: and the tongue is a moſt daintie and pleaſant morſell. So ſaid *Apitius*, *nepotum omnium altiſſimus gurges*. Of this Bird *Martiall* made an Epigram.

Das mihi penna rubens nomen: ſed lingua guloſis
Noſtra ſapit. Quid ſi garrula lingua fores.
My name I take of wings ſo red, but unto gluttons taſt,
My tongue right pleaſing is: oh, what, if it could prate as faſt.

(d) Some take them for Biſtards: Birds decked, no doubt, with moſt beautifull fethers: as may appeare by *Tertullian* againſt *Marcion*, in theſe words: *Vna Tetraonis pennula*, (*taceo de pavo*) *ſordidum artificem pronuntiabit tibi Creatorem?*

(e) They are thought to be Hens of Guinny.

(f) By the deſcription of *Clitus*, they be our Turkies.

(g) The Phesant called in old time *Itis*, (which was the ſonne of *Tereus* and *Progne*, transformed, as Poets feigne, into this Bird) and afterwards *Phaſianus* or *Phaſiana* [*Avis*], tooke his nams of *Phaſis* a river and Citie in *Colchis*, according to this Epigram of *Martials*,

Argiva primum ſum transportata Carina:
Ante mihi notum nil niſi Phaſis erat.
In *Argive* ſhip tranſported firſt, I was to forraine land:
Fore time, nought elſe but *Phaſis* towne, I knew, or *Phaſis* ſtrand.

23 (a) PHILO reporteth this farre otherwiſe, and telleth a piriſull Narration: How, by commiſsion from *Caius*, certaine Colonels and Centurians came to young TIBERIVS, commanding him to kill himſelfe: becauſe, forſooth, unlawfull it was for any other to murder a Prince of the Imperiall bloud. The youth, who had never ſeene any man killed, and by reaſon of his tender yeares was nothing at all experienced in the world, requeſted firſt of them, who were come thus to him, for to ſtrike off his head, which he held out unto them: but ſeeing his requeſt would not be heard, he deſired them yet, to inſtruct him, in what part of his bodie he ſhould ſtab himſelfe for the ſpeedieſt death? And ſo by inſtructions from them he was his owne executioner.

25 (a) ROMVLVS raviſhed the Sabine virgins: and AVGVSTVS, by force tooke from TIBERIVS his wife LIVIA.

(a) *Selena*, in Greeke, ſignifieth the Moone. And well knowen it is, that as M. ANTONIVS the *Triumvir* called himſelfe BACCHVS and OSIRIS, ſo, CLEOPATRA his wife, tooke pleaſure to be named *Luna*. i. the Moone, and *Iſis*. Whereupon they gave to their ſonne ALEXANDER begotten betweene them, the name of the ſunne, and to their daughter CLEOPATRA the name of the Moone, or *Selena*, which is all one. 26

The Conſuls were reputed ſtill (in outward ſhew) Soveraigne Magiſtrates, although indeed, that *Cæſars* caried all before them, and were abſolute Monarches.

(c) Some read, *Teſſeras decima citius*. i. Before the tenth houre, or foure of the clocke after noone, for ſo long continued the Stage-plaies ordinarily. At which time, the Emperours were wont to beſtow their Tickets or Talies among the people, by vertue whereof they received ſuch and ſuch gifts.

(d) There be learned Criticks that expownd this place farre otherwiſe, reading *Pegmares*, in ſtede of *Pegmatis*, and vnderſtanding thereby ſuch ſword-fencers, whoſe good hap it had beene to eſcape with life, the fall from thoſe Frames or Pageants called *Pegmata* or *Pegma*, which with certaine vices or Skrewes were ſet up, and let downe, Vpon which as on ſcaffolds, malefactors were brought forth, eyther to exhibit a ſhew unto the people, fighting one with another at ſharpe, to the outrance, or to make them ſport, by falling downe into a pit underneath, where eyther wild beaſts were readie to devoure, or fire to conſume them. A deviſe wrought by diſſolving the joynts of the ſaid *Pegmes* under them. And in this ſenſe they interprete the reſt that followeth, concerning *patresfamilias*, i. good honeſt Citizens houſeholders.

(a) HE had eſpied in the multitude of thoſe priſoners and malefactors, two with bald heads, diſtant farre a ſunder, and happily, as much as from the one end of the place unto the other: all thoſe betweene, without reſpect of their cauſe, he commaunded to be put to death indifferently. 27

(b) An ordinarie thing it was at *Rome*, to ſweare by the *Genius*, as alſo by the Fortune, the health &c. of their Emperours. And what a devout oth this was, *per Genium*. i. the *Damon*, the ſpirit, or ſuperintendent Angell of the Prince, which I take to be as much, as by his owne good ſelfe, appeareth by *Tertullian Apologet. cap.* 28. *Citius apud vos per omnes deos, quàm per Genium principis peieratur.*

(c) *Seneca lib.* 2. *de Ira. cap.* 33. reporteth the like example of *Caſtor* a right worſhipful Gentleman of *Rome*, whoſe ſonne, the ſame CALIGVLA, upon verie envie that the young man was a proper and beautifull perſon, put to death in his fathers ſight, and then invited the old man to ſupper, provoked him to carouſe and be merie, which the good father was faine to endure and make ſemblance of contentment, for feare, leaſt the Tyrant would have done as much by another ſonne, whom he had living.

(d) *Cateuis verberatum*. Among other chaſtiſements of the bodie, there is reckoned *Vinculorum verberatio*, as *Calliſtratus* witneſſeth, *lib* 7. *de pœnis.*

The

The ignorance whereof, hath made ſome to read, *in catenis verberatum*, i. bound in chaines and then beaten, others, *habenis*, for *catenis*: as if he had beene well lindged with lether thongs or halters ends, as ſlaves were wont to be ſerved by the *Lorarii*.

(a) ALBEIT, the proper uſe of theſe *Graphia* was to cut or engrave letters onely, in tables of barke or ſoft wood: yet, becauſe it was unlawfull to weare weapons in the Senate houſe, ſome, of a miſchievous minde, made thoſe writing ſtiles or Steeles ſo, as they might kill therewith, Enacted therefore it was, that no man ſhould carie about him ſuch writing inſtruments of yron or ſteele, but of bone onely. And yet even theſe, as others alſo of reeds and quils, were made ſo keene and ſharpe, that they were able to give a mortall wound.

(a) For the manner of the Roman Emperours was, upon diſpleaſure, to ſend men and women away into ſome deſert Iſles, and there to confine them.

(b) *Ellebor*, that groweth in the Iſles Antycire, is of moſt effectuall operation. The roote is that, whereof is made our ſneeſing powder. It purgeth extreemely by vomit. Thereupon ariſeth the Proverb, *Naviget Anticyram* i. Let him ſayle to *Anticyra*, applied to one that is melancholicke in the higheſt degree, and little better than mad. See *Plinie. Natural. Hiſt. lib. 35. cap. 5.*

(a) Some conjecture verie well, that this *Tetrinius* was not ſurnamed LATRO, being the addition appropriate to the noble Family of *Rome*, of the *Portii*, but a notorious theefe or robber, ſuch as in Latin is called *Latro*. And of that ſort commonly were they that performed before the people this bloudie fight with unrebated ſwords, without foiles. And no mervaile, if he termed all the Citizens there aſſembled *Tetrinios*. i. Theeves, conſidering he wiſhed before, that he could cut of al their heads at one blow

(a) He ſuſpected, that ſhe had given him ſome love-drinks.

(a) PRAETER *æquum*.] How this can ſtand with his pride or malice, which our author hath propounded to exemplifie, I cannot ſee. In ſome copies we read, *prater eum*. i. beſide him, that is to ſay, otherwiſe than he would have them, or approve. And one Critick or Iudicious Lawier, *Franc. Hotoman*, as alſo *Coracius*, read, *prater Eccum*, as if hee ſhould ſay, All Lawyers ſhall give none other anſwere but this. *Behold him*, meaning the Emperor CAIVS, therby referring the deciſion of all matters to his will and pleaſure. Laſtly, *Torrentius* concludeth the Period thus, *Ne quid reſpondere poſsint*. i. That they ſhould give no anſwere at all. And for *prater æquum, &c.* he putteth *preterea*. i. Moreover, for a beginning of the next chapter.

(a) COLOSSEROS, ſeemeth to be a word compounded of *Coloſſos* and *Eros*, The one importeth his talneſſe, reſembling the ſtately and Gianthike perſonages called *Coloſſi*, and the other, his lovely viſage, repreſenting *Eros*, even Love, or *Cupid* it ſelfe.

(b) Theſe fencers, called *Threces* or *Thraces*, * thought to be the ſame that *Retiarii*, were lightly appointed for armour, and put to deſperate fight, as having all parts of their bodies expoſed to daunger, whereupon they were called alſo *Tunicati*, & were matched in oppoſitiō with the *Mirmillones*, as this verſe of *Auſonius* implieth,

*Quis mirmillonis * componitur? æquimanus Thrax.*

Whereas the other named *Hoplomachi*, had for their defence, head peeces and targuets. *Senec. lib. 1. Epiſt. 7.*

* *ſo thinks Sabellicus.*

op, cōmittitur

(c) The prieſt, called *Rex Nemorenſis*, of a place where *Diana Aricina* was worſhipped, within a temple beautified with a grove about it, by a barbarous cuſtome of the Scithians, ſo long onely held his place, untill after one yeares revolution, ſome one ſtronger than himſelfe, ſtepped unto him and overcame him in ſingle fight, and ſo depoſed him, like as, by the firſt inſtitution, himſelfe, foyling another in combat attained thereto.

(a) *Seneca* writeth. *Conſolat. ad Helv.* That it was ordinarie with him, to conſume at one ſupper ten millions of ſeſterces, and who ſtudied himſelfe, and laid his head to others, how he might at one ſupper make an even hand with the revenewes and tributes of all the provinces belonging to the ſtate of *Rome*. 37

(b) Some read for [*de Cedris*] *Deceres*, after the forme of *Maneres*, meaning by *Deceres* a mightie gallie furniſhed with ten rankes of Oares, for ſuch the Greeks call Δεκήρεις.

(a) *Dum inculta commiſſa fierent.*] Which may be expounded otherwiſe thus, when as many things were forfaited and confiſcate. 41

(a) Taking the name from *Exploratores*, a militarie terme, ſignifying the Avant-couriers and foreriders, to diſcover the enemy, & to cleere the coaſts. 45

(a) Yet *Dion* reporteth of him, that otherwhiles, when it thundred aloft, he would ſeeme to doe the like beneath with a thunder barrell, or ſuch a kinde of deviſe: when it lightened, to make flaſhes with fireworks: and if a thunderbolt fell, to diſcharge likewiſe ſome ſtone out of an engine. 51

(a) Which ornaments belonged to *Iupiter* and *Aeſculapius*. 52

(b) Reſembling thereby *Neptune*, { Sea / River. / Lakes. } for it Symbolizeth his power over waters in

(c) The Enſigne of *Mercury*, betokening his Eloquence.

(a) So called, becauſe they were exhibited in the *Palatium*. 56

(a) *capitolium*, although κατ' ἐξοχὴν, it was the ſtately mount or Caſtle of Rome, yet it became a generall name of all Citadels and ſtrong Caſtles built for the defence of any Citie. 57

(b) Meaning the murder of *Caius Iulius Cæſar* Dictator.

(c) Bearing the name of a notorious theefe, or Captayne rather of theeves, crucified for his deſertes.

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Tiberius Claudius Druſus Cæſar.

1 (a)  LIKE as in *Rome*, the gate called *Porta ſcelerata*, and the Streete *Vicus ſceleratus* upon ſemblable infortunate accidents.

2 (a) Wheras, by uſuall cuſtome ſuch were brought into the *Forum* or common hall.

9 (a) BY vertue of this Act, himſelfe, his landes and goods were proſcribed and expoſed to open ſale, in a Table hung up by an Edict from the maſters of the Exchequer or Citie-Chamber. And if within the time appointed, he came not in, to ſatiſfie the debt, nor any chapman or ſuretie to undertake it, he and his whole ſtate, fell by eſcheate as forfait and confiſcate into the Princes hands.

17 (a) THESE Ilands are ſituate in the mouth of
✠ *Rhoſne.* the River ✠ *Rhodanus*: and they be ſo called of the order in which they lie.

21 (a) THE name of this Fencer *Palæmon*, ſignifieth alſo in the Latin tongue a Stock-dove: which gave occaſion unto him, to come out with this od jeaſt.

23 (a) PROVIDED it was by the law *Papia*. That no woman under fiftie yeares of age ſhould be maried to a man three-ſcor yeares old or upward: *Item*, That no man under three ſcore yeares, or upward might wed a woman, fiftie yers old or aboue. Where, note: That theſe words [*à Tiberio*] as if he added the ſaid Branch, ſeeme to have beene ſoyſted in: conſidering that as it appeareth by TACITVS) the Emperour TIBERIVS went about to moderate the foreſaid law, and not to make it more ſtrict by annexing ſuch a clauſe.

25 (a) For feare of breaking up the pavements, if they rode in coach, wagon, chariot, or on horſeback.

(b) In divers Greeke and Latin writers, the names of Iewes and Chriſtians were confounded: ſo as by Iewes they underſtood Chriſtians.

(c) *Orcheſtra* was that place in the fore-front of the Theater or Scaffolds, and neereſt unto the Stage, wherein the Senators ordinarily ſate, and ſometime the Emperour himſelfe.

(d) *Popularia*, were ſeats within the ſcaffolds and Theater, moſt remote from the Stage, wherein the common people were allowed to ſtand or ſit. Betweene the ſaid *Orcheſtra* and theſe *Popularia* were raunged the Knights or Gentlemen of *Rome*, and thoſe rankes bare the name of *Equeſtria*.

(e) So called, of the mountaine *Eryx* in *Sicilie*, where ſhe was highly worſhipped, and where ſhe had a Temple.

28 (a) As for *Druſilla* his wife, a Iew borne, ſhe had beene maried indeed before to king *Azyzus*, as *Ioſephus* writeth: but as touching the other two Queens, whoſoever they were, he was acquainted with them otherwiſe, and not in way of mariage, ſo farre as I can finde.

(b) For everie man might not ſo doe, unleſſe he had a Knights eſtate, which was foure hundred thouſand *Sextarij*, or were free borne: Neyther Libertines nor Mechanicall perſons living by baſe trades and occupations were allowed.

(a) Other writers, as *Philoſtratus* and *Iulianus*, ſay moreovet, That without his wife and freed men, he was χοροῦ πρόσωπον, and ὑπερφέρησε τ βασιλείας, much like to a player in a dumbe ſhew, and the bare Image of a Kings Majeſtie, as *Plutarch* reporteth of *Arridæus*. 29

(a) This diſeaſe, ſome Phyſicians name Καρδιαλγίαν, i. the heart-ach, or *Cardiacam paſſionem*, ſeated in the orifice of the ſtomach, which is called Καρδία. The paine whereof, PLINIE affirmeth to be moſt intollerable, next unto the paſſion of the ſtrangury. 31

(a) *Flatum crepitumque ventris.*] By *Flatum*, underſtand that riddance of wind downeward, *qui nares ſpretis, non auris*. Which in Engliſh commeth neere unto the Latin word, *Viſio*, for that the verbe *Viſire*, is the ſame, τὸ βλέπειν. As CICERO in his Epiſtles hath well, but covertly obſerved, out of the word *Diviſio*, Wherein he noteth *Quiddam Cacemphaton*. Which place ſome interpreters, for ignorance of the ſaid verbe *Viſia*, have expounded very abſurdly. 32

(a) So ſumptuous were theſe feaſtes, that *Pontificum Cœna*, and *Saliares Epulæ*, grew into a prouerb, to expreſſe exceeding great bellie cheere, and moſt delicate fare. 33

(a) *Seneca. lib.* 1. *De Clementia* writeth, That *Claudius* cauſed more Paricides to be ſowed within a leather male, &c. in five yeares ſpace, than had beene ever before his daies. 34

(b) Whether they were hired thereto, or preſuming of their owne ſtrength, voluntarily entered upon ſuch a combat, or forced to undergo that dangerous fight, or elſe expoſed unto their greedie jawes for to be worried and devoured by them.

(c) This deviſe called heere *Automatum*, *Horace* by a Periphraſis, pretily expreſſeth thus, *Nervis alienis mobile lignum*.

(a) For with their *Graphia*, as hath beene noted before, they might do a miſchiefe. 35

(a) *Ira atque Iracundia*. *Ira* ſignifyeth the hote and momentanie paſſion of anger, ſoone enflamed and as ſoone quenched, and *Iracundia* ſeemeth to be taken heere, for the continuance of the ſaid anger, and an inveterate ſetled wrath. Howſoever our Dictionaries would teach us the contrary. The one may be called Gall or Choler, the other ſpleene or Melancholy. 38

(b) *Stulti-*

(*b*) *Stultitiam neminem fingere.*] or rather, *Stultitiam ſtultum neminem fingere.* i. That no foole counterfaits ſolly.

40 (*a*) It was an inconſiderate ſpeech of an Emperor, and fooliſhly let fall, in the Senate eſpecially, tending much to his diſcredit and diſhonour: as if he ſent to the Taverne for his wine, by the pot or bottle, and had not his owne cellarage ſtored therewith.

(*b*) Theſe words without all rime or reaſon were riſe in his mouth, which unadviſedly he had taken up, and by uſe could not leave them.

41 (*a*) Some thinke, that he deviſed not new letters in the Alphabet, but new formes rather of the former: as namely to write for the *Aeolick digamma. F.* the inverted character ⅎ, and for *e* dipthong, *ai.*

(*a*) For, by report of *Dion* and *Xiphilinus* his ſtature farre exceeded the proportion of his years. 43

(*a*) And yet by circumſtances it may be collected, that he caught his bane and died in the *Palatium* at *Rome.* 44

(*a*) Theſe were, at it plainly appeareth, Queſtors, Aediles, Tribunes, Prætors, Cenſors and Conſuls. Of all theſe, ſome one or other died, excepting Cenſors, as TACITVS writeth. 12. *Annal.* 46

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Nero Claudius Cæſar.

5 (*a*) THESE foure factions or crewes that ran with Chariots for the priſe, were diſtinguiſhed by foure colors of cloth, or liveries, & thereupon called by theſe names *Alba.* i. White, *Veneta*, watchet or light blew, *Praſina.* i. greene, and *Roſea.* i. Roſe coloured or read. Vnto which were added by *Domitian Aurata* and *Purpurea.* i. Gold coloured or yellow, and purple. The former foure *Sidonius Apollinaris* hath compriſed in his Hendecaſyllabes, thus,

micant colores,
Albus cum veneto, virens rubenſque.

Then ſhine theſe crewes and make a gallant ſhew
In white, in blew, in greeene and roſet hew.

Proportionate they are unto the foure ſeaſons of the yeare: white, to the Autumne or end of Sommer, Watchet to the winter, Greene to the ſpring, and Red to ſommer, or as ſome would have it, to the foure Elements.

(*b*) Phyſicians have obſerved three kinds of dropſie. The firſt is *Aſcites*, wherein the belly doth ſwell with much water gathered betweene the inner skin or rine of the belly, and the cawle which lappeth the guts, and ſome wind withall, ſo named of ἀσκὸς in Greeke. i. A bottle, becauſe in turning of the bodie to a ſide, the water is perceived to ſhog in the womb, like as liquor in a bottle halfe full, when it is ſhaken. The ſecond, Tympanites, wherein the belly is hoven vp with wind eſpecially, and ſome water among. Whereby it will ſound like a taber or drum, if one tamper upon it, and thereof it was ſo called. The third *Leucophlegmatias*, *anaſarca*, *Hypoſarca*, In Latin *Interanus*, or *Aqua inter cutem*, in the * proper ſignification, when the bodie all over is puffed up with water and wind running betweene the fell and the fleſh. And thereof as ſhould ſeeme, died this *Domitius.*

* For Cornelius Celſus attributeth this name to all the kindes.

6 (*a*) To wit, the ninth day after he was borne, on which, they uſed to name their ſonnes. And as this day was called *Nominalia*, ſo there was a goddeſſe forſooth, preſident of this complement and ceremonies, whom they named *Nundina.*

(*a*) The manner was, during theſe ſolemnities in the Albane moneth, (where the chiefe magiſtrates were preſent) to leave for Provoſt of the Citie, ſome principall young Gentleman of the Nobilitie, before whom ſitting judicially, cauſes of no great importance ſhould be brought. 7

(*a*) Theſe youthfull ſports *Iuvenalia*, or *Iuvenales ludi*, were firſt inſtituted by this NERO, privately in houſes or gardens, and orchards. Wherein, of all degrees, ages and ſexes they daunced and revelled. 11

(*a*) The fabulous reports of Ladie *Paſiphae* wife to King *Minos*, how ſhe was enamoured of a Bull, as alſo of *Icarus* the ſonne of *Dædalus*, who would needs attempt to flie in the ayre, be well enough knowen to them that are but meanely ſeene in Poetrie. 12

(*b*) *Iuxta cubiculum eius decidit.* By *Cubiculum*, he meaneth heere, a royall ſeat raiſed on high within that quarter of the Theater called *Orcheſtra*, under a rich Tent or Canopie, where Emperors were wont to ſit when they beheld (ſuch ſolemnities. Theſe Pavillions were called in Greeke ἐξεδρικὰ κοιτῶνια in ſome ſort reſembling bedchambers.

(*c*) So named becauſe they that wreſtled, ran, or otherwiſe exerciſed, were naked, like as the place it ſelfe of ſuch exerciſes thereupon tooke the name *Gymnaſium.*

(*a*) Full and formall ſuppers, whereto men were invited, and at which the gueſtes ſate orderly marſhalled according to their worth place, & were called *cane rectæ*, and after this manner in other Princes daies were their favorites feaſted. In ſteed hereof came in *Sportulæ.* i. allowances given unto them, eyther in money, or cates, in recompence of their ordinarie ſalutations and attendance. 16

(*b*) As there were ſundrie factions or crewes favourizing this or that colour of the Charioters, ſo

were there likewiſe of Actours and players. whereupon many roiots, outrages Fraies and murthers were committed.

(a) It ſhould ſeeme, that for the pleading and triall of cauſes, ſuch Tritonnell ſeats, pues, benches & barrs, were erected at firſt, for the preſent occaſion, and taken downe againe by certaine perſons, who gathered therfore a rent of thoſe that went to law. 17

(a) Diuers Kings of *Pontus* were named *Polemones* as of Aegypt *Ptolemei*. whereupon the realme *Pontus*, is by *Vopiſcus* called *Polemonius*, like as the *Alpes Cottiæ* of *Cottius*. 18

(a) Many had attempted this beſide him: but all their coſt and labour came to nought: στερὸν χαλκεῖον ἀνδρὸς τὰ θεῖα βιάσασθαι 19

(b) τῆς λαιδαιτέρας μιμικῆς ἡδυεπὴς λόγος

(a) In reſpect of a former fleet, that was wont to come before, and bring newes of the ſecond laden with marchandiſe and vnder ſaile. Therefore thoſe ſhips were called *naues Tabellariæ*. *Seneca*. 20

(b) *Bombos*. reſembling either the buzzing and humming noiſe of Bees, or the ſound of trumpets.

(c) *Imbrices*. much after the manner of that ratling, which a ſodaine ſhewre makes vpon the tiles of an houſe, or the ſound that creſt tiles or gutter tiles may make.

(d) *Teſtas*, to expreſſe the craſhing of potſheards or earthen pots, clattering one againſt another.

(f) *Inſignes pinguiſſima coma*. In which ſenſe we read of *pingues toga* and *Lacerna*. Yet ſome underſtand thereby λιπαροκολακείας; whoſe lokes and faix were ſo ſlicke and glib with ſweet oyles, that they ſhone againe.

(a) For, ſo would he haue it to be called. And *Thraſeas Paetus* was iudicially conuented, and deeply charged, becauſe he had neuer offred ſacrifice for that heauenly voice of his. Tacit. 21

(b) who was with child by her owne brother *Macareus*, whereupon her father *Aeolus* cauſed the childe new borne to be caſt before hungrie dogs: and ſent a ſword to his daughter to kill her ſelfe with.

(c) In reuenge of his father Agamemnons death, by her murdered, whereupon he fell into a furious kind of deepe melancholie.

(d) who vnwitting killed his owne father *Laius*, as ignorantly wedded his owne mother *Iocaſta*.

(e) By putting on a garment next his ſkinne, enuenomed with the poiſon of *Neſſus* the Centaure, and ſo ſent vnto him as a token, from his wife *Deianira*.

[a] It may be thought, that he then acted Oedipus or Creon, or ſome other King, and therefore carried in his hand a regall ſtaffe or *Sceptre*. Yet ſome interprete this of a Lawrel rod or braunch, ſuch as Actors held in their hands whiles they ſung. 24

(b) For, at *Olimpia*, were Games alſo of Criers, ſtriuing who could cry lowdeſt, for the prize.

(c) Theſe were called *Hieronicæ*, as one would ſay, *ſacred victories*, to witt at the ſolemne games in Greece, *Nemea*, Pythia, *Iſtmia*, and *Olimpia*.

(a) Five thouſadd were there of theſe Gallants, as *Xiphilinus* writeth, ready to applaud him when he chaunted. 25

(a) He meaneth either a peruke & cap of counterfait haire, κόμας περίθετους, *Dionis* thereby diſguiſing himſelfe: the ſame that in *Caligula* he termeth *capillamentum*, or elſe ſome hood couering his head all ſaue the eyes. *Iulius Capitolinus* calleth it *Cucullionem*, wherewith the Emperour *Verus* played ſuch parts by night, in imitation of *Caligula* and *Nero*. 26

(b) *Quintana*, was a Gate or Street rather in the Roman Campe, wherein was uſually kept, *Forum rerum utenſilium*, in reſemblance whereof, he termed a certaine place in his houſe *Quintana*, in which he made ſale of ſuch wares and commodities, as he had gotten together by rifling and robbing.

(c) It appeareth by *Tacitus*, that this was *Iulius Montanus*, who, albeit he had not ſitten in counſell as Senator, yet was *Laticlavius*, and wore the Senators Robe. Such Gentlemen were called *Iuuenes ſecundi ordinis*, in diſtinction of thoſe of the imperiall bloud, or otherwiſe neere allied vnto the Emperour.

(a) The manner was in old time to imploy the day in buſineſſes, and therein to take no liberall meales, putting off the full refection, and cheriſhing of the bodie vntill night. *Conuiuia de die*, argued Intemperance, much more then, feaſting from noone to midnight. 17

(b) *Ambubaiarum*. Theſe tooke their name (as moſt expoſitors haue conjectured), *Quod circa Baias perſarentur*. Yet ſome learned men of later time fetch the ſame from this Syriacke word *Anbubaie*. as if ſuch were Syrian women, who being otherwiſe naughtie packes and callots, gat their liuing alſo by playing vpon certaine inſtruments of muſike, which they brought with them out of their native countrey.

(c) *Copas imitantium*. Although *Copæ*, properly be ſuch women as keepe victualling houſes, readie not onely to entertaine, but alſo to inuite and call in gueſtes, yet becauſe theſe commonly are verie bold and vnſhamefaced, this terme goeth indifferently for ſtrumpets and curteſans. For ſeldome ſhall a man ſee an impudent woman that is not withall incontinent, ſo inſeparably is modeſtie joyned with Chaſtitie.

(d) The corrupt text in this place, hath given occaſion of much obſcuritie, and miniſtred matter enough for Criticks to worke vpon, while ſome read *Mellita*, others *Myrtitrichila*. By which are ment certaine ſweat junkets, as daintie wafers, &c.

(e) This may be thought incredible, That banquering conceits at one ſitting ſhould coſt ſo much, and the aſperſion of roſe or other odoriferous liquors ariſe to more. Where is to be noted the obſervation of ſome, who for, *ab Syrtia roſaria*, read *aſperſio roſaria*, that is to ſay, the artificiall beſprinkling and aromatizing (as I may ſo ſay) of banquetiug rowmes, out of ſpouts and pipes, conveying odoriferous waters and oyles, going under the name of *Roſaria*. Which ſpouts, if they were made of ſilver or gold, (as we read they were at the feaſt of others, when he gaue *Nero* entertainment) might ſoone amount to that ſomme. To ſay nothing of the coſtly compound diſtilled waters, or extracts and oyles, themſelves, drawen out of moſt pretious ſimples and ſpices.

(a) Him

28 (d) Him he called, as other Authors write, *Sabina* and *Poppea*, after the name of his wife deceased.

92 (a) In other writers he is named *Pythagoras*, so that it should seeme he caried two names.

30 (a) A great Magician, whom he intertained thus royally, because he would have learned magicke of him. See *Plinie*.

(b) Whereas AVGVSTVS when he played at this game, ventured no more, than for everie *Talus*, which were foure in all, a single denier. For it should seeme that the game of *Tali* heere mentioned, was *Pleistobolendas*, i. who could throw most with foure *Tali*: whether the same were cockall bones in deed, or made of gold, silver or Ivorie, with foure sides, everie one representing a chaunce, to wit, an Ace or unitie and five, a trey and quatre, opposite, one unto the other. For they wanted deux and cinque, which the *Tessera Cubus*, or Die carying six faces, hath.

(c) It is evident hereby, as also out of that verse of *Iuuenal*.

Vidisti phaleris omnes & torquibus omnes.

That these *Phaleræ*, were not Trappings, and furniture belonging to horses, but some other ornaments, wherewith footmen and horsemen both were trimly decked.

33 (a) IN this verbe *Morari*, there is couched a double sense, which gives the grace unto this pleasant scoffe. For, being a meere Latin word, and having the first sillable by nature short, it signifieth, to stay or to make long aboad, and taking it thus, NERO might be thought to imply thus much, that CLAVDIVS was now departed out of the companie of mortall men, and raunged among the heavenly wights, but take the same word, as *Nero* spake it, derived of ✻ μῶρος in Greeke, which signifyeth, A foole, and hath the first syllable long it importeth, that *Cclaudius* played the foole no longer here in the world among men. Read the little pamphlet of *Seneca* entituled ἀποκολοκυντωσις, if ye would see *Claudius* depainted in his colours, and in a fooles coat: which he, as it may appeare, composed of purpose to gratifie *Nero* in that humour of his.

(b) The Greekes call this καυσεαν or τοῖχον. And the Romans in honour of their Princes, were wont to compasse the same all about with a wall of flint, or other durable stone, as marble.

34 (a) It may be it was in the same forme, that *Iustinus Martyr* citeth out of *Orpheus*.

Φύγετε δ' ἀπ' ἔνθεν βασιλῆες.
Fortes opponite profanis

Which *Virgil* in some sort hath expressed thus.

Procul este profani.

And *Claudian* after him.

Gressus removete profani.

(a) THE like example is reported by *Popiscus* in *Aurelianus*, who tooke wonderfull delight in a mightie * Easter, that in one day before his owne table, devoured a wild bore full and whole; an hundred loaves of bread, a wether mutton, and a pig.

(a) This *Iambicke* verse as *Dion* writeth, was rife also in *Tiberius Cæsars* mouth. 38

(b) Albeit this word, *Insula*, beside the common signification of an Iland, is taken for an house standing entire by it selfe, a part from other, yet in this Author I observe that it is put els where for other houses also and tenements let out to tenements by the owners and Landlords, who are called *Domini Insularum*. And euen in this acception, it may well goe in this place.

(c) This toure *Horace* describeth. *carm. lib. 3. Od.* 19. in these words.

Molem propinquam nubibus arduis, &c.

(a) WHICH number ariseth to ten thousand a moneth. A mortalitie nothing comparable to that 39 which as *Eusebius* reporteth, reigned at Rome in the daies of *Vespasian*, in which there died of the pestilence ten thousand a day, nor to that in Constantinople, when many daies, there were likewise ten thousand dead bodies caried forth. *Procop. lib. 2. de bello persico.*

(b) Such a rumor in deed ran rife, but untruly. *Tacitus.*

(c) *Orestes* to reuenge his father Agamemnons death wrought by *Clytemnestra* his mother and Aegysthus the adulterer, murdered her.

(d) Alcinæon sonne of *Amphiarius* and Eriphyle, killed her, by cause shee had contriued his fathers death.

(e) Aeneas caried his old father *Anchises* upon his shoulders out of the fyre of *Troy* when it burned. Here is to be noted the duple sense of the verbe [*Sustulit*] in one and the same Latin verse: For in the former place, it signifieth to *Kill*, or make away, as *Nero* did his mother, in the later, to take vp and cary as *Nero* did his father. This yeeldeth an elegãt grace in Latin, and cannot so well be expressed in english:

(f) *Apollo*, was surnamed *Paean* of παίειν in Greek, which signifieth to strike, or of παύειν, *to ease and allay paine*, as being a God, that both sendeth diseases, & also cureth them. But commonly the Romaines terme him so, in this latter and better sense. He is styled likewise *Hecatebeletes* in Greek, which is as much, as shooting or wounding from afarr. In these abstruse significations and obscure termes therefore this Epigram implyeth thus much: That whiles now in the habit of *Appollo* plaieth upon the harpe, and would seeme to be a milde and gratious Prince: the parthian *King* with bow and arrowes representing Apollo likewise, endaungered the Empire of Rome. and all, through the supine negligence of *Nero* geven to his Musick and other vanities exceffuely.

(g) This is ment by that huge house of *Neroes* building, and hath a reference to that desolate estate of *Rome*, when it was sacked and fyred by the French, after the infortunate battaile of *Allia*, what time the Romaines were in consultation to abandon the Cittie and departe to Veij, there to inhabite.

(h) It ſeemeth that *Nero* in his Poeme entituled *Troica*, had uſed to chaunt of *Nauplius* the father of *Palamedes*, who abid many calamities himſelfe, and in revenge of his ſonnes dearh, wrought much miſchiefe to others. The *Cynicke* thereſore, noteth *Nero* for his ſinging, as alſo for abuſing his owne good parts in perpetrating all wickednesſe, or elſe for miſpending his treaſure ſo diſſolutely.

(i) Ἔρρωτο δὲ καὶ ὑγιάνοι, ὅτι νήχεσθαι οὐκ ἐκέλευον, ὡς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γὰρ προσιόντας ἄλλους, ὅτε μάλιστα τὸ σωφρονεῖν, τοῦτο μὲ δοκεῖν ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἀπολαστοῦντας ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ὁποῖ ἄσμενοι τρεπόμενοι. *Artemidor. lib. 1. cap. vlti.*

(k) By *Orcus*, or *Pluto*, taken for the God of Hell or the Grave, is underſtood death, in this place, readie to ſeize upon the Senatours, whoſe overthrow *Nero* had intended. Now, well knewne it is, that the manner was then, among the Romans, as at this day with us, to cary forth their dead with the feet forward.

It ſhould ſeeme, this anſwere was delivered in theſe words.

Ἑξηκοστὸν ἔτος τρισκαιδέκατόν τε φυλάττου.
Of ſixtieth yeare (I doe thee reed)
And thirteenth more, ſee thou take heed.

Whereby *Apollo* (for his oblique anſwers rightly of the Greeks termed *Loxias*) or the Divell himſelfe, whether you will, playing with him in a two-fold and ambiguous conſtruction, (as his manner was) deluded him. For whiles he reſted ſecure, dreaming ſtill of the 73 yeare, which he ſuppoſed was meant of his owne age, and which he was farre ſhort of, he fell into the hands of *Galba*, a man indeede of thoſe yeares.

Rome was wont to be ſerved of corne from *Alexandrea* in Aegypt, in the time of dearth eſpecially, when *Sicilie*, otherwiſe reckoned *Horreum populi Romani*. i. the people of *Romes Garner*, was not able to furniſh them. Now, when in ſteede of corne long expected, there arrived certaine ſaile from thence fraught with duſt and ſand for the ſports of his gallants: no mervaile if all the diſcontentment and heart-burning of the people conceived againſt Cornmongers and ſuch as made gaine by the ſcarcitie of graine, redounded upon NERO and his Courtiers.

(b) Νύγδαν ἐς ἀγών. The end of ſome *Trimetre* or *Senarie Iambicke* verſe in a Tragedie.

(c) Νῦν δεῖ ἡνιόχου, ἢ ἅλκου. i. *Now 'tis high time to drive or draw.* In both which Empreſes, by a moſt ſmart and bitter *Sarcaſmus*, is taxed his exceſsive love of Charioting.

(d) The ſpeech of the people, or of his mother, who could not reclayme him.

(e) As a Paricide or Killer of Parents, &c. whoſe judgement was to be ſowed quicke within a lether budge, &c.

(f) There is not onely an *Homonymie* in the word [*Gallos*] ſignifying the French Nation, and the crowing cocks, but an Amphibole alſo in the ſentence: whereby it may be underſtood, either that NERO with his chaunting, had awakened the French, who began now to revolt, as not able any longer to endure his ſongs: or that the French awakened him, to beſtirre himſelfe and looke better about him: as if they were the Cockes indeed, to raiſe him out of his drowſie ſecuritie.

(g) The ambiguitie of this word [*Vindex*], impli-eth both a private chaſtiſer of ſervants for their faults, and alſo C IVLIVS *Vindex* or a revenger of publicke injuries, and maintained of the common libertie. Who now had taken Armes againſt *Nero*.

(a) AVSPICIA, albeit they properly do ſignifie preſaging tokens delivered by birds: yet the ſequence and circumſtance of this paſſage, lead us rather to ſome other uncouth prodigies and ſtraunge ſightes.

(b) NERO was ſemblably diſtained, in another kinde: as having murdered his Father * CLAVDIVS, his mother *Agrippina*, and his two wives *Octavia* and *Poppaa*. 46 *Who adopted him.*

(a) *A calatura carminum Homeri*. Which if wee ſtraine a little, may be engliſhed thus, for the workmanſhip and engraving upon them, out of *Homers* verſes. Alluding to that ſtanding maſsie cup of *Neſtors*, deſcribed by *Homer* in the eleventh of his *Ilidas*. 47

(b) An halfe verſe out of *Virgil. 12. Aeneid.* The words of *Turnus*, unto his ſiſter *Iuturna*.

(c) Although there were divers *Praefecturae* in *Aegypt*, called *Nomi*, as one would ſay, Shires or Diviſions, as appeareth in *Plinie*, 5. *lib. cap.* 9. Yet by this place is to be underſtood the Preſidencie over all *Aegypt*, which by the inſtitution of *Auguſtus*, was ordinarily conferred upon ſome Gentlemen of Rome. By which, it appeareth, he would play at ſmall game rather than ſit out.

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Servius Sulpitius Galba.

3 (a) THE like narration is reported of *Hipparche* and *Crates* the Thebane, a Cynick
6 Philosopher.

(a) *Tessera data.* How ever this word [*Tessera*] in our Author hath other significations, to wit, of a watchword, a Signall, a Tally or Ticket, &c. Yet here verily, it seemeth to be put for a Precept or Commaundement, whether it were delivered by word of mouth unto those that stood next, or in writing, and so passed through the campe, it matte-reth not.

(b) It may appeare, that *Getulicus* their former Generall, had allowed his Souldiers more libertie and pastime.

8 (a) THESE were also called *Taici*, by *Tacidus*, of *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*.

(b) They tooke their name of AVGVSTVS: like as other orders afterwards, as *Flavians*, &c. of the Emperours following.

(a) IN habit of a woman, and with winges, hol-
10 ding forth a garland in the right hand, and bearing in her left one Olive braunch: as is to be seene in many Antique coynes.

(b) A truncke of a tree, or post erected: upon which hung the Armour and apparell of enemies slaine and despoiled.

14 (a) During which time, were held the festivall daies of the *Saturnalia*, Newe yeares tide and others.

19 (a) THEY used in olde time such curaces (in steed of brest plates) made of linnen webbs, folded eighteene times and more. For, so *Nicetas Acominatas lib.* 1. *vers. Isaac Angeli*, writeth: ἐρεσμίζοντο δὲ εἰς ὀκτωκαιδέκα καὶ πλείω φάλματος συμπλώματα: Which foulds being throughly steeped and soaked in viniger or Austere wine, with salt put thereto, and afterwardes well driven and wrought together in manner of Felt, became so stiffe, an and Armour of so good proofe, ὑ καὶ βέλος οὐδὲν ἐφιπτὸν ἐπαναπήγοι, i. as that it would checke the dint of any dart or shot whatsoever.

As touching the Souldier thus reprooved by GALBA, it was IVLIVS ATTICVS, as TACITVS writeth, one of those who went under the name of *Speculatores*. i. Bill-men: or *Speculatores* rather, as some would have it, employed in Espiall, executions, &c. as hath before beene noted. Heere also in the clause, *Dimota paganorum turba*, is to be understood the multitude of the people and common sort, who were not Souldiers. For so *Pagani* are taken, as in opposition to *Milites*.

THESE *Aurei* among the Romans, were 20
valued at one hundred *Sestertii* a peece, so as in round reckoning, they may goe for our olde EDWARD Star-Reals, or fifteene shilling peeces. For, by exact computation, one of them ariseth to fifteene shillings, seven pence halfe penie, The fourth part iust, of the Roman pound, (conteyning one hundred Deniers or Atticke Drachmes) which maketh three pound, two shillings sixe pence starling.

(b) This place where PATRORIVS was executed, and into which they flung their heads, who by commaundement of the CAESARS were put to death, was called *Sestertius. Plutarch.*

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Marcus Salvius Otho.

(a) NOT without the Rampyer and precinct of the Campe, where was the ordinarie place of execution: nor by the ministerie of a Centurion, who by order was deputed, to see Iustice done: but in the verie face and most frequented quarter of the Campe called *Principia*, not farre from the Lord Generals Pavilion, and where the Principall Captaines quartered and lodged: Wherein also, the maine Standard named the *Aegle* and other militarie ensignes of the bandes and cohorts were kept: even in his owne sight being Generall, whose manner was not to be present. 1

(a) THIS rude and grosse kinde of sport was thereupon called *Sagatio*, not unlike to that pastime with us in some place called the canvasing, and elsewhere, the vanning of dogs. 2

(a) FOR, after that by commaundement of NERO, he and POPPAEA, were in some sort put a sunder, he sollicited her as being his owne wedded wife to keepe him companie, which, in regard of her marriage with NERO, was held Adulterie. 3

(a) A Columne erected in the upper end or head of the *Forum Romanum*: at which, all the principall high waies in *Italy* began, with directions therein engraven, to every gate of the Citie, leading unto the said highwaies. 6

(a) SOME read, for ἀνλεῖς ἀνλοῖς, to no good sense at all. But the former, accordeth well with IVVENAL. *Satyr.* 11. Who to the same effect saith: 7

_____ Bucca
Noscenda est mensura.

and proverbially implyeth thus much, that he was not able to menage the Empire.

(a) *Germanicianí exercitus.* Which served in Campe, or as Garison Souldiers in Germanie, whether they were Romanes, Germanes or any other *Auxiliaries* from associate Nations, it skilled not. 8

(b) The manner, that who soever enterprised a warre-voyage should enter into the Chappell of *Mars*, where hung his sacred Scutcheons or Shield called *Ancilia*, and first stirre them, after that, shake the speare also of *Mars*, and say withall *Mars, Vigila*, i. Awake *Mars*. This had OTHO done, but according to the religious ceremonie, not bestowed them quietly againe in their places.

(a) This bread was made of Beane and Rice flower, of the finest wheat also, a verie *Psilothrum* as the Phisicians terme it, or a Depilatorie, to keepe haire from growing, especially being wet and soaked in some juyce or liquor appropriate therefore, as the bloud of bats, frogs, or the Tunie fish, &c. To this effeminacie of OTHO, alludeth the Satyricall, Poet * IVVENAL in this verse. 12

Et prossum in faciem digitis extendere panem. Satyra.

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Aulus Vitellius.

1 (a) THIS QVINTVS EVLOGIVS, was the freed man of the ſaid QVINTVS VITELLIVS

2 (a) SOME read *Sectionibus & Sutu-rio :* expounding it thus, as if his ſonne had been not a cob-ler, but a ſhoomaker indeed, occupied in cutting of new ſhoes and ſowing them together.

(b) Theſe kinde people, ſo double diligent about the feminine ſexe, be fitly called good womens-men: and doting overmuch upon their wives, *Vxoris* in La-tin, as one would ſay Bridegroomes ſtill. Such an one SENECA makes report he knew, who could not endure to be without his wives company, one minute of an houre: and if upon neceſsitie he went abroad into the towne, yet would he take with him a ſtomacher of hers, and weare it ever next his heart, &c.

(c) No doubt the ſame was garniſhed with Gold, rich ſtones and pretious pearles. See *Plin. lib. 9. cap. 35.*

(d) It may be gathered it was *Hemiplegia*, which we call the dead Palſey, taking the one ſide of the bodie, and moſt commonly enſuing upon an Apo-plexie, if it were not the verie Apoplexie it ſelfe, (which is none other but an univerſall palſey) con-ſidering the quicke diſpatch it made.

7 (a) He meaneth the crew, or faction of chariotiers holding of the blew or watchet colour: which *Vi-tellius* and *Galba* both affected.

11 (a) So called, of an infortunate battaile fought that day neere the river *Allia*: in which, the Ro-mans were overthrowne by the French: who follow-ing the train of their victory, advanced their enſignes to *Rome*, forced the Citie, and put it to the ſacke.

(b) Some read *De Dominico.* i. out of *Dominicus*, for ſo it may ſeeme, was the booke of NEROES Can-ticles entituled, allnding to himſelfe, who would be called *Rerum Dominus.* i. Lord of the world.

13 (a) CORNELIVS CELSVS findeth no fault with *Aſclepiades*, who condemned vomiting, *Offenſus eorum conſuetudine, qui quotidie eiiciendo vorandi facul-tatem moliuntur.* i. as utterly diſliking their manner, who by daily caſting up their gorge, ſeeke to enable themſelves for beaſtly gourdmādiſe. And to the ſame purpoſe he ſaith: *Illud luxuriæ cauſa fieri non oportere.* i. That this ought not to be put in uſe, for to main-taine riotous exceſſe. He admoniſheth alſo, *Ne quis qui valere & ſeneſcere volet, hoc quotidianum faciat.* That no man who deſireth to live long and in health would make it a daily practiſe. But *Seneca* repro-ueth ſuch verie aptly in theſe words,

Edunt ut vomant, vomunt ut edant.

They eat, to vomit, and they vomit, to eat.

(b) If *Scarus* were not the guilt head, a delicate fiſh no doubt it was in thoſe daies, and better eſtee-med than the Acipenſer. i. the Sturgion. It cheweth cud, and hath plaine teeth to grind withall, not in-dented like a combe or ſaw.

14 (a) *Veraculis* or *vericulis*, or *divinaculis*: all to one ſenſe, Such as will take upon them to tell fortunes, &c. Women of this profeſsion *Apuleius* termeth *ve-ratrices.*

(b) *Bonum factum.* The uſuall preface or preamble premiſed before Edicts and Proclamations, *Boni omi-nis cauſa.*

15 (a) By this ceremonie, he ſeemed to reſigne up his Empyre.

16 (a) Making ſemblance thereby, that he was fled and gone, for, the manner was, at the Porters lodge doore, if no bodie were within, to tie up a maſtive dog, for to give warning abroad if any man came. And not farre from the ſaid lodge, ſuch a dog, with a chaine, was uſually painted upon the wall, with theſe words, in great lettets,

CAVE, CAVE CANEM. i. *BEWARE, BEWARE THE DOG.*

18 (a) He meaneth that *Gallus Gallinacens*, or dunghill cocke, that before had perched upon his head and ſhoulders, alluding to the Frnch, who are likewiſe named *Galli.*

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Flavius Veſpaſianus Auguſtus.

1 (a) THE fortieth part. Happily the fortieth penie of all bargaines of ſales that were unlawfull.

2 (a) Which had a border or broade gard about it, embroidered with purple ſtuddes like naile-heads, and therefore was called *Latus clavus*: and thereupon, Senators themſelves, *Laticlavij*.

4 (a) In lieu of φιλοξενία: For, in token of love and affection they ſhould haue heaped upon him gay flowers, greene leaves and pleaſant fruits.

(b) This no doubt, had relation to the propheſie of the True Meſsias, and Saviour, Ieſus Chriſt. The very words imply no leſſe, according with theſe out of Holy Scripture. Εκ σὺ ὀξελεύσεται ὁ ἡγούμενος, &c. read *Ioſeph. 6. book. cha.* 31. of the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*.

5 (a) There is an hill of that name in *Iudæa*. And becauſe anſwers had beene given from thence, and nothing there was to be ſeene, neyther Image of a God, nor Temple, but a bare Altar, & the reverence onely of the place, both TACITVS and SVETONIVS by the name of CARMELVS, call that unknowen God unto them, who reigneth for ever.

(b) This ſight, and the other following, betokened ſoveraigntie unto *Veſpaſian*, who warred then in the Eaſt countries, *Iudæa* and *Syria*.

7 (a) This *Baſilides* ſeemeth rather to have beene ſome Prieſt, or principall man of note, and not *Libertus*, i. his freed man, as ſome copies have. But who ever he was, to the ſetting forward of this diſſignement of VESPASIAN, *Nomen & omen erat*.

(a) Out of the 35 Tribes of *Rome*, were choſen certaine Iudges or Commiſsioners, named *Centumviri*, to wit, out of every Tribe three, and albeit their number aroſe to an hundred & five, yet roundly they went for an hundred, and ſo were called. Theſe I ſay, being ordained *Selitibus iudicandis*, determined private and civill matters betweene man and man, *de Teſtamentis, Stillicidijs*, and ſuch like of no great moment. They put forth or erected a ſpeare in the place where they ſate in Iuriſdiction: whereupon their court was named *Haſta Centumviralis*.

13 (a) Alluding to the name *Cynicus*. For theſe Philoſophers tooke this denomination Cynicks, eyther of their dogged and curriſh demaund, or of a place wherethey taught and diſputed, called *Cynoſarges*.

16 (a) Which in AVGVSTVS CAESARS time amounted to twelve hundredthouſand *Seſtertij*: triple to the worth of a Roman Knight. 17

(a) This *Coloſſus, Zenedorus* a famous workeman, made before time for *Nero*.

(a) As namely, *Pueros Symphoniacos &c. Choriſtes* with moſt ſweet breaſts and pleaſant voyces, &c. 18

(b) For, then, had women their *Saturnalia*, like as the men in December. Thoſe feſtivall holidaies were called *Matronalia*, in memoriall of Ladie *Herſilia* and other noble Dames, who in old time upon that day, interpoſed themſelves as *Mediatrices*, betweene the Romans and Sabines, readie to ſtrike a moſt bloodie battell.

(a) This is reprehended by *cornelius Celſus. lib.* 2. *cap.* 14. in theſe words. *Neque audiendi ſunt, qui numero ſiminunt, quoties aliquis perfricandus eſt. Illud enim ex viribus hominis colligendum eſt.* 19 20

(a) To be caried betweene men in a chayre or ſeat called thereupon *Sella geſtatoria*, or *Lectica*. *Celſus* reckoneth ſundrie ſorts of this Geſtation, to wit, *Navi, Lectica, Scamno, Vehiculo*. 21

(a) For, it was an ordinarie matter, in ſupper time, betweene the ſervices and ſeverall diſhes, to caſt the Dice or cockall bones, by fits.

(b) *Prætextata verba*, by the figure Antiphraſis, are put for ſuch words as beſeemed not either the mouth or the eares of *Prætextati*. i. youths well borne, and of gentle bloud deſcended: who, in truth, ſhould be modeſt and maidenlike: and in like manner, *prætextati mores*, ſignifie ſuch behaviour.

(c) Noting him for his ridiculous vanitie: which ἀλαζὼν in Greeke doth ſignifie.

(d) Or, if ye read before, [*perductæ*] it muſt ſo ſtand in the Page of expenſes, to this ſenſe, laid out, for, or to *Veſpaſian*, beloved as if he had given her a reward for loving him, whereas ſhe ſhould have given unto him.

(a) Some read, in ſteed of *Improbius irato, improbius nato*, that is to ſay, of no good making, but ill ſhaped to his height. 22

(b) A peece of a verſe in *Homer. Iliad.* 7. ſpoken there of *Ajax*, advancing forward to fight with *Hector*, unto whom, or to whoſe long pike rather, he likeneth this gangrell.

(c) Eyther of Fullers, Walkers, and Diers, who gathered and occupied much thereof about their clothes, or elſe, for the tubs that commonly ſtoode in ed corners and noukes of the ſtreets, to receive every mans water, that he made as he went.

(a) At the foreſaid *Cutiliæ*, which was a naturall bath in the Sabines country, of medicinable waters, howbeit exceeding cold. *Plin. lib.* 31. *cap.* 3. 25

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus.

1 (a) 
Place in *Rome* so called of a building there, which stood upon seven courses of Columnes or Pillars, arising all round and higher every one than other, in manner of so many circles or girdles.

(b) He meaneth not a Physiognomer, who hath taken upon him by inspection of eyes, forehead, face, &c. to tell ones nature and disposition: such an one as ZOPYRVS was, who noted SOCRATES for to be by naturall inclination a wanton lover of women: but a fortune teller, by looking on the forehead onely. Such as in these daies, by the art of Palmestrie, for-sooth, can assure folke, how long they shall live, and what not? If they do but see lines in the palmes of their hands, or by feaxe in the forehead, will say, how many wives a man shall have? &c. As vaine as those, who by counting the letters of the husband and the wives name, will confidently pronounce, whether of them shall burie the other?

(a) By titles in this place, and many others of 3 SVETONIVS, are to be understood inscriptions, testifying for what considerations such Statues were erected. Such also were usually set up at publicke executions, to shew the offences and causes why any suffered. A thing usuall among the Romanes, and in their government, in what Province so evet, as may appeare by that which stood upon the Crosse of our Saviour Christ.

(a) THAT is to say a white band or ribband: Such as the Royall Diademe at first 4 was.

(a) OF these Bames, with what speede and 6 celerity they were finished, MARTIALIS writeth thus:

Hic ubi miramur velocia munera, Thermas.

(a) DOING them thus much credit in the 8 eyes of the world, as to give the allowance and approbation, or otherwise, of the weapons wherewith they should fight. For, in this sense may Ornaments be taken: the rather, because some copies have *Ferramenta*. Or this place may be understood of other furniture, as well as armes, wherwith they should come appointed into the listes.

(a) THIS hath beene observed in all ages, to 9 fore-runne the death of some Prince. Thus before the end of *Iulius Cæsar*, as *Virgil* writeth,

Non alias late ceciderunt plura serono
Fulgura, &c.

Horace likewise.

——Per purum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque curruum.

Our owne * Chronicles also exemplifie no lesse. To say nothing of the fresh resemblance of that, which happened with us three yeares since, in July.

* a little before the death of king Henry the second.

(a) SOME write, and TZETZES by 10 name, that hee was poysoned with eating of Seahares.

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON *Flavius Domitianus.*

1 (a)  HIS was ſome Satyricall Poeme, of which IVVENALIS writeth thus:

——*Improbior ſatyrâ ſcribente Cinædo.* i. *Nerone*

(b) A veſtment of white linnen, after the manner of a Surplice: for ſuch prieſts thereupon were named *Linigeri.*

4 (a) TOGA *Græcanica.* Which is ſpoken χλανιδικῶς, *pro chlamyde.* i. a cloake or looſe caſſocke. For *Toga* was *Romanorum.*

7 (a) PHILOSTRATVS alledgeth another reaſon of this Edict, namely for that many ſeditious broyles and commotions were occaſioned by drunkenneſſe.

(b) Or rather, as *Caſaubonus* expounderh [*geminari caſtra*] that two legions ſhould not encampe in one leaguer. For, the pollicie of warre found the ſame alwaies dangerous, in regard of mutinies, that by occaſion thereof might ariſe. Souldiers, as *Dion* writeth, ἀφὶς τὸν ὄχλον πλείους ἑαυτοὺς ὁρῶντες. i. Seeing their owne numbers great, grow to be ſtout and malapert.

(c) For, before time, it was thought good Policy, that ſouldiers ſhould lay up a portion of their donative, about the Enſignes within the campe, and not ſpend all their ſtocke, (which commonly they are given unto,) whereby they might be put in minde to fight more valiantly, and not to forſake their colours, ſo long as they had ſomewhat to ſave or looſe.

8 (a) NAMELY, to be buried quicke under the ground, that is to ſay, to be let downe into ſome grot or vault, and there to be ſterved to death.

10 (a) PATREM-FAMILIAS. i. A good honeſt Citizen of *Rome*, ſuch as came to behold the Games.

(b) Vnder theſe Tyrannicall Emperours of *Rome*, that favorized, ſome this faction of Fencers and Chariot-riders, others that, it was high Treaſon and Impietie, for men to ſpeake a word, not in open place onely and in the Theatre, but alſo at home in their houſes, even in table talke, in commendation of the adverſe faction, by way of compariſon. *Martial* inviting a friend to his bourd, and promiſing that no mirth and free ſpeech at meat ſhould turne him to any daunger and diſpleaſure, writeth thus unto him,

De Præſino conviva meus vonitoque loquatur:
Nec ſaciens quenquam pocula noſtra reum.

Now, it is to be underſtood, that *Domitius* affected the fenſers called *Mirmillones*, againſt the others named *Thraces* or *Threces*, whom his brother TITVS favoured.

(c) By *Parmularius* underſtand, him that ſpeaks favourably in the behalfe of thoſe fencers, named *Parmularii*, of the little bucklers, wherwith they were armed: otherwiſe called *Threces*, (as one would ſay *Thracians*, whoſe armature they had) in oppoſition of others which were the *Mirmillones*, who were otherwiſe appointed after the French faſhion, and therefore tooke the name otherwhiles of *Galli*, and ſo is that verſe of *Horace* to be expounded. *Thrax an Gallina Syro par?* As touching blaſphemie, no mervaile, if theſe Tyrants taking upon them to be Gods heere upon earth, held everie word derogatorie any waies unto their Majeſtie, high Treaſon and Impietie.

(d) *Domitian* and other ſuch monſterous Tyrants, as namely CALIGVLA, envied all perſons and things that were excellent. It behooved therefore *Lamia* to be ſilent, and to diſſimule what he thought, as well as he might: although, for griefe of heart, happily, hee could not chuſe but fetch a ſecret ſigh to himſelfe with a *Heu* i. *Helas.*

12 (a) I obſerve a double acception of this word CAESAR, in this Hiſtorie penned by SVETONIVS. Firſt for a noble houſe in *Rome* whereof IVLIVS CAESAR DICTATOR was deſcended. Whoſe line, eyther in bloud or by adoption, were called *Cæſares.* And in this ſenſe it is truly ſaid, that *Progenies Cæſarum in Nerone defecit.* i. that the race of the *Cæſars* was extinct in *Nero.* And in this ſenſe the heires apparent of the Emperours in that line were named *Cæſars.* Secondly for all the Soveraigne Emperours of *Rome* after *Iulius Cæſar.* So *Galba* and the reſt, his ſucceſſors were ſtiled *Cæſares.*

(b) This exaction levied of the Iewes, which he calleth *Iudaicum fiſcum*, was for the profeſsion and exerciſe of the religion within *Rome*: who, as *Xiphilinus* witneſſeth, were permitted before, by *Veſpaſian* his father to obſerve the rites and ceremonies of their owne religion, paying an yearely Tribute, to wit, a Didrachme. i. two Roman deniers, or fifteene pence with us. And ſo the Chriſtians afterwardes for a time had the ſame Indulgence.

15 (a) IN ſome copies are inſerted theſe words, *Aream & Calvitium*, to no ſenſe, unleſſe ye would have him thereby noted, for his baldeneſſe and fall of hayre, which ſome Phyſcians call *Area.*

(b) This

(b) This Flavius Clemens is thought to have beene a Proselite, & turned to the Jewish * Religion, by reason whereof, being grudgingly mortified, and (as they report) disposed to Atheism, reputed base minded, & as his sonnes were yet contemptibly esteemed. Singulari odio flagrasse Iudaeos in Christianos, & ipsum Deum, quo tam degener ac deterior esset, ferunt. Tacit. hist. lib. 5.

* or Christianity rather

(c) whose sonne Jerome not dare, nor would be thought, as unto that our Lord death, because in his publike prayers he had not made mention of him, as y Sonne of Minerva, Philostratus lib. 7.

17 (a) Little I may say, yt Painims do vouchsafe worshipped, (as the Fulvian Gods of the inferior body amber) w Gr. & Lat. and closer called Aerarium.

18 (a) it may be thought by y diversity found of his head, y his ruber vultus misbecam was hindred of reverend grace. but he was nothing deadmin, sed y it was rather encouragement to all wizard greatness. undred was astonished at all natural, although by the Jews & Christians more sanguinaire then there. for which as there, subtraxit oculos, justicia sedera, non spectavit. Sub domiciano percepta misericordia pars erat

ridden & afraid, in deuotandis hostibus auctoritas, suffixit. de Iezebille domitiani vultus ruber, quo se tectura quidem numquam a flatterie and hardy is not always a friend of truth.

(a) Alexandria in Egypt, was by at- 20
famous library, of the Ptolemies
Philadelphus & Ptolomaeus his
progenitors & successors, twelve minute
hundred odd volumes of 7 cccc books
Aul. Gel. Noct. Attic. lib. 7. cap. 17.

(a) acclamations must be thrice found 23
to y worst sorts, for all manner of curses
& detestations, Suetonius Nero, sedebat
hostibus, Tiberius in
by the people in his time, Tiberius in
Tiberium, & Nero cried by y Senate. agst
Nero. y writers Dio Nero, in hostes
condemned. y writers Dio Nero, in hostes
hostis patriae honores decernantur, parricida
traheatur, hostis dicatur, carnifex Senatus
unto trahatur, in Sp obliviae ponatur. &c.

(b) Nero, Trajanus, Hadrianus, & Severus
Severus Aurelius vocitabuntur. Quis
Neroe perendinius aut nudius tertius? Quis
Trajano divinius? Quid praestantius
Hadriano?

An Index to the Hiſtorie and *Marginall Gloſſe.*

A

Agrippa. Page, 83
Accenſus. 8
Acilius for his valour compared with Cynegirus. 27
Acroames. 249
Actiack battaile and victory. 44.45
Actours upon the Stage, and Champions in what manner chaſticed. 60
Ad antlium. 110
Adminius, Cinobelinus ſonne. 144
Adulterie puniſhed. 54,104
Ægyſthus the adulterer. 21
Ælianus gently reproved by Auguſtus. 62
Ælius Lamia put to death by Domitian. 265
Ænobarbi, 178,202
The reaſon of that name. ibidem
Æſar, what it ſignifieth. 83
Æſerninus hurt in Troy turnament. 58
Afranius his treacherie. 29
Agraria law. 8
Agrippa, Nephew to Auguſtus, in diſfavour, 67
He is ſlaine. 99
Agrippina wife of Germanicus perſecuted by Tiberius Cæſar: 111
Pined to death. ibidem
Agrippina daughter of Germanicus wedded to Claudius Cæſar her own Vnkle. 174
Enamoured upon Galba. 213
Mother of Nero, by him killed. 196
Ajax. 76
Alauda, the Legion why ſo called? 10
Alexandrines ſalute Auguſtus, 83
Amethyſt colour and purple in graine forbidden. 194
Amneſtia. 89
Amphitheatres three. 61
Ancilia, 226
Anicetus ſlandreth himſelfe with Octavia 197
Anna Perenna, 32
Anticatones, bookes ſo called, 23
Antiſtius Labeo, his franke-ſpeech to Auguſtus Cæſar. 63
Antonia daughter of Claudius killed by Nero. 197
M. Antonius vanquiſhed by Auguſtus. 44
Killeth himſelfe. 45
Taxed for obſcurity of ſpeech. 77
Antonie, ſonne of M. Antonius killed. 45
Antonius Muſa Phyſician to Auguſtus Cæſar, honoured by the people. 65
Anticyra the Iſle. 146
Apelles an Actor, whipped by Caligula. 138
Apollonius Molo: 2
Apollo Palatinus his temple. 51
Apollo Sandaliarius, 65
Apollo Temenites. 121
Apollo Intonſus et ἀκερσεκομης. 207
Apollo Tortor. 70
Apollodorus of Pergamus, 77
Aponius Saturninus confined by Caligula, 141
Apparell of Romane Citizens, 57
Appius Cæcus: 88
Appius Claudius Regillanus, 88
Apragopolis an Iſle, 83
Araeus the Philoſopher. 78
Artocreas, 16
Aſclepiades Mendeſius, 80
Aſcletario a famous Aſtrologer, 269
Killed by Domitian, 269
Aſellius Sabinus, his Dialogue, 107
Aſiaticus, Vitellius his minion, 235
He miſleadeth Vitellius, ibidem
Ασκογεφυραι. 24
Aſinius Pollio complaineth of the Troie-fight. 58
Aſprenas Nonius in queſtion for poiſon. 64
Aſſes what peeces of money: 79
Aſtarte 208
Aſtrologers miſliked by Tiberius Cæſar. 104
Aſtura: 83
Atalanta and Meleagers picture. 107
Atergate: 208
Atia the mother of Auguſtus: 39
Thought to bee conceived by a Serpent: 80
Her dreame, ibidem
Atrium, what it is, 51
Atrium libertatis, ibidem
Augurie of Saſſus: 51
Auguſta what they be, 40
Auguſtus Cæſar ubraided for his baſe Parentage:

Parentage: 39
His birth: ibidem
His pedigree. 38
Surnamed Thurinus, ibidem: 40
Surnamed C. Cæsar. &c, ibidem
His towardly young yeeres, 40
A ſtudent in Apollonia, 40
His five civil warres. 40, 41
Hee revengeth his Vnkle Iulius Cæsars death. 41
Hee ſideth againſt M. Antonius the Triumvir 41
His victory againſt Panſa & Hirtius. 41
He putteth the Nurſines to a fine, 42
Hee entreth ſocietie of Triumvirate with Antonie and Lepidus. 42
His bloudy cruelty. 42, 43
He hardly eſcaped murdering. 43
His dangers at ſea. 43, 44
By land. 44
Hee depoſed and confined Lepidus his Colleague. 44
He diſgraced M. Antonius. 44
His moderate cariage toward M. Antonius. ibidem
He vanquiſheth M. Antonius. 44
He forceth Alexandria in Aegipt. 44
Hee cauſed Antonie and Cleopatra, to be honourably buried. 45
He clenſeth the river Nilus: ibidem
In danger of many conſpiracies: 45
His forraine warres: 46
Not deſirous of large dominion: 46
His moderation whereby hee won many nations: 46
His triumphs. 47
His ſorrow for the loſſe of Quintilius Varus: 47
His military Diſcipline: 47
His manner of rewarding Souldiours 47
His offices of Eſtate. 48
His cruelty in the time of Triumvirate. 49
Perpetuall Tribune: 50
Perpetuall Cenſor, 50
His purpoſe to reſigne vp his abſolute government: 50
His fatherly care for Romes proſperitie. 50
His publick works and buildings: 50
His lenity and ſeverity both in miniſtring juſtice. 53
He ordaineth a priuie Counſel: 54
He deviſeth new Offices: 55
His bounty in rewarding Souldiours: 55
Endangered at the ſight of ſolemn Games, 59
His delight in beholding publick Spectacles, &c: 60
His clemencie and fatherly regard ſhewed to foraine Princes and Potentates: 61
How he ordered his militarie forces, 61
His clemencie to his Oppoſites, 62
His courteſie and civill behaviour, 63
Howe much beloved of all ſorts and degrees: 64, 65
His wives: 66
Howe hee brought up his Daughter and Nieces, 67
His unhappineſſe in his progenie: 67
His demeanour to his friends: 67, 68
To his freed men and ſervants: 68
Noted for bodily uncleaneneſſe againſt kind: 69
For adulteries, ibidem
Taxed for Corinthian veſſels, 70
For Dice-play: ibidem
His integrity of life, 70: 71
His apparell, 72, 75
His order at the table: 72
His diet for himſelfe, 72
His abſtinence of wine, 73
His ſleepes, 73
His preſence and perſonage, 73, 74
His ſtature and feature: 74
His infirmities of body, 74, 75
His bodily exerciſes, 75
His recreations and paſtimes, 75
His eloquence and liberall ſtudies, 76
His voice and vtterance. 76
What bookes and compoſitions he made: 76
His Poetry, 76
His Ajax: 76
He miſliketh indifferently of affectate and antique phraſes: 76, 77
His phraſes in ordinary talke, 77
What teachers he followed, 77
Not ready in the Greeke language, 78
A lover of fine-wits, 78
His religious ſcrupuloſity, 78
His reſpective obſervance of foraine ceremonies, 79
His greatnes fore-told by propheſies, oracles, &c, 79
By Dreames and Prodigies, 81, 82
His miracles that he wrought, 81
His preſcience of future things: 82
His death fore-ſignified. 82
His Deification prefigured, 83
The ſickneſſe whereof he died: 83
His mirth & affability a little before death 83
His death. 84
His age. 85

His

His Deification. 85
His Monument. 85
His laſt will. 85,99
His wealth and treaſure. 86
His bounty to the Common-wealth. 86
His opinion of Tiberius Cæſar. 98,154, 155
Auguſtians, 190
Auguſtum ſæculum. 85
Aurelia Iulius Cæſars mother. 2
Aureus, of what value it is. 224

B

BAbilus, a great Aſtrologer. 198
Baniſhment voluntarie. 18
Baſilides, 244
Bathing ſeldome, 75
Bawderie maintained by Caligula. 142
Beccus what it ſignifieth, 238
Bellonæ. 71
Berenice, 255
Bibulus Aedile with Iulius Cæſar. 4
His prety ſpeech touching his Colleague Cæſar. 5
Conſul with him. 8
He ſtood for a Cypher in both offices. 4,8
Blazing ſtarre what it portendeth. 198
Bona Dea, the Goddeſſe, 3,29
Bonet the badge of Freedome. 90
Boter, Father of Claudia. 169
Brachæ. 32
Britaine attempted by Claudius Cæſar. 162
Britannicus the ſonne of Claudius the Emperour. 168
Recommended to the Souldiours and Cõmons. 169
Poiſoned by Nero. 195
Buildings ſtately & ſumptuous Auguſtus Cæſar careth not for. 71
Burrhus poiſoned by Nero. 198
Buthyſia, 184

C

CÆnis the Paramour and Concubine of Veſpaſian, 241
C: in Cæſar, 83
A. Cacina raileth upon Iulius Cæſar. 30
C. Iulius Cæſar Dictator perſecuted by Sulla. 1
Obtaineth his pardon. 2
His warfare during his youth, 2,3
Suſpected for wantonneſſe with K. Nicómedes, 2,54
Taketh part with the Marians, 1
Retired to Rhodes, 2
Taken by Pirates, 2
What Funerall Orations he made. 3
Weddeth Pompeia and putteth her away. 3
An æmulus of K. Alexander the Great. 3
His dreame, 3
His conſpiracies for alteration of State. 4
His games exhibited, and workes during his Aedileſhip: 4,5
Sueth for the Province of Aegipt, 5
Choſen chiefe Prieſt, 5
Favourable to Catiline and his complices, 5:6
He convented Catulus and ſuffred a foile. 6
He gave over his Senatours Robe, 6
Reſtored againe, 7
Detecteth Catilines conſpiracie, 7
Appeached by Vettius and acquit: 7
In danger of his creditours, 7
Choſen Conſul, 7
Sideth with Cn: Pompeius, 8
His Acts whiles he was Conſul, 8
He ruleth Conſul alone, 8
His abſolute rule in his Conſulate, 8
He weddeth Calpurnia, 9
He chooſeth the government of Gaule. 9
His proud and arrogant words, 9
Accuſed by Antiſtius, 10
His Acts in Gaule, 10,11
He warred vpon the Britaines, 11
His adverſe fortune in warre, 11
Aſpireth to the Empire of Rome, 11
His largeſſes, 11, 12
His proceeding croſſed by Claudius Marcellus, 12
The pretences and cauſes of his civill warre: 13
His firſt enterpriſe of civill warre, and his departure from Rome 14
His exploits in the civill warre, 15
Hee encountreth the forces of Pompeius, 15
He vanquiſheth Pompeius, 15
He warreth upon K. Ptolomeus, 15
He ſubdueth Pharnaces, Scipio, Iuba, and Pompeies children, 15
His fortune in warres, 16
His triumphs, 16
His liberality to his Souldiours & the people, 16
His Plaies and Spectacles exhibited to the people: 16
How hee commended his Candidates for Offices, 17
The ordinances that hee made in his Dictatourſhip, 18
What ſtately works and buildings hee intended, 19
His ſhape, feature, apparell, and behaviour. 19

How he covered his bald head. 19
His exceſſe in houſe-furniture. 20
His ſeveritie in domeſticall diſcipline. 20
His paſsive incontinencie. 20, 22
His whoredome and adulterie. 21
He kept Queene Cleopatra. 21
Abſtinent of wine and nothing curious in his fare. 22
His extortion and ſacriledge. 22
His eloquence. 22
His pronuntiation and geſture. 23
His orations and writings, 23,24
His Commentaries. 23
His letters miſsive. 24
His manner of writing. 24
His paines taking in warlike expeditions. 24
Whether he were more warie or adventerous, doubtfull. 24
Irreligious. 25
His militare pollicie. 25
His reſolution in Battailes. 25,26
His martiall Diſcipline. 26
His affability to his Souldiours. 26
His affectionate love unto them. 27
Beloved of his Souldiours. 27
His Souldiours valour and fidelity to him. 27
His ſeverity unto mutinous Souldiours. 27 28
Taxed for his manner of beholding publick ſpectacles. 60
His faithfull love to his Dependants. 28
His reſpective kindnes to his friends. 28
Soone reconciled. 28
His clemencie to his enemies, in warre and after victory. 29
To Romaine Citizens. ibidem
His ambitious pride and arrogancie in deeds. 30
The ſame alſo in words. 30,31
How hee incurred the envie and hatred of the world: 31
He openly affecteth regal Empire. 31
Conſpiracie againſt him. 32
His death fore-ſignified. 32
His laſt will and teſtament. 34
Murdred in the Senate-houſe. 33
His murderers died miſerably. 36
His Funeralls & ſolemne obſequies, 34,35
Not willing to live, and why? 35
Hee wiſhed for a quick and unexpected death. 36
His age. 36
His canonization after death: ibidem
Cæſar 10, Cæſars ſuppoſed ſon by Cleopatra. 21
He is put to death, 45
L. Cæſar commended by Auguſtus: 15, a.
L: Cæſar his cankred malice againſt Iulius Cæſar Dictator, 30
Cæſarea, the name of divers Cities, 65
Cæſonia ſlaine with her husband Caligula, 151
Caius and Lucius adopted by Auguſtus Cæſar, 66
They both die, 96,67
Caius a fatall name to the Cæſars, 151
Caius, Nephew of Auguſtus ill affected to Tiberius Cæſar, 94
Calends, 77
Ad Calendas Græcas. 77
Caius Cæſar Caligula his birth. 125
The place of his nativity, 125
Why ſurnamed Caligula, 126
Beloved and reſpected of the Soldiors, 126
His hypocriſie, 126
His cruell nature, 126
He plotteth for the Empire, 127
He courteth Ennia wife to Macro, 127
Practiſeth the death of Tiberius Cæſar, 127
With what ioy of people and forainers he entred upon the Empire, 127,128
His popularity, ibidem
His ſhew of Piety and kindnes, 128
His ſemblance of reſtoring the common liberty, 129
What honours were decreed and done unto him, 129
His largeſſe and bounty, 130
His publick plaies and Spectacles exhibited, 130
His bridge betweene Baiæ and Puteoli, 130
The motive of making it, 131
Works by him finiſhed, 131
His ſtyle, 131
He uſurpeth divine majeſtie & honor: 132
His ſacrifices, 132
His unkindneſſe to his owne bloud, 132
His inceſts, 133
With Druſilla his owne ſiſter, ibidem
His ſorrow for her death, 133
His mariages, 134
He weddeth Cæſonia, 134,138
His unnaturall cruelty to his beſt deſerving friends, 135
His bloudy & proud nature, 135,136,137
His unplacable nature, 136
His jeſts and ſcoffes, 138
His envie and malice, 138
To Homer, Virgil, and Livie. 139
He was envious of all good parts. 139

His

His particular ſpite and enuie to Coloſſeros. 139
His vncleanenes and incontinencie. 139
His cruell pillage, 140
His roiot and waſtfull expence. 140
Wrongfull proceedings. 141
His Dice play. 143
His extraordinarie loue to money. 143
His martiall acts.
His mock-warfare: 144
His bounty. 145
His triumph. 145
His hatred to the Senate. 145
His cruell proiects. 146
His ſtature, ſhape, &c. 146
His infirmities of body and mind. 146
His vices: 146,147
His habite and apparell. 147
His naturall eloquence: 148
His profeſſion of arts: 148
What faction of Chariotiers and Sword-fencers he fauoured: 149
His death contriued: 149
His death foretold by ſtrange ſignes: 149 150
He is murdred. 151
His corps enterred. 151
Callipides. 105
C. Calvus made libels of Cæſar: 28
Calvini: 178
A Camp maintained about Rome: 105
Capita Bubula: 39
Capitol at Capua: 150,106
Capricorne, the ſtamp of a Coine: 82
Capreæ, the Iland exchanged by Auguſtus Cæſar for Aenaria: 79
A place wherein Tiberius Cæſar delighted: 106
Capys founder of Capua: 32. His Sepulcher: ibidem
Carmelus: 243
Carnulius killeth himſelfe:
Caſita, what bird. 10
Caſsius Chærea, a principall conſpiratour againſt Caligula: 149
Caſsius Longinus, Proconſul, killed by Caligula: 150
Caſsius Longinus a Lawier killed by Nero: 198
Caſsius or Caſca, a conſpiratour of Iulius Cæſars death. 33
Caſsius Patavinus gently chaſticed by Auguſtus: 62
Caſtra ſcelerata: 153
Catta and Catti: 236
Valerius Catullus his Epigrams of Cæſar: 28
Q. Catulus his Dreame of Auguſtus Cæſar: 81
Cauſarij: 240
Cautelous and cunning caſts puniſhed by Tiberius Cæſar, 104
Cercopithecus: 193
Centumviral cauſes: 246
Charicles the Phyſician: 120
Chariotiers and their factions: 180, Reſtrained, 186
Chriſtians nicknamed Chriſtians, 167
Chriſtians perſecuted and put to death under Nero, 186
Choregus: 69
Cimber Tullius a cõſpiratour againſt Iulius Cæſar: 33
Helvius Cinna killed in ſteed of Corn: Cinna: 35
M: Cicero his dreame of young Octavius afterwards Auguſtus, 81
City, what it ſignifieth, 162
Civil, how to be underſtood, 101
Claudian family both Patritian and Plebeian, 87
The beginning of the Claudian family at Rome, 87
Claudius Caudex, 88
Claudius Druſus, 88
Claudius Pulcher, 88
Claudiæ noble women and their ſundry examples, 88
Claudij oppoſite to the commons, 88
Sext. Claudius an old Fornicatour, 106
Claudia water, 163
Claudia eſpouſed to Auguſtus Cæſar, 66
Claudia daughter of Claudius the Emperour, 169
Claudius the Emperour his birth: 253
His youth, 154
His ſtudy in liberall Sciences, 154
Reputed no better than a foole, 154
His ſluggardie, folly, drunkenneſſe, and gaming: 155
Honoured by all eſtates, 156
Of baſe reckoning, 156
His troubles, 157
How he attained to the Empire, 157
He executeth certaine conſpiratours, 158
His piety and kindnes: 158
His modeſt cariage, 158, 159
His popularitie, 159
In danger of Treaſons, 159
His Conſulates, 159
His juriſdiction, 159
His variant conditions, 160
His wiſe judgement, 160
His contemptible demeanour, 160
His cenſureſhip, 161,162
His warlike expedition, 162

His triumph: ibidem
His care ouer the City of Rome. ibidem
The workes and buildings that hee made. 163
His munificence, 163,164
His bald jests. 164,165
His navall fight. 165
His religious ceremonies. 165
His managing of civil affaires. 165,166
His exploiting of martiall feates, ibidem
His ordinances in sundry kinds. 167
Ruled by his wives and freed-men. 168
His wives, 168
His divorcements. 168
His children. 168
His cruelty and iniustice. 170
His person and feature. 170
His health. 170
His manner of feasting. 170
How hee vsed a filching guest at his bord. 171
His appetite to meate. 171
His wantonnesse: 171
His dice-play. ibidem
His bloudy nature. 171
His timorous diffidence, 172
His anger and malice, 173
His foolishnesse: 173
His oblivion & inconsiderate blindnesse. 174
His unadvised words. 174
He compiled an history: 174,175
His other bookes: 175
He studied Greeke: 175
Hee repenteth his mariage with Agrippina: 175
He maketh much of Britannicus his sonne. 176
His death: 176
Murdred with the privity of Nero. 195
Canonized a God. 176
Clemens rebelleth against Tiberius: 100
Cleopatra poisoneth her selfe: 45
P. Clodius suspected for incontinencie with Pompeia, Iulius Cæsars wife: 3,29
Adopted into the Rank of Commanders: 88
A Comet why so called: 251
Commotions prevented by Tiberius Cæsar: 105
Commotioners punished by him: 105
Comædie the olde allowed by Augustus: 78
Compitalitij plaies: 52
Concords temple: 98
Congiaries given by Augustus Cæsar: 57
Consuls whē they entred into their office: 1
Conventus what they be: 3
Corne distributed by Augustus: 157
Cornelia Law: 18,53
Crassus Frugi: 162
Columbus a Mirmillon Fencer: 149
Covetousnes & Avarice how they differ: 264
A Crow propheseth: 272
Crucifying: 29
Curiæ. 67
Curiatæ leges: 67
Curtius lake: 65
Cutiliæ waters: 251

D

DAies observed by Augustus, 79
Date tree, 81
Datus a Comædian Actor, 200
Decemvirs, 55
Decocted water of Nero, 206
Decurions: 85
Deliciæ Romanis, 75
Demetrius a Cynick Philosopher: 247
Dictare, 30
Diogenes the Grammarian how hee was requited by Tiberius Cæsar. 103
Dis, why so called, 226
Divus, what it is, 271
Dodecatheos a supper of Augustus Cæsar 69
Dominus a title & terme reiected by Augustus, 63
L. Domitius the Stock-father of the Aenobarbi: 178
Cn. Domitius: 179
Domitius the Grand-father of Nero: 180
His acts, 180
Domitius the Father of Nero, 180
His pranks, 181
Domitian the Emperours birth, 259
His poverty in his youth, 259
Noted for unnaturall impurity, 260
Saluted Cæsar, 260
His wilde and vnruly pranks, 260
His ambition, 260
His study in Poetry, ibidem
Most vnkind to his brother, 261
Putteth away his wife Domitia, ibidem
His couetise and cruelty, 261
His publick Shewes, 261
His Games, 262
His buildings, 262
His warlike expeditions, 262
His triumph, 262
His manner of feasting, & house-keeping: 263
He added ij factions of Charioters: 263
A precise Iusticer: 263

He reformeth abuſes in Iudiciall Courts, 263
His ſevere reformation of all Enormities, 264,
His hypocriticall religion, 264
His bountifull mind, 264
His falſe ſemblance of Clemencie and pity, 264
His barbarous cruelty, 265
In his cruelty, ſubtill and crafty, 266
His rapines and wrongs, 267
His inſolencie and Arrogancy 267
His 17 Conſulſhips. 267
He foreknew the houre of his owne death 268
His death wrought by his neereſt favorites, and wife. 268
Suſpitious and fearefull of death. 268
His deſtruction foretold by many prodigies, 269
His Apoppthegmes and notable ſentences. 271
Murdred in his bedchamber, 269
His recreations, 271
His Stature and countenance, 270
His effeminate wantonneſſe, 271
Impatient of all labour. 170.271.
An excellent archer. 271.
Murderers of him executed. 272.
Domitia, wife of Domitian falleth in fancy with Paris the player. 261
Doves, 81
Druidæ and their Religion, 167
Druſilla ſiſter of Caligula 133
Honored as goddeſſe, 133
Druſus ſonne of Tiberius Cæſar, 110
His vices and death, 110.116
Druſus a name, from whence it commeth, 89
Dec. Druſus Nero father to Claudius Cæſar. 152
Begotten in adultery. 152
His acts, 152,153
His death and honours after death, 153
His yſſew. 153
Druſinæ foſſæ. 153
Druſus ſonne of Claudius Cæſar choaked with a peare. 168
Ducenaries, 166
A dwerfe, 59
Dwerfes reiected by Auguſtus. 75
Dyrrhachium ſtrongly beleaguered by Auguſtus Cæſar, 27

E

Elephants walking vpon Ropes. 213
Eleuſine Sacred Cæremonies, 144
Ellebor. 148
Emblema. 119
Epaphroditus Neroes ſecretary put to death by Domitian, 269
Epicadus his conſpiracie againſt Auguſtus. 49
Equeſtria, 135
Ergaſtula. 92
Eſius Proculus called Coloſſeros, 139
Ευφρασία & Ευφραδης, 269
Euthanaſia. 84
Exceſſe in houſe furniture reſtrained. 103
Exceſſe in fare of the table reſtrained 53.54.103.185
See more in ſumptuaria.
Exploratoriæ Coronets. 144
Extortion of the Pollentians puniſhed by Tiberius Cæſar. 105

F

Fall of an Amphitheatre at Fidenæ. 106
Fauſtus his treacherous rebellion. 29
Felix a freed man of Claudius the Emperour. 169
Fercula, what they be. 72
Fiſt-fight Auguſtus Cæſar delighted to ſee. 60
Flaminſhip of Iupiter, 52
Flavij. 239
T. Flavius Petronianus, 239
Flavius Sabinus a faithfull Publicane. 240
Flavius Sabinus put to death by Domitian. 266
Flauius Clemens killed by Domitian. 268
Flauian Family, noble and auncient, 240
Flora, and Floralia, 213
Forgery of writings provided againſt, 186
Freedome of Rome City, ſparily granted 56
Freindſhip, how Auguſtus Cæſar intertained. 68
Frogs ſilent. 81
Fucinus the Meere drawen dry, 163
Fuſtuarium. 114

G

Gabinius ſurnamed Caucius. 166
Galba the ſurname of the Seruilij. 211
Galba with Spaine revolteth, 202
Galba enriched by Livia Auguſtaes will 213
His offices of State, 213

His martiall Diſcipline. 213
His Proeſſe. 213. 214
Highly eſteemed of Claudius the Emperour, 213
His civill Iuridiction. 214
His Honours, 214
His Empire fore ſignified, 212, 214, 215
His extreme ſeverity, 214
His ſemblance of Surquedrie, 214
Saluted Emperour. 215
In danger to be killed. 216
Taketh uppon him the name of Cæſar. 216
Ill ſpoken of for couetouſneſſe and cruelтie. 216
His Niggardiſe, 216. 217
His noble Pedigree, 211
His death foreſhewed, 219
Slaine. 220
Enterred. 220
His ſtature and perſonage. 220
His uncleane life. 221
His 3. pædagogues, 217
His variable cariage. 217
His corrupt gouernment. 218
Incurreth the hatred of ſoldiers eſpecially 218
Forſaken firſt of the Germanician forces. 218
Galbanum what gumme. 211
Galbei what they be. 211
Galeria, wife of A. Vitellius the Emperour.
Galerita, what bird, 10
Ad Gallinas, a place. 210
Gallogræcia. 137
Q. Gallius the Prætour, tyrannouſly killed by Auguſtus Cæſar. 49
Gallius Terrinius mindeth to famiſh himſelfe. 63
Corn. Gallus ſhortneth his owne life. 68
His death lamented by Auguſtus Cæſar 68
Games and Shewes exhibited by Auguſtus Cæſar. 58
In Games and Shewes what orders Auguſtus Cæſar put downe, 59
Gemini Fratres, who they be, 5
Genij. 136
Gentlemen Romane Surveied by Auguſtus. 55. 56
Their ſolemne riding. 55
Their eſtate and worth. 56
Germane Embaſſaders well reſpected; 167
Germanician ſoldiers refuſe Tiberius Cæſar, for their Emperour. 100.
Germanicus Cæſar the adopted ſonne of Tiberius Cæſar. 111
Diſgraced by him, 111
Murdred by Piſo, 111
His offices and Acts, 122
His death, 123
His commendable parts, 123
How much beloved, 123, 154
What enſued upon his death, 124
His mariage and yſſew, 124. 125
Geſtures in worſhipping the Gods, 231.
Guelding of males prohibited by Domitian. 263

H

HAlotus a bloud-hound of Nero, 218
Odious to the people, 218
Harpocras, a freedman of Claudius, 169
Haſta pura. 169
Q. Haterius, 101
Heluidius Priſcus over malapert with Veſpaſian the Emperour, 248
Helvidius Priſcus, another Cato. 265
Helvidius the ſonne put to death by Domitian the Emperour, 265
Hirtius Conſul, with his Colleague Plancus ſlaine 41
Hiſtoriographers countenanced by Caius Caligula, 129
Honorarie Games, 53
Hoplomachus, 139
Horoſcope of Auguſtus his Nativitie, 82
Horſe of Iulius Cæſar, 25
Hoſtages of women, 46
Hyeme, 24
Hylas a Pantomime whipped, 60

I

Ianiculum what Hill, 230
Ianus Quirinus Temple ſhut by Auguſtus, 47
Iewiſh Religion cenſured by Tiberius Cæſar, 104
Iewes by him baniſhed, 16
Iewes baniſhed out of Rome, 167
Iewes affected Iulius Cæſar 35
Iewes plagued by Domitian in their paiments, 267
Ilienſians eaſed of Tribute and endewed with immunities. 167
Ilienſian Embaſſadors ſkoffed at by Tiberius Cæſar. 111
Images and Statues how they differ, 225
Incendium a Comædie
Incitatus, the name of an horſe. 149
Inferum mare what ſea, 61
Ira and Iracundia, how they differ, 173

Isauricus, the surname of Servilius, whereupon, 2
Isidorus the Cynicke Philosoper, 200
Isthmus attempted by Caligula, 131
By Nero, 186
Italian Regions, 61
Itius a Dwerfe, 59
Italie peopled and adorned by Augustus Cæsar. 60
Iulia daughter of Cæsar
Dictator, wedded to Pompeius Magnus, 9
Iulia, daughter of Augustus Cæsar wedded to Marcellus and Agrippa, 66
Iulia daughter of Augustus banished and confined, 67
Iulia wife of Tiberius Cæsar convict of Adultery, 94
Iuliæ, daughter and Neice of Augustus, dishonour him, 67
Iuliæ killed by Claudius, 170
Iulius the haven, 43
Iunia Drusilla daughter of Caligula by Cæsonia, 134
Iunius Rusticus put to death by Domitian, 265
Inpiter the Thunderers Temple, 51
Iupiter Tragædus, 65
Iupiter Olympicus, 65.132
Iupiter the Thunderer. 78
Iupiter Custos, 262
Iuvenal pastimes, 183

K

Kalendar reformed by Iulius Cæsar, 17
King of Kings, 124
Kisses forbidden, 104

L

Lambranes, a people, why so called, 4
Laurel checketh lighning, 119
Lawes precisely observed by Tiberius Cæsar, 103
Law-steed what it is. 124
Cn. Lentulius forced to die by Tiberius Cæsar, 109
Lepida, wife to Galba,
Letters new in the Alphabet devised by Claudius, 175
Libels and Libellers not regarded by Augustus, 64
Libels against Nero, 200
Libertines, 166
Chasticed by Claudius the Emperour, 167
Libitina the Goddesse, and her Temple, 200
Libraries maintained by Domitian. 271
Licinius Mutianus governour of Syria, favoureth Vespasian. 244
Licinius Mutianus, a Catamite noted by Vespasian, 247
Livia Drusilla wife of Tiberius Nero, wedded to Augustus Cæsar, 66
Her experiment when shee went with child, 95
Livia Orestilla kept as a paramour by Caius Caligula. 134
Livia Ocellina, wife to Galba the Emperours father, 211
Livilla for Livia, 127
Livius Salinator, 89
Livius Drusus, 89
Locusta professeth poysoning, 195
Lollia Paulina, wedded to Caius Caligula 134
Lone-mony dealt ōut by Augustus Cæsar, 57
Lord. See Dominus,
Lucius a fore-name, reiected by the Claudian Family, 88
Lucus, 88
Lupercal instituted by Augustus, 52
Lustrum, 41
Lycians diffranchised, 167

M

Macteæ, 141
Mæcenas reproved for affectation of new phrases and words 76
For want of of Secrecie and Taciturnity, 68
Mago and Annibal, 265
Male opinari. what it is, 62
Mallia, 70
Mallonia filthily abused by Tiberius Cæsar, 108
Her death. ibidem
Malum, 201
Mans ordinary stature and weight. 59
Mariage betweene Gentry & cōmons, 54
Mariage urged and rewarded, 54
Mariage betweene cousin Germans allowed by Claudius. 168
Mars the Revenger his Temple built by Augustus Cæsar, 51
The use thereof, ibid
Masgabas and his tombe. 84
Masintha reskued out of trouble by Iuli. Cæsar, 28
Massilia standeth out against Iul. Cæsar, 15

Masters misusage of their servants, 167
Matian appuls, 271
Mausoleum of Augustus, 86
Maxima and Maximilla 264
Maximi Ludi, what Plaies, 183
Medioxunn, 136
C. Memmius his invectives against Iulius Cæsar, 28
Freinded by him, ibid
Menecrates the harper advanced by Nero.
Messallina the Empresse wedded to C. Silius, 168
Messallina the Empresse by commandement of her husband Claudius killed, 174
Metius Pomposianus, 248
Put to death by Domitian 264
Minervaes Targuet, 235
Mirmillones what Fencers, 137. 149
How armed, 257
Mnester a Pantomime, 139
Favoured by Caligula, 148
Modius, what mesure, 214
Monomachi. 137
Monopolium. 119
More maiorum what it is 105
What punishment is ment thereby? 266
A Mule foaleth, 212.
Mummia Achaira, wife of Galba the Emperours Father. 211
Musicke games of prise instituted by Nero at Olympia, 189

N

Narcissus a favorite & Minion of Claudius the Emperour, 169
Naumachia, what place, 191
Naumachie, or Navall battailes exhibited by Augustus Cæsar, 58
Exhibited by Iulius Cæsar, 17
Nemorensis Rex. 139
Nepos, surnamed of Cæcilius Metellus 6
Nero, what it signifieth, 88
Nero the Emperour his birth. 181
In daunger to be murdred, 181
His acts in his childhood, 181
He entreth vpon the Empire. 181
His shew of Piety and kindnesse, 182
His semblance of Bounty, Clemencie, Courtesie and Humanity 183
His showes exhibited, 183
He shutteth the Temple of Ianus 185
His manner of Iurisdiction, 185
His order in conferring dignities, 185
His buildings. 185
His martiall exploits, 186
His extraordinary love to Musicke, 187.188
Is excused, 201
Given much to horsemanship and charioting. 188, 190
Strived for the Criers Coronet. 190
He tryumpheth for victorie in games of prise, 190
His unruly wildnesse, 191
His shrewd prankes, 191
His riotousnesse, 191
His loose life and filthinesse, 192
He wedded Sporus, 192
His lavish expense, 193
His golden house, 193
His outrageous and enormious workes, 194
His pilling and oppression of the people 194
His sacriledge, 194.195
His bloudy murdres and paricides 195
His unnaturall cruelty to his own mother 195.196
He is stung with the worme of Conscience 196
Forsaken of the French. 201
Deluded by the Oracle at Delphi. 201
His carelesnesse of the State 202
His bloudy designments 202.203
His warlike voiage, 203
His exactions, 203
Forewarned of his death, 204
His fearefull dreames. 204
His desperate case, 205
He flyeth from Rome 205
His death. 207. 209
His funerals. 207
His Stature, Feature, Shape &c. ib.
His Attire, 207
Given naturally to Poetry, 207
He delighted in painting, 208
He was Popular. 208
Irreligious, 208
He murdreth his Ant Domitia, 197
His wives, ib.
He slew Atticus Vestinus, ib.
He killeth Poppæa, 197
His cruelty to his kinsfolke and Affinity 197
He poysoneth his freedmen, 198
Intendeth a massacre of the Nobility. 198
His cruelty to all in general. 198
Malitiously bent to the Senate. 199
He setteth Rome on fire, 199
Neronia, what Games. 184

Nero-

Neroneus Neropolis, 208
New yeeres gifts restrained, 104
Nicopolis, built by Augustus Cæsar, 45
P. Nigidius a great Astrologer, 80
Niobe. 188
Niobe and other parts acted by Nero upon the stage, 188
Nollem factum, 28
Nomenclators, 45
Nonæ. 97
Nonæ ominous dayes, 79
C. Nonius Asprenas honoured with a colar of gold. 58
Called thereupon Torquatus, 58
Novatus slightly chasticed by Augustus Cæsar, 62
Numerius Atticus, 85
Nundinæ. 75
Nundinæ, ominous dayes. 79

O

Obnuntiare what it is, 8
Ocellatæ vestial votaries and sisters, put to death for Incest, 264
Octavia wife of Nero. 197
Put away ib.
Murdred by Nero. 197
Octavij whence they are descended, 37
Octavius the father of Augustus, 38
His Acts, ib. & 39
His dreames, 8
An office, a Voluptatibus, 107
Oppius kindly intreated by Iulius Cæsar 28
Origines of Cato, 77
Orthographie of Augustus Cæsar. 77
Otho the Emperour his progenitors 222
L. Otho father of the Emperour, 222
His praise, 223
Otho the Emperour his birth, 223
The wild prankes of his youth, 223
Put in hope of the Empire by Seleucus 224
His popularitie. 224
Farre in debt. 224
Conspireth against Galba ib.
Saluted Emperour, 225
Accepteth the surname Nero 225
Murdereth Galba and Piso, 225
Haunted with the ghost of Galba, 225
Faithfully beloved of his Prætorian soldiers, 225
His death foretokened. 226
He is defaited, 227
Minded to kill himselfe, 227
He intended to wed Messallina Neroes widdow. 227
Detested civill warre, 227
Killed himselfe. 228
His stature, proportion and habit. 228
Beloved of his soldiers, 228

P

Paconius put to death by Tiberius Cæsar, 116
Pæderastie condemned, 44
Pædia Law. 180
Pætus Thraseas, killed by Nero, 198
Paidica Græcis.
Palilia. 129
Pallas, a freed man of Claudius, 169
Pansa Consull with Hirtius his Collegue slaine, 41
Pantomime 139, 61
Paris the actour envied by Nero, 208
Parricidium, what day? 36
Parthian hostages respectively honored by Augustus Cæsar.
Pater patriæ, a title conferred upon Augustus Cæsar, 65
Patres familias. 65
Peace maintained by Tiberius Cæsar, 104
Peculium. 96
Peere at Ostia. 163
Peristylium. 51
Petoritum. 24
Pestilence in Rome. 200. 257
Petreius his Treacherie, 29
Petronia wife of A. Vitellius the Emperour. 232
Phagita pardoned by Iulius Cæsar. 29
Pharnaces K. of Pontus subdued by Iul. Cæsar Dictatour. 15
Phengites a stone, 268
Philemon a traytor to Iuli. Cæsar, 29
Phœbe hangeth her selfe, 67
Phonascus, 76
Cn. Piso worketh the death of Germanicus Cæsar. 123
Piso adopted by Galba, 218. 224
Piso slaine by the Spaniards, 4
Piso his conspiracie. 198
Pitholaus his railing verses against Cæsar 30
Players upon the stage restrained by Domitian. 263
Plaudite, 84
A. Plautius abused and killed by Nero. 197
Pluto, why so called. 226
Polybius a favorite of Claudius, 169
Poligamie, 22

Pomgranate a place, 259
Pomp of funeralls. 34
Pompeius Magnus ſonne in law of Claudius, 169
Murdred, 170
Poppæa Sabina common to Nero and Otho. 223
Poſides an Eunuch & freed man of Claudius, 169
Poſt-curriers ordained by Auguſtus Cæſer, 62
Poſtumus who it is. 34
Prodigies portending Galbaes deſtruction. 209
Promoters or informers plagued by Titus the Emperour. 257
Puniſhed by Domitian. 265
Proſcription in time of the Triumvirate rigorouſly executed by Auguſtus Cæſar. 49
Pſylli. 45
Ptolomæus Auletes. 5
Puerperium what it ſignifieth. 125
Pulvinar, 60.155.267
Pylades the player baniſhed, 60
Pyrallis a Courteſan, paramour of Caligula. 140
Pyrrhich dance. 16

Q

Quindecemvirs. 214
Quirites. 28
Quinquatria.. 196

R

Rabirius poſtumus. 161
Regaviolus. 33
Religions foraine prohibited by Tiberius Cæſar, 104
Retiarij, what they were. 137
Rhinoceros ſhewed in Rome, 59
Rhodians reſtored to their freedome, 167
Roiall ſpoiles. 153
Romane names not to be uſed by Aliens, 167
Romane yeeres when they began? and how reckoned? 1
Roſcia law, 56
Rufinus Criſpinus murdered by Nero, 197

S

Salaria Via. 247
Salij preiſts of Mars, 171
Salvidienus Orcitus put to death by Nero. 198
Salvius Liberalis a Lawier. 247
Salvius Cocceianus put to death by Domitian. 265
Saluſtius Lucullus put to death by Domitian. 265
Scæva his valour, 27
Scribonia divorced from Auguſtus. 66
Scribonius an Aſtrologer, 95
Scribonius Libo conſpireth againſt Tiberius Cæſar. 100
Seale or ſignet of Auguſtus Cæſar, 62
Secular plaies, 52.164.231
Secutores, what fencers. 137
Ael. Seianus put to death by Tiberius Cæſar. 112.115
His death plotted by him, 117
Seleucus the Aſtrologer, 224
Seleucus the Grammarian put to death by Tiberius Cæſar, 112
Sempronia Law. 10
Senatours number reſtrained. 54
Senatours ſonnes honoured by Auguſtus Cæſar. 55
Senatours eſtate augmented by Auguſtus Cæſar. 57
Seneca taxed by Caligula, 148
Seneca ſchoolemaiſter to Nero, 198
Done to death by him. 198
Septimontiall ſacrifice, 262
A Serpent Dragon, 120
A Serpent 50 cubits long, 59
Seſtertium in the Neuter Gendre, 193
Sextants. 73
Sextarius. 73
Sextilis the moneth named Auguſtus, 53
Signes obſerved by Auguſtus, 79
Silanus put to death by Claudius 173
Sociale Bellum. 47
Soldierie well rewarded by Auguſtus, 61.62
Spæreſterium. 249
Spelunca what place, 106
Spicillus the Fencer. 193
Spœrus a great ſcholer. 77
Spintriæ. 107.232
Expelled by Caligula, 129
Sportula. 164
Spurina a famour Soothſayer, 33
Stage players and Swordſenſers expenſes cut ſhort, 103
Statues of ſilver refuſed by Auguſtus.
Stephanio an Actour baniſhed, 60
Strange thinges exhibited by Auguſtus Cæſar to be ſeene, 59
Subdival. 51
Suburra. 19
Suggeſtum comæ. 207

Suing indirectly for Offices reformed. 56
Sulla the Dictatour his speech of Iulius Cæsar. 2
Sumptuaria lex: 18:53,54
Superum mare. 61
Supra-numerum. 166
Syracusæ: 71

T

TAlent of silver: 22
Tedius Afer driven by Augustus Cæsar to kill himselfe. 232
Temples refused by Augustus Cæsar. 62
Tenants how they dwelt in Rome. 232
Terentilla. 69
Tertulla, &c. ibidem
Tetrinius, 137
τεχνοφυον. 71
Thalamegos an Ægyptian Galley or Barge. 21
Theatralis law. 56
Theodorus Gadareus his saying of Tiberius Cæsar. 113
Thessalian Vawlters. 164
Tholi. 70
Thraces what Fencers: 137,149
Threces. See Thraces.
Thrasyllus the Astrologer, 95,131
Thunder and lightning Augustus feared: 78
Tiberius Cæsar his descent and pedigree. 89
His Fathers constancie. 89
Tiberius Father, yeelded his wife Livia Drusilla to Augustus. 90
Tiberius Cæsar his birth. 90
His infancie and childhood: 90
Adopted by Gallius: 91
His youth: 91
He weddeth Agrippina. 91
He divorceth her: 91
He weddeth Iulia: 91
Forsaketh her: 91
His civill employments. 92
His martaill exploits: 92
His Oration and Triumph: 92
His Magistracies: 92
His purpose to forsake Rome, and retire himselfe: 92
His departure from Rome to Rhodes: 93
His behaviour at Rhodes: 93
His suite to returne: 94
His dangers at Rhodes, 94
His returne. 95
His hopes of the Empire: 95
Adopted by Augustus, 96
His promotions, ibidem
His hard warfare in Illyricum: 96
His prosperous successe, 96
His Honours, 96
His circumspect providence in warre-affaires: 97
His martiall Discipline: 97
His superstitious observations, 97
Like to have beene murdred, 97
His Triumph: 97
His thankfull munificence to Baton, 97
He feasteth the people of Rome: 98
He entreth vpon the Empire, 99
His manner of refusing the Empire, controlled: 100
He distrusteth Libo: 100
His civill cariage at his first entrance: 100 101
He hated flatterie: 101
He contemned Libels, &c: 101
He debaseth himselfe overmuch to his Senatours: 102
His respect of the Senate: 102
His courteous humanity, 103
His moderation, 103
His worthy Apothegme: 103
He looseth both his sonnes, 105
Retireth himselfe into Campania: 105
Escapeth a great danger: 106
His neglect of the weale publick: 106
His drunkennesse and gluttonie, 106
His nick-names, 106,107
His Nigardise, 108
His covetousnesse, 109
His polling and pilling, 109
His hard hart to his wife Iulia, 109
His hatred to his kinsfolk, 109
His unkindnesse to Livia his owne Mother. 110
His quarell unto her, 110
Hee starved to death Nero and Drusus his Nephewes, 112
His cruelty unto Noble Romane Citizens, 102
His close and cruell nature: 113,114
His cruelty to Greeke professours, 112
His open cruelty, 114,115
He devised new torments, 116
Hated of the world. 116
In continuall feare, ibidem,
Exposed to the reviling taunts of men: 117
His stature, feature, &c, 118
Irreligious, 119
Fearefull of Thunder and Lightning, 119
His Studies and Writings, 119
He forbare to speake Greeke, 119
He was very healthfull, 118

He falleth ſicke, 120
His death, 120,121
His death foreſhewed, 121
It contenteth the people, 121
His corps burnt, 121
His will and teſtament,
Tigellinus a bloud-hound of Nero, odious to the people, 219
A Tigre ſhewed by Auguſtus, 59
Tillage maintained by Auguſtus, 58
prouided for by Domitian. 263
Tiridates ſhewed at Rome, 184
Titus the Emperour his commendation, 253
His birth and education, 253
Poyſoned with Britannicus, 254
He loued Britannicus entirely, ib
His good parts, 254
His war-ſeruice, 254
He divorſeth Martia Flauia, ib
Hee aſſaulteth and forceth at Hieruſalem, 255
Saluted Emperour, 255
Suſpected of his Father, 255
He cleereth himſelfe, 255
Hee ruleth the Empire ioynetly with his Father, 255
His violent and cruell demeanor, 255
Suſpected for riotous life, 255
For wantonneſſe, ib
For extortion, ib
His honeſt converſation and princely cariage euery way, 256
His ſumpteous ſpectacles, 256
A moſt gracious Prince, 256
What miſhaps fell out in his dayes, 257
His clemencie, 257
Forlayde by his owne brother Domitian, 258
His vntimely death, 258
Honoured after death, 258
A treaſurie erected by Auguſtus Cæſar for Souldiers, 62
Tribunes of Com. created out of Gentlemen. 56
Triumphirate 55
Troie warlike game, 17,58
Tropæi, 156
Tunicati, 137
Tuſcus killed by Nero. 198

V

VAlerius Catullus abuſed by Caligula, 240
Varonilla a veſtal votarie put to death for inceſt, 264
Varus his ouerthrow, 47,96
Vatinia Law, 9
Venice gulfe, 15
Venus Erycines Temple, 167
Veſtal Virgins of what reſpect, 89
Vindex rebelleth, 201
Polla Veſpaſia mother of Veſpaſian the Emperour, 240
Veſpaſian the Emperours birth, 240
His Education. ib
He eſpouſeth Flauia Domitilla 241
His Martiall exploits, 241,242
Surnamed in mockerie, Mulio, 241
In diſgrace with Nero, 242
His empire foreſignified by ſundrie ſignes, 242. 243.
Friended by Vologeſus King of the Parthians. 244.
How he acquired princely maieſtie, 245
He triumphed ouer the Iewes, 245
He reformeth militarie diſcipline, 245
His care to repaire buildinges in Rome, 246
His workes and buildings, 246
Hee reformeth the iudiciall Courts, &c. 246
He repreſſeth vnbridled luſt & lauiſh expence, 246,247
Not vaineglorious, 247
His patience, 247
His mercie and pittie, 248
Noted for Avarice, 248,249
A maintainer of learning and learned men 249
Surnamed Cybia factes. 249
His ſtature, &c. 249
Given to skurrile skoffs, 250
His prety jeſts, 250,251
His death, 251
Vibius Criſpus his ſaying of Domitian, 261
Vineyards goe to decay vnder Domitian, 263
Vinicius his conſpiracie, 258
Viſcecratio what it is, 16
Viſitation of forraine Provinces and Cities by Auguſtus Cæſar, 61
Vitellia a goddeſſe reputed, 230
A. VITELLIVS the Emperour his riſing, 231
His deſcent and Pedigree, 229
230
His moderate behauiour in the Prouince, 232
His lewde Demeanour in Rome Cittie 232
His birth, 231

He

He killeth his own ſonne Petronianus, 232
Driven to extremities for neede 232
His unſeemely affability and popularity, 232,233
Proclaimed Imperator, 233
Surnamed Germanicus, ib.
Refuſeth other titles in his ſtyle, 233
His exemplarie Iuſtice done upon traytors 234
His inſolencie and pride. 234
Surnamed Spintria, 231
Sumteous at his table, 230
He ſacrificeth to the Ghoſt of Nero, 234
His gluttonie, 235
His Platter, 235
His cruelty, 235
Vnto Aſtrologers eſpecially, 236
Impious to his mother, 236
His largeſſes, 236
Minded to reſigne up the Empire, 137
He fireth Iupiters Temple upō the Capitol
Surnamed Concord, 237
Murdred with ſhamefull indignities, 238
His ſhape and ſtature. 238
He maketh head againſt Otho. 226
P. Vitellius. 230
Q. Vitellius removed frō the Senate, 230
P. Vitellius cutteth his owne veines, 230
L. Vitellius doted vpon a woman, 230
Devoted to Caius Cæſar, 230
To Meſſallina, 231
His death, 231
Vltimum ſupplicium what it is, 56
Vologeſus affected to Nero, 209
Volucer the horſe of Verus the Emperor, 149
Vonones perfidiouſly killed by the means of Tiberius Cæſar, 109

W

Wayfaring men how they ſhould travell 167
Wine not allowed by Auguſtus, 57
Winter moneths which they be, 2

Z

Zeno confined by Tiberius Cæſar, 112

AN INDEX TO THE Annotations.

A

Accenſus, what officer. 3,b
Acclamations, 39,b
Adoptions of ij. ſorts 15,a
Adulteria. 25.b
Aegle the Romane Maineſtandard, 7,a
Aeneas kind to his father Anchiſes, 31.b
Agrippæ who they be: 21.a
Ajax. 9,a
Alcmæon killed Eriphyle his owne mother, 31,b
Alexandrea in Aegypt, 8,a
Allienſis dies, 35,a
Amazones what woman, 4,a
De Ambitu, Lawes, 13,a
Amphora what meaſure, 23,b
Ambubaiæ, 30,b
Ancilia, 34,b
Annales or annariæ Lawes 12,b
Why ſo called? 25,a
Annonæ 13,b
Anticatones, 7,a
Anticyra, 27,a
Antipater Sidonius his Ague 17,a
Apis, what Idol, 18,b
Απροκλονιωτωσις. 41,a
Apollo Pæan, 31,b
Apollo Hecatebeletes, 31,b
Apoplexie. 35,a
Appeale unto the people, 2.a
Area, 38,b
Armie Romane, 11,b
Artaxerxes Mnemon, 14,b
As, 20,a
Aſpis the Serpent, 11,b
Aſprenas Nonius accuſed for poyſoning 14,b
Ασφαγαλομαντις. 21,b
Atellane Comædies, 24,b
Atricapilla what bird, 23,b
Attæ, who they be: 21,a
Augures and Augurium: 12,b
Auguralis cæna 13?a
Auguſtales, prieſts: 33:a
Sodales: 19,b
Auguſtus Cæſar puniſheth Adulterie, 13,a
Favoureth the Iewiſh religion 18,b
Aurei Romani, what peeces, 53,b
Automatum, 28:b

B

Balls to play with divers ſorts 17,b
Baſilides, 36.b
Bathing much: 17.b
Biberius, 23.a
Biſſextile or Leape yeere: 5,b
Blackebird commended, 23,b
Bombi. 30,a
Bonum Factum, 8,a,25,b
*Βοθυσία, ſignifieth a great ſacrifice: a word compounded of βοϛ, which is σπιτάλικον and θυσία 1. or of βοϛ ς.i. Bos an ox. And ſuch were their Hecatombæ, whereat a thouſand oxen were killed. 29,12,d
Bracata Gallia, 3.b
Bracæ or Brachæ. 8,a,17,b
Bridges in Campus Martius: 8,a
Brutus ſuppoſed to be Iulius Cæſars ſonne 8,b
Buſaucheres. 24,a

C

Cænæ Adijciales, 19,b
Cæſar in a duple ſignification, 38,b
Caius Cæſar killed, 15.a
C. Cæſar his ſodaine death, 1,a
C, Iulius Cæſar how deeply endebted 13.a
Calcei Lunati, 13,a
Caldus 23,a
Caliga what it is, 25,b
Caligati. what ſoldiers? 12,a
Caligula exceſſive in table expences. 27,b
Caligula counterfaiteth thunder and lightning, 27,b
Callipides 23,a
Camp duple why prohibited, 38,a
Canace 30,a
Cancers, what they be, 15.b
Candidates. 4,a,14,b,15.a
Candida Toga differeth from Alba, 4,a
Caninius Rebilus his Conſulate, 7,b
Canis, what chaunce 16,a
Capitolium, 27.b
Cardiaca Cardialgia, 28.b
Carmelus, 36,a
Caſca and Caſſius, 8,b
Caſtor hardly intreated by Caligula. 26,b
Caudex. 21,a
Cauneas. 18,b

Centumviri. 13.a
Centumuiralis haſta, 36,a
*Ceres prieſtreſſes named Antiſtitæ for their holmeſſe & chaſtitie, were no leſſe honored at Athens, thā the Veſtal Nuns in Rome. 29,12,e
Chariotiers factions howe diſtinguiſhed. 29,a
Chius, what chaunce, 16,a
Cicero what hee ſaid as touching his brothers Demy-perſonage. 25,b
Cinædus, 15,b
Circenſes Games, 5,a
When exhibited? 22,b
Ciſalpine Gaule. 3,b
Civick guirland. 1,b. 22,b
Civility in Emperours, 14,a
Civil, in Suetonins, what it ſignifieth. 25,a
Claudius the Emperour, compared to a dumb Player in a Shew, 28,b
Clients and Patrons, 1,b
Climacterick yeere: 9,b
Coleta, what place: 5,b
Colonies, 13,b
Colonies Latine, 2,a
Coloſſeros, 27,a
Coloſſus. 36,b
Comata Gallia, 3,b
Comitiales Leges, what Lawes, 25,a
Comitialis morbus. See Falling-Sickneſſe.
Comitium what place, 2,a
Commilitones, 12,a
Comædies the olde, and who wrote them, 18,a
Congiaries, 4,b
Conſuls reckoned for Soveraine Magiſtrates after the free State. 26,b
Copæ: 30,b
Cornelia Law. 13,a
Cous, what chaunce, 16,a
Criers for the beſt Game: 30
Cubiculum, what it ſignifieth, 29,b
Curia and Curio, 2,b
Cutiliæ what waters, 36,b
Cybele, 15,b
Cynicks, 36,a

D

DEceres, what Galley, 27,b
Decuriones what they are, 13,b
Depilatoræ medicinæ: 34,b
Dialects: 23.b
Dialis, 7,b
Dialis cæna, 13,a
Dictare &
Dictator, 7,b
Diviſores what they are, 3,a.10.a
Divortium what it is. 1,a
Dog tied at the Porters Lodge, 35,b
Domini Inſularum. 31,b
Dominus. 14,a
Domitian more Sanguinarie than Nero. 39,a
Dragon creeping. 24,b
Dropſies of three kindes. 29,a
Druſilla, Claudius the Emperours wife: 28,a
Dulciarius. 23,a

E

ELlebor, where the beſt. 26:a
Emblemata. 24.b
Epulones. 19:b
Equeſtria, what place in the Theatre at Rome. 28.a
Ἐρρῶσο, καὶ ὑγίαινε ominous wordes. 34.a
Erycina Venus. 28,a
Eutychus: 19,a
Executions, in what place of the Campe they were done? 34.a
Exploratores, who they are. 27.b

F

FAbius Maximus commended. 22:a
Factions of Plaiers, 30.a
Fæminalia and Tibialia, 17,a:b
Falling ſickneſſe. 6,
Faſting from all foode, howe long tolerable 14.b
Feſtina lente, 12,a
Ficedula what bird. 23.b
Flamins. 1.a7.b
Flaviani, Prieſts, 33:a
Flavius Clemens a Proſelyte and Chriſtian, 39,a
Foole or Phyſician, 24,a
Fora, 12,b
Fricaſies reprehended by Cornelius Celſus. 36,b
Funales, what horſes. 21,b

G

GAlli: 32.b
Galli Prieſts of Cybele. 15,b
Games ſacred which they were. 30:a
Genius of the Emperour: 26.b
Gentlemen in youth how trained vp: 1,a
Gentlemen of Rome, their eſtate? 4:b
Germaniciani who they be: 22,b:34.b
Geſtation, what exerciſe. 36.b

Goales in the Cirque. 5.b
Gods and Goddesses Select, 16.a
Gowne, the Romane habite, 13.b
Græcia Magna, 11.a
Graphium. 8,b.27.a
Gymnick Games, and Gymnasium 19.b 29.b

H

Hare commended, 23.b
Halles of Iustice. 12.b
Hecatebeletes. 31.b
Height of men. 16.b.24,a
Hemiplegia, 35,a
Hercules enraged, 30.a
Hersilia, 33,b
Hidroa, 24,a
Hieronicæ, 30,a

I

HS. what it signifieth, and so forth, 4,a
Ianus Quirinus his Temple, 11,b
Icarus and his fable, 29.b
Ides of the moneth, 13,a
Iewes, put for Christians 28,a
Ilium, 8,a
Imbrices, 30,a
imperator how diversly taken, 22.b
Impudicitia, 6,b
Inferiæ, 9,b
Inheritances Testamentariæ and Legitimæ, 1,a
Insertæ, 24,b
Insula, 31,b
Iovis Epulum, 13.a
Ira and Iracundia how they differ. 28, b
Isthmus, 6,a
Iulia Law, 13,a
Iulius the moneth, 7,b
Iulius Montanus, 30.b
Iupiter his Enfignes, 27.b
Ius, what it is. 23,a
Iustitium at Rome what it betokeneth, 25.b
Iuvenalia, 29,b
Iuvenes secundi ordinis, 30,b

K

Kalends of Ianuarie, 2,b
Καύσεα, what it is, 31,a
King of Kings. 25,b
Knights Living what it was, 28,b

L

Laberius quitteth Cicero with a scoffe, 5.a,b
Lares, Lararium, 25,a
Latro, 27,a
Latus Clavus and Laticlavij. 13,a,36,a
Law Sempronia. 3.b
Cn. Lentulus of great wealth. 23.b
M. Lepidus his death, 1,b
Levana, what Goddes, 10,a
Libellers punished, 14,b
Libera Legatio 22,b
Libertines, who they were. 1.a.12,a
Librarie at Alexandrea. 39.b
Linigeri. 38.a
Litare. 19.a
Livia the Empresse what names shee had, 20.b
Lorarij, why so called, 27.a
Loxias, an Attribute of Apollo, 32.a
Luperci. 7.b
Lustrum. 19.a

M

Mactæ, 19,a
Mæcenas noted to be Vxorius, 15.b
Taxed for curious trimming of himselfe, and for affectate speech. 18.a
Mænius, and Mæniana, 25,b
Magistrates Superiour and Inferiour, 2,b
Magistrates at Rome who were properly called. 29,b
Mancipatio, what it is, 15,a
Mariage enforced by Law. 13,a
Mars the revenger and his Temple. 11.b
Mater Deum what Goddesse. 15.b
Matronalia, 36,b
Mausoleum. 20,a
Maxima vestalis. 9.a.20.a
Melanocoryphus what bird. 23.b
Mellita bellaria, 23.a.30,b
Mercurius his Ensigne, 27,b
Mero. 23,a
Metellus perswadeth for Mariage. 18,b
Milliarium in Rome, what it was 34.a
Mimi what they be 5,a
Mirmillones. 27,b
Mirtitrichila 30,b
Mioneres, a Galley 27,b
Monopolie 24,b
Morari 31.a
Mortalities with pestilence. 31,b

N

Nauphilus 32.a
Nemesis, 18,b
Neptunes mace, 27,b
Nero, what it signifieth, 21.a
Nestors cup in Homer 32,b
Nicon 19.a
Nomi in Aegipt, 32.b
Nominalia 29.b
Nones of the Moneth 13.b
Novæ Tabulæ 5,b
Nundina what Goddesse 29, b
Nundinæ 18,b

Ocellatæ

O

Ocellatæ, 18.a
Octophorum what Licter, 22,b
Oedipus. 30,a
Ops. 10.a,15,b
Optimates who they be, 2,a:b
Optimus Maximus. 7,b,8.a
Orbis in ij, significations, 15,b
Orcheſtra, 5,a,28,a
Orcus, 22:a
Oreſtes killed his mother, 30.a,31,b
Otho his coſtly feaſting of Nero, 30.b
His effeminacie. 34.b
Ovatio. 11.b
Ovilia. 22.a

P

Pæan. 31:b
Pagani, 33.b
Pelilia, what feaſt, 25,b
Palmularius. 38,b
Papia Poppæa Law. 13,a,28.a
Parricidium a day, 9.b
Parricidium what crime. 5.b.6.a
Parricides puniſhment. 12.b,13,a
puniſhed by Claudius. 28,b
Paſiphae. 29,b
Pater familias. 38.a
Patrones and Clients. 11.a
Pegmares, and Pegmatis. 26.b
Pemmata, 23,a
Pentathlon. 5,b
Perduellionis crime 2,a
Periodicall diſeaſes 17.a
Phaeton and his fabulous hiſtorie, 25,b
Phaleræ, 31,a
Pheſants why called Phaſiani: 26,a
Φλαυρος. 36.b
Φυλλοβολία. 36.a
De. Plano. 23.a
Pleiſtobolinda, 31,a
Pluto, 32.a
Polemones, Kings of Pontus, 30.a
Polycrates glutted with proſperity, 18.b
Polyphagus and Phagon. 31:a
Pontificialis cæna. 13,a
Pontificum cænæ 28,b
Populares who they are. 2.a.b
Popularia, what place in the Theatre, 28.a
Pound Romane 33.b
Prætexta what Robe. 2,b
Prætextata verba. 36,b
Prætorian ſoldiours: 22,a
Principia, what place in the Camp, 34,a
Profani. 31,a
Province what it ſignifieth, 3.a
Provinciæ Cæſare. 13,b
Præſidiariæ. ib.
Populi. ib.
Prætoriæ, Conſulares: 14.a
Pſylli. 11,a
Ptolemæes counted dead: 11,b
Publicanes, 12:a:3.b
Pulvinar. 7:b
Pyrrhick daunces, 5,a
Pythagoras. 31:a

Q

Quadrageſima. 36:a
Quindecemuirs, 8:a:19:b
Quinquatria: 16:a
Quintana: 30,b
Quintilis what Moneth. 7.b
Quirites: 7:a

R

Rectæ Cænæ. 29:b
Regall enſignes what they be: 26:a
Regaliolus, what bird, 8,a
Regions of Rome City. 5,a,10.a
Repudium what it is. 1.a
Retiarij what fenſers: 27:b
Rex Nemorenſis: 27:b
Rhegium, why ſo called: 10:b
Riding of Romane Gentlemen. 3,b
Ring-finger. 4:b
Rings of gold and yron: 19:b
Rogatio, what it is. 1,b
Romane playes, 22,b
Roſaria: 30:b
Roſcia Law: 10:b
Roſtra: 20:a
Rutuli or Rufuli, 1,b

S

Sabbats: 16:b
Sagatio: 34:a
Saliares Epulæ: 28.b
Salinator whereof he tooke that name: 21:b
Sardina, a peſtilent place: 23.a
Saturnalia. 36.b
How and when celebrated, 25.b
Scalæ Gemoniæ, 23:b
Scarus a delicate fiſh. 35.b
Scatinia Law. 13.a
Scelerata porta and Sceleratus vicus: 28.a
Sciatica: 17:a
Scutarij, what Soldiers. 14.b
Seale of Rome, 18.b
Seſtiones et Suturæ. 35.a
Secular Games. 12,b
Selena: 26,b
Senatours badges, 13.a
Septemvirs, 19,b
Septizonium, 37,a

Seſtertius what place, 33,b
Sordidati, 21,b
Speculatores and Spiculatores, 33. b,16,b
Sphinx. 14,a
Spongia, 18,a
Sportulæ, 29,b
Stature of men. See Heighth.
Stæchades what Ilands, 28,a
Strangurie, 17,a
Subegit, in a duple ſence. 6,b
Sudamina. 24,a
Sulla proſcribeth the Marian Faction, 2.a
Sumptuariæ Lawes, 6,a,13,a
Suovetaurilia, what ſacrifice, 19,a
Supplication what it is, 4,a
Suſtulit in a duple ſenſe 31,b
Swimming commended 15,a
Syracuſæ 16,a

T

Tabellariæ Naves, 30,a
Tili, 31,a
Talorum Luſus, 16,a
Templum, 19,a
Tertia deducta eſt, 6,b
Teſſera, 33.a
Teſtæ. 30,a
Tetraones what birds, 26.a
Τεχνοφυον. 16,a
Theatralis law. 10.b
Thenſæ. 7,a
Thraces or Threces what ſenſers. 27.b
Thraſeas Pætus, judicially cõvented 30. a
Thraſyllus a great Aſtrologer 21, b, 22, a
Thunder in faire wether, 37,b
Tiberius Cæſar noted by Anguſtus, 22. a
Tiberius, the younger, his pittifull death: 26:a
Tibur City, an healthie place: 23:a
Tiridates, a great magician: 31:a
Tithing of men: 7:a
Titles, what they be. 37:a
Toga Græcanica. 38.a
Togata Gallia. 3:b
Tollendum. 10:b
Tribes Vrbane and Ruſtique: 2:b
Tribunes of the commons Inviolable: 2:a
Tribunes Militarie: 1:b
Triumphalis cæna: 13:a
Triumphal ornaments: 13:b:22:a
Triumvirate: 10:a
Troie Turnament: 5:b
Troica: 32:a
Tropæe, what it was: 33 a
Tunicati: 27:b
Turdus See Blackebird:

V

Vallare Coronets: 12:a
Varro' 6:a
Venus what chance: 16:a
Venus Genitrix: 7:a
Veraculi or vericuli: 35,b
Veratrices: ib.
Veſtal virgins peacemakers: 1.a
Veſtall Nuns conuicted of Incontinencie in what ſort buried quicke, 38:a
Veteres, 20,a
Viaticum, what it is: 7.a
Victorie her Image. 33.a
Vindex. 32.b
Virile robe, 10.a
Viſire what it is. 28.b
Voconia Law. 20.b
Vomiting much. 35.b
Vowes, 19.a. The forme thereof: 22,b
Vxorij. 35.a

W

VVars, wherof they take name. 11.b
Water-ſnake. 28.b

X

Xyſtici what ſpectacles. 13.b

Z

Zenodorus an Architect 36:b
Zopyrus a Phyſiognomer, 37.a

FINIS.

Faults eſcaped in the Hiſtorie and Marginall Gloſſe.

PAge,3,Line,33. Fault. for Miſteries, read Myſteries.l,35.leave out, That is,pa. 10 l,47, for, who wel, read who had deſerved well. p,15,l.9, in the Ma. for Venus.r,Venice.p,17,l,32,in the Mar.r.Calendis Ianuarijs novis. p,18,l,19,for trial,r, traine. l,34,in the m. for with.r.both.p,22,l,27.of Legions of, r.of 10 Legions;of p.27,l,33,gate, r.guard,for port,r,fort.l34.before.Maſsilia,r,before Maſſilia.p,30,l. 17,in the Marg,forme,r,Forum,p,32,l,3, ioyned r. ioyed, l,25 Decius r, Decimus Calpuinar, Calpurnial 19 Decius r, Decimus l. 24 ther his p 32 ther and the l 26 Beautifull r bountifull l 29 Alvernus r Avernus l 11 bare r bearing, for Aegypt where,r Aegypt. Where l 22 in r into l 40 in the Marg,mungrel r Libertine p 48 l 29 with a r with as p 50 l 41 Palatinus r Palatium; l 19 in the Marg, Praſſoria r Prætoria l 17 ſpaces r ſpouſes p 58 l 32 devour r devoir p 59 l 1 L, IVIVS L. ITIVS p 60 l 11 pleaſure r his pleaſure for contentment,r contentment wherein, p 61 l 1 hands r hands and p 64 l 4 opened, r opined l 17 leſſe of r leſſe,and of p 65 l 13 wiſhes r oſſes p 66 l 39 in the Marg, Lotapas r Iotapas p 68 l 44 then to be any r than any l 39 in the marg. Terenthia r Terentia, p 70 l 4 adulterium: r adulteria. p 71 l Senio n,r Senio,l 41 not with r not ſo much with l 46 in the mar. Belluar. r Belluarum. Whales within pooles, r Whales, whirpooles p 72 l 16 in the marg. or r in l 37 in the marg. Baffors, Buffons. p 74 l 26 in the marg. Caſanvon r Caſaubon l 36 in the marg. charlicter r licter l 40 in the marg,veneres r delicias p 76 l 13 or leſſer more or leſſe l 49 in the marg ſweat r ſweet balmes p 81 l 2 by the r about the l 40 in the marg. or r are l 46 in the marg. infigured r prafigured p 82 l 29 like enſued r like end enſue p 89 l 26 Senatours r Senones l 49 opened r opined l 22 and alſo r and all p 96 l 3 in the ma. ofa: yeeres r of two yeeres. p 102 l 22 what, in r what ſand in p 103 l 9 both when r both. When p 109 l 6 lateſt r later p 110 l 42 in the marg.r Latumiam p 115 l 34 Iemoniæ r Gemoniæ 11 6 l 18 cariage r Carnage p 119 l 1 or had r or ſence l 28 cheere you frowning r chiere you frowning p 127 l 29 diſguiſement r deſignment p 128 l 32 pitchers with r pitchers. And with p 130 l 47 fargnet r targuet p 132 l 3 in the marg. hls owner his owne ſelfe p 137 l 33 in the marg. deſtruction r diſtinction p 139 l 45 impunity r impurity p 140 l 29 barnes r baines, p 148 l 35 hanibors r hautbois p 149 l 18 in the marg. Incitato, cuius equi r Incitato, equo, cuius cauſa p 152 l 8 in the marg. Nero his mothers ſonne.r Nero, his mothers husband. l 35 ſi ould pick r ſhould not pick p 168 l 5 and children r and freedmen p 174 l 27 father, quoth he,had r father had p 183,l 5 or moſt r a moſt p 187 l 23 ſtippled r ſippled l 37 in the mar. wings r rings p 190 l 45 tabels r labels p 193 l 36 granings r graunges l 38 alwaies r all was l 24 Foiler foiſt p 197 l 29 That all r that when all p 200 l 10 in the ma left out Camelodunũ et Londinium coloniæ &c. Tacitus. i. Maldon & London ij Colonies; & togither with them, Verulamium a Burrough free town, (in the ruines whereof S. Albanes now ſtandeth in which places 7000 (by report) were ſlain of Citizens & Alies. p 201 l 47 in the ma.r Citharædam a ſinger to the Harp p 202 l 6 ſo plainly r 10 painfully p 204 l 15 graver r brave p 209 l 17 in the marg. Aſpernas r Aſprenas l 14 from the r by the l 16 the had r he had p 215 l 14 them likewiſer then likewiſe p 216 l 5 in the mar. omitterens r amitterent. i. to looſe l 45 in the mar. or this one r or thus, one p 229 l 3 now ſtart r new ſtart p 230 l 14 games r gaines p 235 l 17 divided repaſt r divided his repaſt p. 236 l 1 As Vſurers r Of Vſurers l 15 in the mar. image r huge p 246 l 12 in the marg. words r records l 35 Gods r goods p 250 l 44 placed r played p 251 l 32 in the mar. to grow r ſo, grow l 43 in the ma. order r ordure p 257 l 6 in the marg. Enſes r Euſeb. p 268 l 27 in the marg. Lacinthus r Latine thus p 270 l 24 his owne r her owne p 271 l 19 mirable r notable line 28 for Matium read Matian.

THE HISTORIE OF TVVELVE CÆSARS, EMPEROVRS OF ROME:

VVRITTEN IN LATINE BY C. Suetonius Tranquillus, and newly tranſlated *into Engliſh, by* Philêmon Holland, Doctor in Phyſicke.

Together with a Marginall Gloſſe, and other briefe Annotations there-upon.

LONDON,
Printed for *Matthew Lownes*.
1606.

Faults escaped in the Historic and Marginall Copie.

Page 1. line 23. Faults for stiffnies, read Martiall, 3 leave out, That is Spa. to Leicester, who now, read who before, read well, page 2. line 10. dele ma. for Venus, Venice page 13. 23 in the Mar. Calendis Ianuarij nouis, 24. Ioan. 25. formerly 26. 27. dele of Legions of to 29. Legionis, p. 43. 2. Pannadec. p. 44. 1. 10. Illyricum, 11. 12. Illyricum, 13. 14. Illyricum, 15. 16. Illyricum, 17. 18. in the Margin, Forum, p. 45. 1. Iouem Iouis, 3. 4. Lucius Lucius Caninius, 5. 6. Becomes, 7. 8. dele bishop, 9. 10. read dele Resuscitat, Domitianus, 11. 12. Aduentus, Aduentus, 13. 14. Adrianus, Adrianus, 15. 16. Adrianus, Adrianus, 17. 18. Adrianus, Adrianus, 19. 20. in the Marg. Pannonia, Pannonia, p. 46. 1. 2. Pannonia, Pannonia, 3. 4. Pannonia, Pannonia, 5. 6. Pannonia, Pannonia, 7. 8. Pannonia, Pannonia, 9. 10. Pannonia, Pannonia, 11. 12. Pannonia, Pannonia, 13. 14. Pannonia, Pannonia, 15. 16. Pannonia, Pannonia, 17. 18. Pannonia, Pannonia, 19. 20. Pannonia, Pannonia,

THE HISTORIE OF Caius Iulius Cesar Dictator,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



CÆSAR in the sixteenth yeare of his age, lost his (*a*) Father: and in the * yeare following, being elected (*b*) *Flamen Dialis*, he cast off COSSVTIA (a Gentlewoman borne but very wealthie) affianced unto him during his childhood; and espoused CORNELIA the daughter of CINNA foure times Consul: who bare vnto him soone after, his daughter IVLIA: neither could he by any meanes be forced by SVLLA the Dictatour, to (*c*) put her away: Whereupon, deprived of his sacerdotall dignitie, loosing the dowrie in the right of his wife, and forfeiting all his heritages (*d*) descended unto him from his linage and name, hee was reputed one of the * contrarie Faction: In so much as he was constrain'd to * hide his head; and (albeit the quartaine Ague hung sore upon him) to change almost every night his starting holes wherein hee lurked; yea, and to redeeme himselfe with a (*e*) peece of money out of the Inquisitours hands that made search for him: untill such time, as by the mediation of the religious

CHAP. 1.

A.V.C. 670. * *Sequentibus Cons.* For at *Rome* they reckoned the yeares according to their Consuls: whose office ordinarily continued one yeare, and began with the yeare, upon the first day of Ianuarie.

* Or Divorse.

* Of *Marius*.

* To flie into the Sabines Countrie.

ligious (f) veſtall virgines, by the meanes alſo of MAMERCVS AEMILIVS and AVRELIVS COTTA, his neere * kinsfolke and allied vnto him, hee obtained pardon. Certaine it is, that SVLLA, when he had denied a good while the requeſt of thoſe right worſnipfull perſons, and his ſingular good friends intreating in his behalfe, and yet they perſiſted earneſt ſuiters ſtill for him, being thus importuned and at length overcome, brake forth aloud into theſe words, either in a Diuine preſcience, or ſome pregnant coniecture, Goe to (quoth hee) my Mrs: Take him to you, ſince yee will needes have it ſo: but know this withall, that he whoſe life and ſafety yee ſo much deſire, will one day be the overthrow of the Nobles, whoſe ſide yee have maintained with mee: For in this CAESAR there be many MARII.

* For *Aurelia* was his mother.

2. THE firſt time that CAESAR ſerved in the Warres, was in *Aſia*, and that in the (a) domeſticall retinue of * M. THERMVS the Pretour: By whom being ſent into *Bithynia* forto levie a Fleet, he made his aboade with K. NICOMEDES: not without a foule rumour raiſed, that he proſtituted his bodie to be abuſed by the King: which rumour he augmented himſelfe, by comming againe into *Bithynia* within fewe dayes, vnder a colour of calling for certaine money, which ſhould be due to a (b) Libertine and (c) Client of his. The reſt of his ſoulderie he caried with better fame and reputation: and at the winning of MITYLENAE, THERMVS honored him with a (d) Civike guirland.

2. * *M. Minutius Thermus.*

3. HE was a Souldiour alſo vnder SERVILIVS ISAVRICVS in *Cilicia*, but it was not long: For vpon certaine intelligence given of SVLLA his death, and the hope withall of the new diſſention that was ſtirred & ſet on foote by M. (a) LEPIDVS, he returned in all haſt to *Rome*. And notwithſtanding hee was mightily ſolicited by many large offers and faire promiſes, yet forbare he to ioyne in ſocietie with LEPIDVS, partly diſtruſting his * nature, and in part doubting the preſent oportunitie, which he found nothing anſwerable to his expectation.

A.V.C. 676.
* Surnamed ſo of the people in Cilicia named *Iſauri*, whom he ſubdued.
* So variable and indiſcreet.

4. HOVVBEIT when that ciuill diſcord and ſedition was (a) appeaſed, hee judicially accuſed for * extortion CORNELIVS DOLOBELLA, a man who had beene Conſull, and triumphed. But ſeeing that the Defendant was found vnguiltie and acquit, hee determined to retire himſelfe vnto the Citie of *Rhodes*, as well to decline the * hatred of the world, as by occaſion of that leaſure and repoſe to learne the Art of Oratorie vnder APOLLONIVS * MOLON a moſt renowmed Rhetorician in thoſe daies. As he croſſed the Seas thitherward * (being now Winter time) his fortune was about the Iſle *Pharmacuſa* to be taken by Rovers, and with them he remained in cuſtodie (not without * exceeding indignation) for the ſpace well neere of xl. dayes, accompanied with one * Phyſician and two Groomes of his chamber. For, * his * companions and the reſt of his ſervants belonging to his traine, he had ſent * away immediatly at the very firſt, to procure him money with all ſpeed for his ranſome. After this, upon the payment vnto them of L. talents being ſet a ſhoare, he delayed no time, but preſently put his Fleet to Sea againe, embarked, and never gave over purſuing the ſaid Pirates, vntill he had over-taken them: and no ſooner were they within his power, but as hee often times had threatned in mirth, hee put them all to death. Now whiles MITHRIDATES waſted the Countries next adjoyning, becauſe he would not be thought to ſit ſtill & doo nothing in this dangerous & doubtful ſtate of confederate Nations and Allies to the Romaines, he left *Rhodes* whether he

* For calling into queſtion ſo honorable a perſon.
* *Moloni*, not *Molonis*, as *Plutarch* taketh it, that is, the ſon of *Molon*.
* *Hibernis menſibus*, that is, In the Winter monethes which were Decemb. Januar. Febr.
* Some reade *dignatione* in a divers ſenſe.
* *Medico, vel amico*, that is, a friend.
* Or the reſt of his companions & ſeruants.
* To the Cities of Aſia, a Province adioyning.

he had directly bent his course, gathered a power of Auxiliarie Souldiers, expelled the Governour under the King out of the Province, and so kept the Cities and States in their alleageance, which were wavering and at the point to revolt.

In his Militarie (a) tribuneship, which was the first dignitie after his returne to *Rome*, that befell vnto him by the voyces and election of the people, hee assisted with all his might * those Patrones of the Commons, who stoode out for the restitution of their Tribunes authoritie; the force and strength whereof SVLLA had abated. Hee effected moreouer thus much, by vertue of an Act proposed by * PLOTIVS, that L. CINNA his wiues brother, that they, who together with him in the time of the ciuill discord aboue-saide, tooke part with LEPIDVS, and after the * Consuls death, fled vnto *Sertorius*, might returne safely into the Citie, and enjoy their freedome. As touching which matter, himselfe made an Oration before the body of the people. 5.

* C. Cotta, M. Crassus, & Cn. Pompeius. who were the chiefe.
* A Tribune of the Commons.
* Lepidus.

BEING * Questour hee made as the auncient manner was Funerall Orations out of the publique Pulpit called *Rostra*, in the praise of IVLIA his Aunt by the Fathers side, and of his wife CORNELIA, both late deceased. And in the commendation verily of his said Aunt, speaking of the pedigree and descent by both sides, namely of her selfe, and also of her Father, hee maketh report in these termes: *Mine Aunt* IVLIA (quoth he) *by her Mother is lineally descended from Kings, and by her Father vnited with the race of the immortall Gods: For, from* Ancus Marcius *are derived the* Marcij *surnamed* Reges, id est. *Kings, which name my Mother was stiled with: and from* VENVS *the* IVLII *draw their originall, of which house and name is our familie. So then, in this stock there concur and meete together, as well the sanctitie and sacred Maiestie of Kings, who among men are most powerfull, as the religious Ceremonies and seruice of the Gods, in whose power Kings themselues are.* In the place of CORNELIA departed, hee wedded POMPEIA, daughter of Q. POMPEIVS, and Neece to L. SVLLA. But her afterward hee divorced, suspecting that she had beene naught with P. CLODIVS, of whom there went so constant a report abroade, how at the celebration of certaine publique Divine ceremonies, he being disguised in womans aparel had accesse secretly unto her, that the Senate by Decree directed a Commission to Iustices Inquisitours, for to sit upon the pollution of those sacred Rites and * Misteries. 6.

* Treasurer.
* Of the Goddesse *Bona*: which we celebrated in Cæsars house, being the Pontifex.

DVRING his Questureship, it fell unto him by lot to execute his Office in the * farther Province of *Spaine*: where, when as by the commaundement of the * Lord Pretour, he rode his circuit to keepe the * Assises, and came to *Gades*, beholding advisedly the Image or pourtracture of K. ALEXANDER the Great in the Temple of HERCVLES there: at the sight thereof hee fetched a deepe sigh, yea, and as one displeased and yrked with his owne sloathfulnes, in that hee had performed yet no memorable Act at those * yeeres, wherein ALEXANDER had conquered the whole world, hee presently made earnest suite for his discharge and licence to depart, thereby to take the first oportunitie of all occasions to compasse greater enterprizes at home within the Citie: and being moreover much disquieted and dismayed with a dreame the night before (for he imagined in his sleepe that he had carnall company with his owne Mother) the Divinours and Wizards incited him to the hopes of most glorious atchievements, making this exposition of his dreame, that thereby was portended unto him the Sove- 7.

A.V.C. 687.
* Called *Baetica*.
* *Assistimus Pretor.*
* In head shire Townes which were called *Conuentus*. *Plin.*
* That is, 33. C. *Philip.* 1.

raigntie of the whole world, considering that his Mother whom hee saw under him betokened nought else but the subjection of the earth, which is counted the Mother of all things.

8. DEPARTING therefore thence before his time was fully expired, hee went unto the (a) Latine Colonies, which were now devising and in counsell to sue for the freedome of the Citie of *Rome*, and no doubt had solicited and excited them to attempt some tumult and trouble in the State, but that the Consuls for the avoiding of this very dunger, kept back the Legions for a while which were enrolled for to be sent into *Cilicia*.

9. AND yet for all that, soone after he projected greater designes within the Citie. For, not many daies before he entred upon his Aedileship, suspected he was to have conspired with M. CRASSVS (* a man of Consular degree) with P. SVLLA likewise and * P. ANTRONIVS, (who after they were Consuls elect stoode condemned for suing indirectly and by corruption for that place) to set upon the body of the Senate in the beginning of their yeare; and that after they had massacred whom it pleased them, M. CRASSVS should usurpe the Dictatourship, himselfe be chosen by him Maister of the Horsemen: and so when they had settled the State at their pleasure, SVLLA and ANTRONIVS should be restored againe unto their Consulship. Of this conspiracie, TANVSIVS GEMINVS maketh mention in his Storie, M. BIBVLVS in his Edicts, and C. CVRIO the Father in his Orations. CICERO likewise seemeth to signifie as much in a certaine Epistle unto AXIVS wherein hee reporteth that CÆSAR established in his Consulship that Kingdome and roiall government, which he plotted and thought upon when hee was Aedile. TANVSIVS writeth farther, that CRASSVS either repenting himselfe, or else upon feare, was not present nor kept the day appointed for the said massacre: and therefore CÆSAR neither gave that signall which by agreement hee should have given. Now agreed it was as CVRIO saith, that he should let his gowne fall from his shoulders. The same CVRIO yea and M. ARTORIVS NASO doo write, that he conspired also with CN. PISO a noble young Gentleman, who being in suspition for a conspiracie within the Citie, had the Province of *Spaine* extraordinarily and without his owne suite bestowed upon him: and complotted it was, that both hee in forraine parts abroade and himselfe also at *Rome* should at once make an insurrection for to alter the State; and that, by the occasion and meanes of the * Lambranes and inhabitants beyond the Po. That is, But the designement both of the one and the other was defeated and frustrate by reason of PISO his death.

10 WHEN he was Aedile, besides the (a) *Comitium*, the Market-place, and statelie Halls of Iustice, hee beautified the Capitoll also with faire open Galleries built for the present occasion to stand onely during the publique shewes and plaies: wherein if the number of Images, Statues, and painted Tables fell out to be greater than was needefull, part of that furniture and provision might be set forth to the view of all men. As for the chasing and baiting of wilde beasts, the Stage plaies & solemne fights, he exhibited the both jointly with his cõpanion in Office, and also severally by himselfe. Whereby it came to passe, that howsoever the charges of these Solemnities were borne in commune by them both, yet he alone went away with all the honour and thanke thereof: Neither did M. BIBVLVS his Colleague dissimule the matter, but utter as much, when he

A.V.C. 688. * That had been Consul. * Or L. rather.

* So called of a river, neere into which they dwelt beyond the Po. * Who was slaine by Spanish Horsemen, of whom hee had the conduct.

A.V.C. 689.

he ſaid that the ſame befell unto him which unto POLLVX: For like as (quoth he) the Temple erected in the Common Market place of *Rome* unto * both the Twin-brethren, beareth the name of CASTOR alone: even ſo my munificence in expence and CÆSARS together in ſetting out theſe games and plaies, goeth under the name of CÆSAR onely. CÆSAR over and above, did exhibite another ſhew of Sword-fight even at the ſharpe: but hee brought into the place * fewer couples of champions by a good many than he purpoſed: For, buying up (as he did) ſuch a ſort of Fencers from all parts out of every Schoole, and putting his adverſaries of the other faction in great affright thereby, hee gave occaſion unto the State to provide by a ſpeciall Act in that behalfe, For a certaine ſet number of Sworde-plaiers, above which no man might retaine anie at *Rome*.

* *Geminis fratribus*, that is, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, who commonly be called *Gemini fratres*.

* And yet hee exhibited 320. paire, as *Plutarch* writeth.

* That hee might governe it and place the King againe in his roiall Seate.

11 THVS when he had gained the harts & favour of the people, he gave the attempt by ſome of the * Tribunes, and ſued to have the Province of *Ægypt* by an Act of the Commons conferred upon him: taking occaſion to make ſuite for this extraordinarie Governement, For that the *Alexandrianes* had driven their * King out of his Roialme, whom the Senate had ſtyled with the title of Allie and Friend, An Act of theirs generally miſliked. Howbeit hee could not carie it, by reaſon that the faction of the Nobles croſſed him. Whoſe authoritie becauſe hee would by way of quittance infringe and impaire by all meanes poſſible; the Tropæes and victorious Monuments of C. MARIVS for ſubduing K. IVGVRTHA, the *Cimbrians* and the *Teutons*, which before time had beene demoliſhed * and caſt downe by SVLLA, he erected and ſet up againe: * Alſo in ſitting upon a Commiſſion for the examination of * murderers, hee reckoned thoſe in the number of them, who in the time of the Proſcription, had received money out of the publique Treaſurie for bringing in (*a*) the heads of Romaine Citizens, notwithſtanding they were excepted by vertue of the Lawes * CORNELIÆ.

* *Ptolomeus Auletes* the Father of *Cleopatra*, who many yeares after by *Gabinius* was reſtored to his Kingdome. A.V.C. 690.

* As *Torrentius* ſaith.

* This is by the figure *Prolepſis* to be underſtood of *Cæſar* when hee was Prætour of the Citie: as who favoured the Faction of *Marius* both then and before, howſoever it may ſeem that *Suetonius* ſpeaketh this of him being Ædile, or preſently after his Aedileſhip: which by *Torrentius* leave, may well ſtand with the truth.

12 MOREOVER, he ſuborned one (*a*) and ſet him on, to endite C. RABIRIVS of high treaſon, by whoſe helpe eſpecially ſome yeares before the Senate had repreſſed and reſtrained the ſeditious Tribuneſhip of L. SATVRNINVS: and being by lot choſen a * Iudge Delegate to paſſe ſentence of the priſoner, ſo willing he was to condemne him, that when RABIRIVS appealed unto the people, nothing did him ſo much good as the rigour of the * Iudge.

* In place of the Pretor.

13 HAVING laied a ſide all hope of the foreſaid * Province, he ſtood to be the Higheſt Prieſt, not without exceſſive and moſt laviſh largeſſe. Wherein, conſidering how deepely hee engaged himſelfe in debt, the ſame morning that hee was to goe unto the aſſemblie for the Election, when his Mother * kiſſed him he told her (by report) afore-hand, that he would never returne home but *Pontife*. And ſo farre overweighed he (*a*) two moſt mightie Competitours, who otherwiſe for age and dignitie much outwent him, that in their owne Tribes hee alone caried more voices, than both of them in all * throughout.

* *Cæſar*. A.V.C. 691.

* That is, *Egipt* and the reſtoring of the king afore ſaid.

* Which were 35.

BEING * created Pretour, when as the Conſpiracie of CATILINE was detected, and all the Senate generally awarded no lighter puniſhment than * death, for as many as were parties and acceſſarie in that Action; hee onely gave his ſentence, That their goods ſhould be confiſcate, and themſelves put into ſe-

14 *But not entred yet into the Office.

* *Vltimum ſupplicium.*

verall free Cities and Burrowghes under the people of *Rome*, and there to bee kept in ward: and furthermore hee put them in ſo great a fright that gave ſharper cenſure (intimating eſt-ſoones and ſetting before their eyes the exceeding great hatred of the *Romaine* Communaltie, which in time to come they ſhould incurre) that DECIMVS SILANVS Conſul elect was not abaſhed nor unwilling to mollifie his owne * award, with a gentle expoſition (becauſe it had been a ſhame to alter it and eate his owne words) as if it had beene taken and conſtrued in an harder ſence, than hee meant it. And verily prevailed hee had, and gone cleare away with it (for many there were alreadie drawne to his ſide, and among the reſt, * CICERO * the Conſuls brother) but that a ſpeech made by M. CATO emboldened the whole houſe, and confirmed all the Senatours in their former ſentence, who now were at the point to yeeld unto him. And yet for all this, he ceaſed not to hinder their proceedings, untill ſuch time as a troupe of *Romaine* Knights, who ſtood round about the place in Armes for * guard and defence, threatned to diſpatch him out of the way, in caſe hee continued ſtill in his obſtinate contumacie, holding and ſhaking their drawne Swords ſo neere unto him, as that his next fellowes forſooke him as he ſate with them, and very few taking him in their armes and putting their * Gownes betweene, hardly and with much a doo ſaved him from violence. Then was hee ſcared in deede, in ſo much as hee not onely condiſcended unto them, but alſo for the reſt of that * yeare forbare to come into the Senate houſe.

* As if he ment by *vltimum ſupplicium*, impriſonment or ſome leſſe puniſhment then death.

* *Quintus Cicero*

* *M. Cicero.*

* Of Conſul and Senate.

* *Plutarch* nameth *Curio* for one of them.

* Of *M.T Cicero* the Conſul his yeere which now drew to an end.

15 A.V.C.692.

THE very firſt day of his Pretourſhip, he convented Q CATVLVS before the body of the people to receive their order upon (*a*) a matter to be diſcuſſed by them, as touching reedification of the Capitoll, having withall promulged a Lawe, by vertue whereof hee transferred the charge of that worke unto * another. But not able to match the Nobles and better ſort, nor to make his part good with them drawing in one line, as they did, whom hee ſawe in great frequencie to runne by heapes together, ſo fully bent to make reſiſtance, that preſently they left their officious attendance upon the new Conſuls, hee gave over this action.

* That is, to *Cn. Pompeius.*

16

BVT, whereas CECILIVS METELLVS * a Tribune of the Commons, propoſed moſt turbulent and ſeditious Lawes, malgre his Colleagues with all their oppoſition, he ſhewed himſelfe a ſtout abbetter and maintainer of him: moſt ſtifly bearing him out in the cauſe, ſo long untill both of them were by an injunction and decree of the Senatours remooved from the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth. Howbeit preſuming nevertheleſſe to continue in his magiſtracie, and to execute his juriſdiction, when he underſtood once that ſome were ready to prohibite him by force and Armes, hee ſent away his Serjeants, caſt off his (*e*) embrodered purple Robe, and retired privily to his owne houſe, minding there to keepe himſelfe quiet in regard of the troubleſome time. And when two daies after, the multitude flocked unto him willingly and of their owne accord, promiſing after a very tumultuous manner their helpe and aſſiſtance in the recoverie of his former place and dignitie, he repreſſed them. Which thing happening thus beyond all expectation, The Senate which was haſtily met together about that riot and uprore, gave him hartie thankes; and that by the principall and nobleſt perſonages among them, ſent for him into the (*f*) *Curia*, and

* Surnamed *Nepos* (as *Valerius* witneſſeth) for his riotous life and behaviour.

after

after they had in moſt honourable termes commended him, they reſtored him fully to his Office, and reverſed their former Decree.

He fell againe into another newe trouble and daunger, being called into queſtion as one of Catilines conſpiracie, both before the Queſtor Novius Niger in his houſe, and that by L. Vettius* who appeached him; and alſo in the Senate, by P. Curius: unto whom for that he detected firſt, the plots & deſignments of the Conſpiratours, were rewards appointed by the State. Curius depoſed that he knew ſo much by Cattiline: and Vettius promiſed to bring forth even his owne hand-writing which he gave unto Catiline: But this was ſuch an indignitie as Cæsar in no wiſe thought tollerable; whereupon, craving the teſtimonie of Cicero, by which he proved, that himſelfe merely of his owne accord had given ſome information unto him of the ſaid Conſpiracie, he prevailed ſo much that Curius went without thoſe rewards. As for Vettius, after his goods were arreſted and ſtreſſes taken, his houſhold-ſtuffe rifled, himſelfe evill entreated, beaten, and in the open aſſemblie of the multitude even before the Rostra wel-neere pulled in peeces, him he clapt up in priſon. After the ſame ſort he ſerved Novius the Queſtour, becauſe hee ſuffered him, (g) a ſuperiour Magiſtrate of State, to be accuſed and defamed in his houſe. 19.

* Indite, ſome reade Indice, that is, as if Index were his ſurname.

*After this Pretourſhip of his, having the Government of the farther Province in *Spaine* allotted unto him, hee tooke order with his Creditours (that were in hand to ſtay him) by the meanes of certaine (a) ſureties who came in and undertooke for him: and before the Governours of the Provinces were diſpoſed-of by the State, with Commiſſions ſealed for their juriſdiction and other affaires, with allowance and furniture alſo ſet out for them accordingly, he contrarie to all right and cuſtome put himſelfe in his journey: were it for feare of ſome judiciall proceeding intended againſt him whiles he was a private perſon, or becauſe he might more ſpeedily ſuccour the Allies of the *Romanes*, who craved helpe, it is uncertaine. Well, when he had ſetled the Province in peace, he made as great haſt to be gone. and not expecting a Succeſſour hee departed, as well to ride in Triumph as to take upon him the Conſulſhip. But after the Writs and Proclamations were out for the great Aſſemblie to Election (of Conſuls) when he might not be pricked nor propounded (Conſull) unleſſe hee entred the Citie in qualitie of a private Citizen, and * many withſtoode him labouring as he did to be diſpenſed-with for the Lawes, forced he was for feare of being put by the Conſulſhip to forgoe (b) his triumph. 18. A.V.C. 693. * Ex praetura whereby it appeareth he was Praetor Vrbanus.

A.V.C. 695. * Cato, and his followers.

Of the two Competitours with him for the Conſulſhip, to wit, L. Lucrius and M. Bibulus, hee made choiſe of Lucrius to be his Companion in Office; vpon this compact and condition, That ſince hee was a man not ſo gracious, but better monied than himſelfe, he ſhould of his owne purſe pronounce in the name of both, & promiſe to deale monies among the Centuries. Which deviſe being known, the * Nobles and great men who were afraide, that being once a ſoueraigne * Magiſtrate, & having a collegue ready at his beck to agree & conſent with him, he would both dare & do any thing; perſwaded with Bibulus to make promiſe of as great a Donation as the other did: and the moſt part of them contributed their monies thereunto: Yea, Cato himſelfe verily was not againſt it, but ſaide, This *Largeſſe ſtoode with the good of the weale* 19

* Optimates, * Conſuls.

publique. Heereupon created Consul hee was with BIBVLVS. For the same cause, the saide Nobles and principall persons of the Citie gaue order, that the Consuls for this yeere following, should haue (*b*) the Prouinces and Commissions of least affaire and importance, to wit, the looking vnto Forrests & Woods, vnto Lanes and Pathes. CÆSAR taking this wrong and disgrace most to the heart, made court all that euer he could vnto CN. POMPEIVS, who had taken offence against the Senatours, for that hauing vanquished K. MITHRIDATES, his Acts and Decrees were no sooner ratified and confirmed: He reconciled also vnto POMPEIVS, M. CRASSVS, an olde enemie ever since that Consulship, which they bare together with exceeding much jarring and disagreement: Hee entred likewise into a Societie with them both, vpon this contract, That nothing should be done or passe in the administration of the Common-weale, that displeased any of them three.

20 A.V.C. 695. WHEN he was entred into this Honourable place of Consulship; hee (first of all that ever were) ordained, That all Acts, as well of Senate as People should day by day as they (*a*) were concluded, bee recorded also and published. Hee brought-in likewise the ancient custome againe, that in what (*b*) moneth hee had not the Knitches of rods with Axes borne before him, a publique Officer called ACCENSVS should huisher him before, and the Serjeants or Lictours follow after behinde. Hauing promulged the Lawe *Agraria*, as touching the division of Lands among the Commons, when his fellowe Consull withstoode and resisted his proceedings, hee drave him out of the Common-place, by violence and force of Armes. The morrow after, when the saide BIBVLVS had made his complaint in the Senate of this outrage, and there would not one be found that durst move the house about so great a garboile and hurliburly as that was, nor give his censure thereof (as often times in lighter * tumults and stirres there had passed many Decrees) hee drave him to such a desperate feare, that untill hee went quite out of his magistracie, hee kept close within house and never prohibited * any proceedings else, but by way of * Edict. From that time forward, CÆSAR alone managed all the affaires of State, even as hee would himselfe: in so much as diuers Citizens pleasantly conceited, when so euer they signed, subscribed, or dated any writings to stand vpon record, would merily put it downe thus, *Such a thing was done, not when* CÆSAR *and* BIBVLVS, *but when* IVLIVS *and* CÆSAR *were Consuls*: setting downe one and the same man twice, by his name and surname: yea, and soone after, these verses were commonly currant abroad,

* *Turbis alias culpis*, that is, Trespasses or offences.

* *Obnunciaret*, by pronouncing out of the Augurs learning, that the day was *nefastus & non comitialis*, that is, no Law-day.

* *Per edicta*, some read, *per lictores*, that is, by his Serieants and Officers.

Non Bibulo, quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare, factum est:
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule, nil memini.
CÆSAR of late did many things, but BIBVLVS not one:
For nought by Consul BIBVLVS, can I remember done.

The Stellat champian fields held consecrated & religious by our Auncestors, together with the Campane territorie, reserued to yeeld rent and pay tribute for a Subsidie to the Common-weale, hee divided without casting * lots, among twentie

* At the discretion of xx. men deputed Commissioners for that purpose.

twentie thousand Citizens who could shew three children or more. The Publicanes making request for some * easement hee relieued, by striking of a third part of their rents, and warned them openly, that in the setting and letting of the new commodities and reuenues of the Citie, they should not bid and offer too much. All other things likewise he gaue and graunted, according as euery mans mind and desire stood thereto, and no man gaine-said him: but, went any about to thwart him, he was soone frighted away. M. Cato, when hee seemed to interrupt and stop his proceedings, hee caused to be haled violently out of the Senate house by an Officer, and committed to prison. As L. Lvcvllvs stoutly withstood his doings, he put him into so great a feare of sundry Actions and criminations, that hee was glad to come and fall downe before him at his knees. When Cicero pleading vpon a time in Court, had lamented the wofull state of those times: the very same day, at the * ninth houre thereof, hee brought P. Clodivs his enemie to be adopted into the house and name of a Commoner; one who long before had laboured in vaine to goe from the Nobles, and be incorporate among the Commons. Last of all, it is credibly reported, that he induced by rewards, against all those in generall of the contrary faction, * an appeacher, to professe that he was sollicited by some for to murder Pompeivs; who being produced forth by him before the body of the people, nominated (as he had instructions, and as it was agreed betweene them afore) those that set him a worke: but when one or two of them were named to no purpose, nor without pregnant suspition of some fraudulent practise; he despairing the good successe of so rash and inconsiderate a project, poysoned the * partie whom he had thus suborned, and made him away for telling any more tales.

* For that they had take things at too high a rate.

* Three a clock in the after-noone.

* *Indicē*, others read *Iudicem id est Vettius Iudex.*

* *L. Vettius* according to *Dio.* and *Appian.*

* *Id est Vettius Iudex* afore-said: For, dead hee was found in prison by night.

21. About the same time, hee tooke to wife Calpvrnia the daughter of L. Piso, who was to succeede him in the Consulate; and affianced his owne daughter Ivlia vnto Cn. Pompeivs, rejecting and casting off her former spouse * Servilivs Cæpio, by whose helpe especially a little before, he had impugned Bibvlvs. After this new contracted affinitie, hee began (in Counsell) to aske (*a*) Pompeivs opinion first; whereas before, hee was wont to begin with Crassvs: notwithstanding also the custome was, that the Consul should observe that order all the yeere following, in asking the Senatours sentences, which he began with, the first day of Ianuarie.

* Whom hee promised in mariage the daughter of *Cn. Pompeius.*

22. Being backed therefore by the favour and assistance of his wives * Father and * Sonne in Law, out of all that choice of Provinces hee chose especially the Gaules, the wealth and commoditie whereof might fit his hand, and minister matter sufficient of (*a*) triumphs. And verily at the first by vertue of the Law (*b*) Vatinia he tooke vpon him the gouernment of (*c*) Gallia Cisalpina together with Illyricvm. Soone after by the meanes of the Senate, that also which was called (*d*) Comata: For, the nobilitie feared, least if they had denied him it, the people would have bestowed the same also vpon him. With joy whereof he grew so haughtie and proud, that he could not hold and temper himselfe, but after some fewe daies make his boast in a frequent Senate house, that he had gotten now what he desired in despite of his aduersaries, and full fore against their wills; and therefore from that time forward, would (*e*) insult vpon all their heads: whereupon, when one by way of reproach denied that and said, That it was no easie matter for a woman so to doo: he answered againe, as

* *Piso.*

* *Cn. Pompeius.*

it were alluding merily to another ſence, That, euen in *Aſyria* there ſome time raigned Queene SEMIRAMIS: and that the women named (f) *Amazones* held in times paſt a great part of *Aſia* in ſubjection.

23 A.V.C. 696. WHEN hee had borne his Conſulſhip, C. MEMMIVS and L. DOMITIVS Pretours for the time being *, put to queſtion his Acts paſſed the former yeere: wherevpon hee referred the examination and cenſure thereof unto the body of the Senate but ſeeing they would not undertake the thing, after three daies ſpent to no purpoſe in vaine brables and altercacions, he departed into his Province. And immediatly his * Queſtour (a) for to prejudice him, was drawne into trouble & indited upon certaine crimes. Within a while himſelfe alſo was brought judicially to his triall, and accuſed by L. ANTISTIVS a Tribune of the COMMONS: but by appealing unto the Colledge of the Tribunes, hee prevailed through their favour thus much (in regard of his abſence about the affaires of Common-weale) that he ſhould not be liable to the accuſation. For his better ſecuritie therefore againſt future times, he travailed much to obligue and make beholden unto him the Magiſtrates every yeare: and of thoſe Competitours who ſued for any honourable Office, to helpe or ſuffer none other to come unto the place, but ſuch as covenanted with him, and undertooke to defend & maintaine * him in his abſence. For aſſurance of which their covenant, he ſtuck not to require of ſome an oath, yea, and a bill of their owne hands.

*vvhether they ſhould be repealed or ſtand in force.

*When he was Conſul.

*For that hee was extraordinarily abſent, longer than the Law *Sempronia* did permit.

24. A.V.C. 698. BVT when L. DOMITIVS a (a) Candidate for the Conſulſhip threatned openly, that were he once Conſul, he would effect that which he could not while he was Pretour, yea, and take from him his Armies, hee made meanes to draw CRASSVS and POMPEIVS unto *Lucca* a Citie within his Province: with whom hee dealt effectually, that for to give DOMITIVS the repulſe, they ſhould both ſue for themſelues to be Conſuls the ſecond time, and alſo labour that his government might be prorogued or continued for five yeares longer; and he effected both. Vpon this confidence hee preſumed to aſſume unto thoſe Legions which hee had received from the State, others beſide, maintained partly at the Cities charges, and in part with his owne private purſe. And one Legion aboue the reſt, enrolled from out of the Countries beyond the Alpes, hee termed by a French word, For named it was * *Alauda*. Which, being trained in militarie diſcipline, armed alſo and ſet out after the Romaine faſhion, hee afterwards enfranchized throughout and made free of *Rome*. Neither from this time forward forbare he any occaſion of warre, were it never ſo unjuſt or dangerous: picking quarrels as well with confederate Nations, as thoſe that were enemies, ſavage and barbarous; whom he provoked to take Armes: in ſo much as the Senate one time decreed, to ſend certaine Embaſſadours for to ſurvay & viſite the ſtate of the Gaules: yea, and ſome * were of opinion, that he ſhovld be delivered unto the enemies hands. But by reaſon that his affaires ſped well and had good ſucceſſe, hee obtained in regard thereof ſolemne Supplications both ofter, and to hold more daies than ever any man did (before himſelfe.)

*The bird *Galerita* or *Caſſita*, ſo called of a creſt, upon the head. This Legion it ſhould ſeeme ware Plumes of feathers in their creſts of Helmets, whereupon it tooke that name.

*Namely *Cato*, *Plutarch.*

25. DVRING the time of his (provinciall) gouernment, which continued nine yeares ſpace, theſe, in manner, were the Acts which hee performed. All that part of Gaule, which from the Forreſt and Mountaine *Pyrenæus*, the Alpes, and the hill *Gebena*, is encloſed within the Rivers *Rhene* and *Rhoſne*, containing in circuit 3200. miles, not accounting the aſſociate Cities and States

who

well of the people of *Rome*, hee reduced into the forme of a Province, and imposed upon them a payment of tribute yeerely. The Germanes inhabiting beyond the Rhene, he of all the Romaines first assailed by meanes of a bridge which he built over the said River, and those he grievously plagued and gave them manie great overthrowes. He set upon the Britaines also, a people before time unknowne, whom hee vanquished and compelled both to pay money, and also to deliver hostages. In so many prosperous battailes and fortunate exploits, he tasted of adverse fortune thrice onely & no more: once in *Britaine*, when his Fleete had like to have beene lost and cast away in a violent tempest: a second time in *Gaule*, where a Legion of his was discomfited and put to flight, neare unto *Gergovia*: and last of all, in the marches of *Germanie*, when TITVRIVS and AVRVNCVLEIVS his Lieutenants were forlayed by an ambush and put to the sword.

WITHIN the compasse of which very same time, hee lost by death, first, his 26
* Mother, then his daughter (IVLIA) and not long after his *Neece by the said daughter. And in this meane while, the Common-wealth being much troubled and astonied at the murder of CLODIVS, * when the Senate thought good there should be but one Consul created, namely CN. POMPEIVS, hee dealt with the Tribunes of the Commons (who intended that hee should be the Colleague in Office with POMPEIVS) to propose this rather unto the People, That they would grant leave unto him in his absence, whensoever the terme of his government drew toward an end, to sue for his second Consulship: because he might not be constrained upon that occasion, and whiles the warre was yet unfinished, to depart out of his Province. Which whē he had once obtained at their hands, reaching now at higher matters, and full of hopes, there was no kind of largesse, no manner of dutifull Office either in publique to the whole Citie, or privately unto any person that he omitted and left undone. His FORVM or stately Hall he began to build with the money raised of the spoiles gotten in warres: the very plot of ground whereon it should stand, cost him * *Millies sestertium* and above. He pronounced also a solemne Sword-fight and Feast unto the people, in the honour and memoriall of his Daughter, a thing that never any man did before him. And to cause an expectation of these solemnities in the highest degree, the viands & whatsoever pertained unto the feast, albeit he had agreed with Butchers and Victualers for the same at a certaine price, he provided nevertheless by his * household-servants. All the notable and well knowne sword players, when and whersoever they fought so, as upon the mislike and displeasure of the beholders they were in danger to be killed in the place at their commaundement, he tooke order and charged they should be had away by force and reserved for himselfe. As for new-Fencers and young beginners, hee trained them neither in any publique Schoole, nor under professed Mrs: of that Facultie, but at home in private houses, by Gentlemen of *Rome*, yea, and Senatours also, such as were skilfull in their weapon and in feates of Armes praying and beseeching them earnestly (as appeareth in his Epistles unto them) to take the charge of every one severally, and to have a speciall care to instruct each one, and giue them rules in their exercises. The legionarie Souldiours pay in money he doubled for ever. And so often as there was plenty of corne, hee gave them their allowance of it without stint and measure and other-while he bestowed upon every one a slave or bond-servant, yea and possessions by the poll.

A. V. C. 700.

* Aurelia a Dame of singular chastitie

*neptem, alij nepotem, that is, Nephew.

* By *Milo*.

* That is, a hundred millians of Sesterces, and 20, as *Plinie* writeth, *lib 36 Cap. 15.* if *Glareanus* readeth truly, *Millies ducenties.*

* *Domestica-tim.*

MORE-

27. MOREOVER, to retaine ſtill the bond of acquaintance, affinitie, and good will of POMPEIVS, OCTAVIA his ſiſters *Neece wedded unto C. MARCELLVS, hee affianced and made ſure unto him: but withall, he craved his daughter to wife, promiſed in mariage before unto FAVSTVS SILLA. Having thus obligued and brought to his devotion all thoſe about him, yea, & the greater number of Senatours, by crediting out his money unto them, either *gratis*, or vpon a ſlight cõſideration: thoſe alſo of other ſorts & degrees, either invited kindly by himſelfe, or reſorting unto him of their owne accord, hee gratified with a moſt magnificent and bounteous (*a*) congiarie. The freed men beſides, yea, and the Servants and Pages belonging to every one, according as any of them were in favour with their * Lord and Maiſter, taſted of his liberality. Moreover, there was not a man ſued in Court judicially and in danger of the Law; there was not any deepely engaged and endebted unto their Creditours; there were no prodigall young ſpend-thrifts, but he was their onely ſupporter, and moſt readie at all aſſaies to helpe them: unleſſe they were thoſe that either had committed ſuch grievous crimes, or were ſo low brought, or had been ſo exceſſiue in riot as that they could not poſſibly be relieved by him. *For ſuch as theſe*, hee would ſay in plaine termes and openly, *there was no other remedie but civill warre.*

*So, hee was great Vnkle unto her, like as he was to *Octavius Auguſtus*, the Emperour.

*Or Patrone.

28 NO leſſe carefull and ſtudious was he to allure unto him the hearts of Kings, yea, and whole Provinces throughout the world: unto ſome, offering in free gift the deliverie of Captives and priſoners by thouſands at a time: unto others, ſending aide ſecretly and under-hand without authoritie or commiſſion of Senate and people, whether and as often as they would: and more than this, adorning with goodly building and excellent peeces of work the mightieſt Cities of *Italie*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, yea, and of *Aſia* and *Greece*. This he did ſo long, untill all men now were aſtonied thereat: and when they caſt with themſelves whereto this might tend, at laſt M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS the Conſul, after a preface and preamble made to his Edict, namely, That he would ſpeake as touching the maine point of the Common-weale, propoſed unto the Senate, That for as much as the warre was now ended, and peace abroad eſtabliſhed, there might be one ſent to ſucceede him, before his time was fully expired; alſo, That the victorious Armie ought of right to bee diſmiſſed and have their diſcharge from warfare; Item, that in the High Court and aſſembly for the Conſuls election his name ſhould not bee propounded, conſidering POMPEIVS afterward had anulled * that Act of the people (by vertue whereof it was graunted that he might be choſen Conſul in his abſence.) Now it had fallen out ſo, that hee making a Law as touching the right of Magiſtrates, in that Chapter and branch thereof, wherein he diſabled thoſe who were abſent for being capable of honours and dignities, forgat to except CÆSAR: and ſoone after, when the ſaid Law was once engroſſed and engraven in braſſe, & ſo laid up in the Treaſurie, corrected his error and overſight. Neither was MARCELLVS content to deprive CÆSAR of his Provinces, and to put him by the priviledge of a former Act paſſed in eſpeciall favour of him, but he made a motion moreover, that thoſe inhabitants, whom by the Law *Vatinia* CÆSAR had planted in the Colonie of *Novocomum*, ſhould leeſe the freedome which they had, as Citizens of *Rome*: For that this prerogative of theirs had been graunted by ambitious meanes, and beyond that preſcript number which was appointed and warranted by the Decree in that behalfe.

A.V.C 703.

* *Ei plebiſcito.*

CÆSAR

CÆSAR highly displeased and troubled at these proceedings, and judging it, (as he was heard by report many times to give out) an harder matter for him a principall man of the Citie, to be deposed and thrust downe from the highest and first place of degree into the second, than from the second into the lowest and last of all) withstood him with all his might and power, partly by the opposition and negatiue voice of the Tribunes, and in part by SERVIUS SULPITIUS the other Consull. Also in the yeare following when C. MARCELLUS who succeeded his cousen GERMAIN by the fathers side MARCUS, in the cõsulship, assaied to bring the same about, he bribed & made sure vnto him, with a mightie summe of mony, AEMILIUS, PAULUS companion with him in office, and C. CURIO a most violent Tribune, to sticke unto him, & defend his honor. But seeing all things carried still against him more obstinately than before, & the new Consuls elect take the contrarie side & bent another way, he wrote unto the Senate, and by his letters humbly besought them, not to suffer the benefit granted unto him by the people to be taken from him: or if they did, yet to giue order that other Generals likewise as well as hee, might leave their Armies: presuming confidently, as men thinke, vpon this, himselfe should be able whẽsoeuer he pleased to assemble together his souldiers more easily thẽ POMPEIUS to levy new. But with [illegible] aduersaries he wold haue treated by way of Capitulation in these termes, that [illegible] he had discharged and sent away 8. Legions, and giuen over the prouince of *Gaule* beyond the Alpes, he might be allowed 2. legiõs with the prouince on this side the Alpes: or if not so, yet at least wise one, together with ILLYRICUM, vntil such time as he were created cõsul. But perceiuing that the Senate came not betweene nor interposed their authoritie to stop the course intended against him, & his aduersaries denied flatly to admit all manner of capitulating & composition concerning the commonwealth, he passed into the hither part of *Gaule*, & having kept the Assizes there and executed his prouinciall jurisdiction stayed at *Rauenna*, with full resolution to be reuenged by open warre, in case there had passed frõ the Senat, any sharp and cruell decree, touching the Tribunes of the Commons opposing thẽselues in his behalfe, & quarrell: And verily this was the colour and occasion which he pretended of ciuill warre: yet men thinke there were some other causes & motiues thereto. Cn. POMPEIUS was wont to giue out that for as much as CÆSAR was not able of himselfe and with his owne priuate wealth, either to consummate and finish those stately workes & ædifices which he had begun, or to satisfie the expectation of the people which he had raised & wrought of his comming, therefore he intended to trouble the state and set all on a garboyle. Others say, that he feared least he should be compelled to giue an accoumpt of those things which in his first Consulship he had done against the sacred Auspices, the lawes, and prohibitions of the Tribunes (in the name of the people) considering that M. CATO had threatned and professed eftsoones, & not without an oath, that no sooner should he and his armie be parted, but he would judicially call his name in question & bring him to his answere: Also for that it was commonly spoken abroad that if he returned ones in qualitie of a priuate person, he should after the example of MILO plead before the iudges, with a guard of armed men about the Court and Tribunall. And this seemeth to bee more probable by that which ASINIUS POLLIO writeth, who reporteth, that in the battaile of Pharsalia, whẽ he beheld his aduersaries before his face, slaine

29 A.V.C.704

30

and put to flight, he vttered this speech word for word. *Loe, this was their own doing: this would they needes haue,* And I CAIUS CEASAR *after so many worthie exploites atchieued should haue beene a condemned man, had I not craued helpe of mine armie.* Some are of opinion, that being so long inured & acquainted with soueraigne command, & weighing his owne puissance & the power of his enemies, in ballāce one against the other, took the occasion & opportunitie to usurpe that absolute dominion, which in the verie prime of his years he aspired unto; and of this mind, it seemeth CICERO was, who in his 3. book of duties writeth, that CEASAR had alwaies in his mouth, these verses of EURIPIDES

Εἰπερ γὰρ, ἀδικεῖν χρὴ, τυραννίδος πέρι
Κἄλλ' ἐστὶν ἀδικεῖν, τἄλλα δ' ἴσεσθαι χρεών.

Which CICERO himselfe translated thus.

Nam si violandum est ius, imperij gratia
Violandum est, aliis rebus pietatem colas.
For if thou must do wrong by breach,
Of lawes, of right and equitie,
Tis best thereby a Crowne to reach,
In all things els keepe pietie.

When word therefore was brought unto him, that the Tribunes inhibition & negatiue voice was put down, and themselues departed out of the Citie: 31
A.V.C. 705. hauing immediatly sent before certaine Cohorts priuily, because no suspition might arise, he dissimuled the matter, & was present in person to behold a publike Game, viewed, and considered the plot forme according to which he was about to build a Schoole of swordfencers, and according to his usuall manner gaue himselfe to feast & banquet often. After this presently vpon the Sun-setting, he tooke vp certaine *Mules* from the next Bakers mil-house, set thē in their geires to his wagon, and as closely as possibly he could with a small retinewe and companie about him put himselfe in his Iournie; and when by reason that the lights were gone out, he had lost his way, after he had wandred a long time, at the length meeting with a guide by that time it was day, he passed on foote through most narrow crosse lanes and by-pathes untill he recouered the right way againe. Now when he had ones ouertaken his Cohorts, at the riuer *Rubicon*, which was the vtmost bound of his province, he rested & stoode still a little while: thē casting in his mind, how great an enterprise he went in hand with, he turned vnto them that were next unto him and said. As yet my maisters wee may well returne backe; but passe we once ouer this little bridge, there will be no dealing but by force of armes and dint of sword.

32 As he thus staied, and stood doubtfull what to doe, a strang sight he chanced to see in this manner. All of a suddaine their appeared vnto him a certaine man of an extraordinary stature & shape withall, sitting hard by, & piping with a reed. Now when besids the shepheards & herdmen many soldiours also from their standing wards ran for to heare him, & among them the Trumpetters likewise, he caught from on of thē a Trumpet, leapt forth to the riuer, & begining with a mightie blast to sound the battaile, kept on his pace to the very bancke, on the other side. Then CEASAR, Let vs march on quoth he & goe whither the tokēs of the Gods & the iniurious dealings of our enemies call vs. The dice be throwne: I haue set vp my rest. Come what will of it.

And thus hauing conueyed his armie ouer the riuer, he ioyned with the Tribunes of the commons, who vpō their expulsion out of the Citie were come vnto him, & in a full
33 & frequēt assēblie, with shedding teares & rēting his garmēt down the brest, besought the faithfull helpe & assistance of his soldiers. It is supposed also that he promised unto every on of thē a knights liuing: which happened upō a vain & false persuasiō, for whē in his speech & exhortatiō unto thē, he shewed euer & a non the (ring.) finger of his left hand, & therwith auouched & promised for the satisfaction & contentmēt of al those by whose meanes he should maintaine his honour & dignitie, that he would willingly (*i*) plucke the ring from off his owne finger: those that stood hinmost in the assem-

bly,

bly, who might better ſee than heare him ſpeak, took that for ſpoken which they imagined by bare ſight, and ſo the ſpeech went for currant, That hee promiſed them the dignity of wearing the ring (of gold) together with 400000 (ſeſterces.)

THE order proceeding a final complement of thoſe Acts, which from thence forth he atchieved ſummarily goeth in this maner. He ſeized into his hands and held PICENUM, VMBRIA, & HETRURIA. L. DOMITIVS, who in a factious tumult was nominated to be his ſucceſſor, & kept CORFINIVM with a gariſon, he ſubdued & forced to yeeld: and when he had diſmiſſed him, hee marched along the coaſt of the *Adriatick* * ſea, to *Brundis*, whether the Conſuls & POMPEIVS were fled, intending with all ſpeed to croſſe the narrow Seas: whoſe paſſage after he had aſſaied by all manner of lets to hinder & ſtop (but in vaine) he turned his journey and took the way directly to *Rome*. And when he had curteouſly moved the Senatours to give him meeting in the Senate houſe, there to treat & conſult as touching the State of the Common-weale, he ſet upon the moſt puiſſant forces of POMPEIVS, which were in *Spaine* under the conduct of three Lieutenants, M. PETREIVS L. AFFRANIVS & M. VARRO: having given out before among his friends and openly profeſſed, that he was going to an Armie without a (*a*) Captaine; and would returne from thence to a (*b*) Captaine without an Armie. And albeit the beſieging of *Maſſilia*, which Citie in his journey forward, had ſhut the gates againſt him, & exceeding ſcarcity of corn & victuals was ſome impeachment & ſtay unto him, yet within a ſhort time he overcame & ſubdued all. 34

* That is *Venus*-gulfe.

FROM hence having returned to the City (of *Rome*) againe, & paſſed over into *Macedonie*, after he had held POMPEIVS beſieged for the ſpace wel-neare of 4. moneths, & that within moſt mighty trenches & ſtrong rampiers, he diſcomfited at the laſt in the *Pharſalian* battel & put him to flight: and following him hotly in chaſe as he fled to *Alexandria*, ſo ſoone as he underſtood that he was ſlaine, and perceived likewiſe that King PTOLOMÆVS laid wait for his owne perſon alſo, he warred upon him: which, to ſay a truth, was a moſt difficult & dangerous peece of worke, by reaſon that he managed it, neither in place indifferent, nor time convenient, but in the very Winter ſeaſon, and within the walls of a moſt wealthy & politick enemie, being himſelfe in diſtreſſe & want of all things, and unprovided beſides to fight. Having atchieved the victory, he graunted the kingdome of *Ægypt* unto CLEOPATRA & her younger brother, fearing to reduce it into the forme of a Province, leaſt at any time, beeing governed under ſome L. Preſident of a more ſtirring ſpirit & violent nature than others, it might give occaſion & yeeld matter of rebellion. From *Alexandria* he went over into *Syria*, & ſo from thence into *Pontus*, upon the urgent newes as touching PHARNACES; Whom, notwithſtanding he was the ſonne of that great MITHRIDATES, & taking the opportunitie of the troubles & civill warre among the Romanes, made warre, yea and now bare himſelfe preſumptuous and overbold for his manifold victories & great ſucceſſe, yet within 5. dayes after his arrivall thither, & 4. houres after he came into ſight of the enemie, he vanquiſhed and ſubdued in one onely battaile: eft ſoones & oftentimes recounting the felicity of POMPEIVS, whoſe hap it was, to win his principall name for warfare, of ſo cowardly a kinde of enemies. After this, he defeited SCIPIO and IVBA, repairing the reliques of that ſide in *Africk*, and the children of POMPEIVS in *Spaine*. 35. A.V.C. 706. 707. 708. A.V.C. 709.

IN all the civill warres, hee ſuſtained no loſſe or overthrow but by his owne Lieutenants: of whom, C. CVRIO was ſlaine in *Affrick*; C. ANTONIVS yeel- 36

ded himselfe into the hands of his enemies in *Illyricum*: P. DOLABELLA in the same *Illyricum* lost his fleete, and CN. DOMITIVS his armie in *Pontus*. Himselfe fought his battailes alwaies most fortunatly, and never was so much as in any hazard, save only twice: once before *Dyrrachium*, where being discomfited and put to flight, when he saw that POMPEIVS followed not on in chase, he said of him, *That hee knew not how to use a victorie*. A second time, in *Spaine*, at the last battaile that ever he fought, what time, being in great despaire, hee was of mind even to have killed himselfe.

37 HAVING finished all his warres, he rode in 5. triumphs: to wit, when he had
A.V.C. 708. vanquished SCIPIO, 4. times in one and the same moneth, but certaine daies betweene: and once againe, after hee had overcome the children of POMPEIVS.
709. The first and most excellent triumph that hee solemnized, was that over Gaule: then followed the *Alexandrine*; after it the *Pontick*; next thereunto the *African*: and last of all the *Spanish*: every one set out diversly, with variety of Ordinance, provision and furniture. On the day of his Gaules triumph, as he rode along the
* A Streete in Rome. **Velabrum*, he had like to have beene shaken out of his Chariot, by reason that the Axel-tree brake. Hee mounted up into the Capitoll by torch-light, having xl. Elephants on his right hand & left, bearing (*a*) branches and candlesticks. In his Pontick triumph, among the Pageants and shewes of that pomp, he caused to be caried before him the title & superscription of these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I came, I saw, I conquered: signifying, not the acts atchieved by warre, as other
* *Sicut ceteri.* Conquerours, but noting his expedition in despatching the warre.

38 THROVGHOVT the Legions of old Souldiers, he gave in the name of pillage,
* Or rather *Decena*, that is, 20000. unto every footman (over and above the (*a*) 2000. *sestertij*, which he had paied at the beginning of the civill tumult) (*b*) * 4000. *sestertij*: and to the horse-men (*c*) *
* Rather *quadragena*, that is 40000. 24000. a piece. He assigned lands also unto the, but not lying all together, because none of the owners should be thrust out (of their livings.) Among the people (of *Rome*) beside x. *modij* of corne, & as many pints of oyle, he distributed & dealt 300
* By which reckoning the proportion ro horsemen was double. Sesterces also by the poll, which hee had in times past promised, with an overdeale of 100. a peece to boote, * for time. Hee remitted moreover one yeeres
* That is, for bearing so long. house rent, unto all tenants in *Rome*, if it amounted to 2000. Sestertij and not above: but to those in *Italie*, if the said rent exceeded not 500. Furthermore, hee made them a generall great feast, & distributed a dole of raw flesh: yea, and after
* *Visceration*: which as some thinke *Persius*, calleth *agninum*, and is expounded *suppara* whereupon the *Genius* of such merriments, is named *Evocatius*. his victorie in *Spaine* he gave them 2. dinners: For, deeming the former of them to have beene made niggardly and not beseeming his liberality, he bestowed upon them 5. daies after, another, and in most large and plenteous manner.

39 HE exhibited shewes of sundry sorts (as namely) a sword-fight of Fencers
A.V.C. 708. at sharpe: hee set forth Stage Plaies likewise in severall quarters and (*a*) Regions of the Citie throughout, and those verily acted by * Plaiers in all languages: Semblably, the solemne games (*b*) *Circenses*, hee shewed; and brought foorth Champions also to performe their devoir, and represented a naval-fight. At the saide solemnity of sword-plaiers, there fought to the uttrance in the Market place of *Rome*, FVRIVS LEPTINVS, descended from the race of Pretours, and A. CALPENVS, one who had beene sometime a Senatour, and a pleader of causes at the barre. There daunced the (*c*) *Pyrrhick* warlike daunce, the children of the Princes and Potentates of *Asia* and *Bithynia*. During the Stage plaies aforesaid (*d*) D. LABERIVS a Gentleman of *Rome* acted his owne Poem or Enterlude: For which, being rewarded with 500. thousand Sesterces, and a ring

* To gratifie all strangers that conflowed to Rome.

of

of gold, he passed directly frō the Stage by the (e) *Orchestra*, to take up his place among the Knights in the 14. foremost seates. At the Games *Circenses*, against which the Cirque was enlarged on both sides and moted round about, there drave the Steedes drawing Chariots foure and two together, yea and mounted the vaunting Horses from one to another, the greatest gallants & bravest young Gentlemen of the Nobilitie. The (f) warlike Trojan Game was performed by a two-fold troupe of greater boyes and lesse. The hunting or baiting of wilde beasts was presented five daies together. And the last day of all, there was a fight betweene two battailes of 500. footmen, 20. Elephants, and 30. horsemen on a side, put to skirmish one against the other. For, to the end that they might have more scope to bicker together, the (g) goales were taken up and removed: but in steed of them were pitched two * Campes confronting one another. As for the (h) Champions above-said, they having a place for to exercise their feats of Activitie set out and built for the present time, strove for the prize or best Game three daies together in the Region of *Mars* field. To set out the *Naumachie* or naval battaile, there was a place digged for a great poole, in the lesse (i) *Codeta*; wherein certaine gallies as well with two ranks of Oares as with three; the ships of *Tyros* also & of *Ægypt* encountred, being manned with a great number of fighting men. To behold these sights and shewes, such a number of people resorted from all parts, as most of the strangers either within the streetes of the Citie or in the high waies without, were faine to abide within booths pitched of purpose: yea, and often-times very many were in the presse crowded and crushed to death; among whom were two Senatours.

* Or Tents.

TVRNINO after this to set the State of the Common-weale in good order, he reformed the Kalender, which long since through the Prelates default, by their liberty of interlacing (moneths and daies) at their pleasure, was so confused, that neither the feastivall holidaies of harvest fell out in Sommer, nor those of the vintage in Autumne. And he framed the whole yeare just unto the course of the Sunne, that it should containe 365. daies; and by abolishing the leape moneth, one (a) day every fourth yeare might be inserted betweene. 40

Now to the end that the computation of the times to come, might from the * new Kalends of Ianvarie agree the better, betweene November and December, he put two other moneths. So as, that yeare wherein all this was ordained, had 15. moneths, reckoning the ordinarie interlaced moneth, which by course and custome fell just upon the said yeare.

* *Calendis Ianuarijs nonis.*

HE made up the full (a) number of the Senatours, and chose unto that place * new (b) *Patritij*. The number of Pretours, Ædiles, Questors, and of other (c) inferiour Magistrates hee augmented. Such as were displaced and put downe by vertue of the Censors Office, or otherwise by sentence of the Iudges condemned for unlawfull briberie, and suing indirectly for any Office, hee restored to their former roomes. In the election of Magistrates he parted with the people thus farre forth; as (excepting the Competitours of the Consulship) for all the number besides of Candidates, the one halfe should be declared those whom the People were disposed to propound, the other halfe, such as himselfe would nominate. Which nomination passed by certaine bills sent about unto the Tribes, in a briefe kind of Writ, after this manner: CÆSAR DICTATOVR unto this or that Tribe (greeting) I commend unto you, such an one 41

* According to the Law *Cassia*.

and ſuch an one, that by vertue of your voices and ſuffrages they may have and hold the dignitie they ſue for. He admitted unto honorable places the children * of thoſe who had been proſcript and outlawed. He reduced all Iudgements unto two ſorts of Iudges, namely of the Knights degree and the Senatours: As for the Tribunes of the Treaſurie or chamber of the Citie, which had been the third, he utterly * aboliſhed. The generall ſurvay and numbering of the people he held, neither after the accuſtomed (*d*) manner, nor in the uſuall place, but ſtreete by ſtreete, and that by the * Land-lords & owners of meſſuages and tenements ſtanding together: and whereas 3020000 Citizens (*e*) received allowance of corne from the State, he brought and reduced them to the number of one hundred & fiftie thouſand. And to the end that no new conventicles & riots at any time might ariſe about this review, he ordained, That every yeare, in the place of thoſe that were deceaſed, the Pretour ſhould make a new ſupply and choiſe by caſting lots, out of ſuch as had not beene reckoned and enrolled in the former ſurvey.

* Contrary to the Law *Cornelia.*

* Diſabled the for being Iudges.

* As who beſt knew the number of their tennants and inhabitants in their houſes.

42 MOREOVER, when as to the number of 80000. (Romaine) Citizens were beſtowed in ſundry Colonies beyond the Sea; hee made a Law for the more frequent inhabiting of the Citie (of *Rome*) thus exhauſted and diſpeopled; That no Citizen above 20. yeares of age, and under 40. (unleſſe he were a ſworne (*f*) ſouldiour to the State, and ſo bound by his oath) ſhould remaine out of *Italie* above 3. yeares together: Item, That no Senatours ſonne, except hee lodged within the houſe or Pavilion, or belonged to the (*g*) familiar triall of a chiefe Magiſtrate, ſhould travaile (forth of *Italie*.) Item, That no Graſiars ſhould keep and reteine fewer than a third part of free borne young men, among the keepers of their cattell. All profeſſours of phyſick at *Rome*, and teachers of the liberall Arts, he enfranchized Citizens: that both they themſelves might more willingly dwell in the Citie, & others beſide deſire there to inhabite. As touching money lent out; when he had quite put down the expectation of (*h*) cancelling debts, (a thing that was often * moved) hee decreed at length; That all debtours ſhould ſatisfie their Creditours in this manner: Namely by an eſtimate made of their poſſeſſions, according to the worth and value as they purchaſed them before the civill warre, deducting out of the principall whatſoever had beene paide or ſet downe in the Obligations for the uſe: by which condition, the third part wel-neare of the money credited forth, was loſt. All the Societies and Colledges, ſaving thoſe that were of auncient foundation, he diſſolved. The penalties of hainous crimes he augmented: And whereas the rich & wealthier ſort fell to wickednes ſo much the ſooner, becauſe they went * into baniſhment, and ſaved their whole patrimonies and eſtates: (*i*) parricides therefore and wilfull murderers (as CICERO writeth) hee deprived of all their goods; other manſlaiers beſides he fined with the loſſe of one halfe.

* Either by the Tribunes of the Cõmons, or the debters themſelves.

* In the free State before the Emperors, Citizens of Rome might depart before ſentence pronounced, & ſo avoid with cõdemnation and loſſe of goods.

43 HE miniſtred Iuſtice and decided matters in Law, moſt painfully and with paſſing great ſeveritie. Such as were attaint and convict of (*a*) extortion, hee removed even from their Senatours place and degree. He brake the mariage of a man that had beene Pretour, marying a wife preſently after two daies that ſhe was divorced and went from a former huſband, albeit there was no ſuſpition at all of adulterie and naughtineſſe. Hee ordained cuſtomes and impoſts of forraine merchandize. The uſe of Lictors, likewiſe the wearing of purple * cloathes and of pearle he tooke away, ſaving onely in certaine perſons and ages, and upon ſpecial daies. The Law *Sumptuaria*, (*b*) to repreſſe exceſſive coſt in fare, he executed moſt of any other: And for this purpoſe, he ſet certaine Watchmen and Warders in ſundry places about the ſhambles and markets where victuals were ſold, to lay hold upon all cates and viands contrarie to the preſcript rule of the Law in that behalfe, and to bring the ſame unto him. Otherwhiles alſo, he ſent ſecretly his owne Officers & Souldiours, to fetch away ſuch meates out of the very dining Parlors and banquetting roomes, even when they were ſet upon the bord, if happily they had any way eſcaped the hands of the foreſaid warders.

* Or ſcarlet in graine.

44 FOR, as concerning his purpoſe to adorne and beautifie the Citie of *Rome* with gallant works, as alſo to maintaine & amplifie the Empire, hee had more matters in his head and greater every day than other. Principally his intent and meaning was, to build ſo ſtately a temple in the honour of *Mars*, as the like was no where to be ſeene; having filled up and laid levell that huge pit, wherin he had exhibited the ſhew of a Naval battel: & alſo to erect

an

an exceeding great Theater, fast adjoyning to the Mount *Tarpeius*. Item, to reduce the whole corps of the civill Law to a certaine meane and mediocrity: and out of that huge and diffused number of Lawes, to choose out the best and necessarie points, and those to bring into as few volumes as possibly might be. Item, to erect publiquely the greatest Libraries that he could, as wel of Greeke as Latine Authors: committing unto (*a*) M. VARRO the charge, both to provide the said books, and also to digest & place them in order. Item to lay the Meeres & Fennie Plashes POMPTINÆ drie: to draw & let forth the lake *Fucinus*: to make a cawsie or high-way, from the Adriatick Sea, by the ridge or side of the Apennine hill, as farre as to the river *Tibris*, & to digge through the (*b*) *Isthmus*. Moreover, to bridle the Dakes who had invaded *Pontus* and *Thracia*: and soone after, to make warre upon the Parthians by the way of *Armenia* the lesse: but not to give them battell before he had made (*c*) triall of them. Amid these purposes and designes, death prevented him. Concerning which, before I enter into speech, it shall not be impertinent to deliver summarily those points which concerne the shape, feature, and proportion of his body: his habite & apparell: his fashions and behaviour: and withall, what may touch both his civill and also his martiall affaires.

OF stature he is reported to have beene tall; of complexion white & cleare; 45
with limbs well trussed and in good plight; somewhat full faced; his eies black, lively, and quick; also very healthfull, saving that in his latter daies he was given to faint and swoune sodainly; yea, and as he dreamed, to start and be affrighted: twice also in the midst of his martiall *affaires, he was surprized with the (*a*) falling sicknes. About the trimming of his body, he was * over-curious: so as he would not onely be notted & shaven very precisely, but also have his haire plucked, in so much as some caft it in his teeth, and twitted him therewith. Moreover, finding by experience, that the deformity of his bald head was oftentimes subject to the scoffes and scornes of back-biters and slaunderers, hee tooke the same exceedingly to the heart: and therefore he both had usually drawne downe his haire that grew but thin, from the crowne toward his forehead: and also of all honours decreed unto him from the Senate and People, he neither received nor used any more willingly, than the priviledge to weare continually the triumphant Lawrel guirland. Men say also, that in his apparel he was noted * for singularity, as who used to goe in his Senatours purple studded robe, trimmed with a jagge or frindge at the sleeve hand: and the same so, as hee never was but girt over it, and that very slack and loose: whereupon, arose (for certaine) that saying of SVLLA, who admonished the Nobles oftentimes, *To beware of the boy that went girded so dissolutely.*

* *Interregerendas vel agendas*, that is, *cum aciem ordinaret*, *Plutarch.* While he was setting his Armie in battaile ray.

* Or fantasticall.

* His attire different from others, or of a new fashion which the Greekes call ἰσθῆτος ἑτερότης καινοπρεπής.

HE dwelt at first in the * *Suburra*; but after he was high priest, in the streete *Sacra*, in an edifice of the Cities. Many have written, that he was exceedingly addicted to neatnesse in his house, and sumptuous fare at his Table. The Mannor house which he founded out of the very ground, & with great charge: finished in the territorie *Nemorensis*, because it was not wholly answerable to his minde, he demolished and pulled quite downe: although as yet he was but of meane estate and deepely endebted. Finally, this speech goeth of him, That in his expeditions he caried about with him * pavements of checker worke made of quarels square cut, so as they might be taken asunder, and set againe together. 46

* A Streete in Rome much frequented.

* The paving tiles of marble &c, whereof such floores are made.

HE made a voyage (as they say) into *Britaine*, in hope of pearles: and 47

otherwhiles, in comparing their bigneſſe, would with his owne hand peiſe them to finde their weight. For to get and buy up pretious ſtones, engraved and chaſed peeces, Images, and painted Tables of antique worke, he was ever moſt eager and ſharp ſet. Slaves likewiſe, if they were any thing freſh and new come, trimly ſet out with all, and fine, he procured at an exceeding price, ſuch as himſelfe alſo was aſhamed of: ſo as he forbad expreſly the ſame ſhould be brought in any of his reckonings and accoumpts.

48 IT is reported of him, that in all the Provinces which he governed, hee feaſted continually, and furniſhed two Halls or dining chambers ordinarily; the one, wherein either * Gaules in their warlike habite, or Greeks in their cloakes; the other, in which the gown'd Romaines, together with the more noble and honourable perſonages of the Provinces ſat. The domeſticall Diſcipline of his houſe hee kept ſo duly, ſo preciſely, and with ſuch ſeverity, in ſmall matters as well as greater; that hee bound with fetters and yrons his Baker for ſerving up ſecretly unto his gueſts other bread than to himſelfe: And a freed man of his owne (whom otherwiſe he did ſet very great ſtore by) he put to death, for diſhonouring by adulterie a Romaine Gentlemans wife, albeit no man made complaint thereof.

* Thus *Turnebus* expoundeth it: But it may be meant of the meaner ſort of his *Cohors prætoria*, who were *Sagati* or *palliati*: to put a difference betweene them & the perſons of better quality, who were *Togati*.

49 HIS good name for continencie and cleane life, nothing verily blemiſhed, ſave onely the aboade and inward familiaritie with NICOMEDES: but a foule ſtaine that was, which followed him with ſhame for ever; yea, and miniſtred taunting and reproachfull matter unto every man. I omit the notorious verſes of CALVUS LICINIVS.

——————— *Bithynia quicquid,*
*Et * pædicator Cæſaris, unquam habuit,*
Looke what it was that *Bithyne* Land had ever more or leſſe;
And he that CÆSAR did abuſe, in filthie wantonneſſe.

* That is, K. *Nicomedes.*

I let paſſe the invectives and accuſatorie actions of DOLABELLA and CVRIO the Father: In which, DOLABELLA for his part, termeth him *the Kings Concubine in the Queenes place*, and the inner roome of his Licter: and CVRIO, nameth him NICOMEDES *his * filth and harlot*, yea and the *Bithynian Brothel houſe*. I overpaſſe likewiſe thoſe Edicts of BIBVLVS, wherein he publiſhed his colleague, and made him knowne, by the name of the *Bithynian Queene*: ſaying moreover, *That before, he had loved the King, and now caſt a fanſie to the Kingdom*. At which verie time, as M. BRVTVS makes report, there was one OCTAVIVS alſo, a man upon diſtemperature of his braine given to jeſt and ſcoffe over broadly, who in a moſt frequent aſſembly, after he had called POMPEIVS, King, ſaluted him by the name of Queene: C. MEMMIVS likewiſe layd in his diſh, that he ſtood with the reſt of the ſtale Catamites as Cup-bearer, to ſerve NICOMEDES with wine at a full feaſt, where ſate at the Table divers Merchants and Occupiers, Citizens of *Rome*, whoſe names he putteth downe. But CICERO, not contented herewith, that in certaine Epiſtles he had written, how by the Guard or Penſioners of the ſaid King being * conveied into his bed-chamber, hee lay downe upon a bed of gold, arraied in purple: and ſo the flower of youth and maidenhead of him, who was deſcended from (*a*) *Venus*, became defiled and deſteind in *Bithynia*. One time alſo, as CÆSAR in the Senate houſe pleaded to the cauſe and in the behalfe of NYSA, NICOMEDES his daughter, and therewith rehear-

* Stabulum.

* *Deductum*, or *Eductum*, that is, brought out of his owne bed-chamber into the kings.

ſed

sed up the gracious favours that the King had done unto him, *Let be* (quoth he) *these matters I pray you, and away with them, since it is well knowne, both what hee bestowed upon you, and also what you gave to him.* Finally, in the Triumph over *Gaule*, his Souldiers among other Sonnets (such as they use to chaunt merily when they followe the (triumphant) Chariot) pronounced also these verses so commonly divulged.

Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem,
Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias;
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui (b) *subegit Cæsarem.*

CÆSAR did subdue the Gaules, and him hath NICOMEDE.
Behold, now CÆSAR doth triumph, who did the Gaules subdue:
But NICOMEDE triumpheth not who CÆSAR hath subdu'd.

AN opinion there is constantly received; That he was given to carnall pleasures, and that way spent much: also, that he dishonoured many Dames, and those of noble houses: by name among others, POSTUMIA the wife of SERVIVS SVLPITIVS; LOLLIA, wife to A. GABINIVS; TERTVLLA, M. CRASSVS his wife, and MVTIA the wife of CN. POMPEIVS. For, certaine it is, that not onely the *Curiones*, both Father and Sonne, but many others also reproached POMPEIVS; *That for whose cause, he had put away his owne wife after she had borne him three children, and whom hee was wont with a deepe sigh and groane to call* * ÆGISTHVS; *his daughter* (I say) *afterwards, hee espoused; upon a desire of power and greatnes by that mariage.* But above the rest, he cast affection to SERVILIA the mother of M. BRVTVS; for whom both in his * last Consulship he had bought a pearle that cost him * sixe millions of Sesterces: and also unto whom during the civill warre, over and above other free gifts, hee sold in open port sale, faire Lands and most goodly Manors at a very low price: what time verily, when most men mervailed that they went so cheape, CICERO most pleasantly and conceitedly, *That yee may know* (quoth hee) *shee hath the better pennyworth in the purchase,* (a) *Tertia deducta est.* For it was thought that SERVILIA was bawd also to her owne daughter TERTIA, and brought her to CÆSAR his bed. 50

NEITHER forbare he so much as mens wives in the Provinces where he was governour, as appeareth even by this his *Distichon*, taken up likewise by his Souldiours at the Gaule Triumph. (a) 51.

Vrbani, servate uxores; mœchum calvum ad ducimus,
Auro in Gallia stuprum emisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.

HE was enamoured also upon Queenes, and among them he loved EVNOE, the Moore, wife of BOGVDES (King of *Mauritania*) upon whō, as also upon her husband, he bestowed very many gifts and of infinite value, as NASO hath left in writing: but most especially hee fancied CLEOPATRA: For, with her, hee both sate up many times and feasted all night long even untill the breake of day; and also in the same Barge or Galley called *Thalameges*, had passed into *Ægypt*, almost as farre as to *Æthiopia*, but that his Armie refused to followe: and in the end having trained her into the Citie of *Rome*, he sent her back againe, not without exceeding great honours, and enriched with many rewards: yea, and suffered her to call the sonne she bare, after his owne * name. Whom verily, some Greek writers have recorded, to have been very like unto CÆSAR both in shape and 52.

* Thar is, Adulterer: For that Ægysthus committed adultery with *Clytemnestra* the wife of *Agamemnon.*

* *Proximo, alij legunt primo,* that is, first, cum *Bibulo.*

* 46875. pound sterling, or 150000. French crowns, according to *Budæus.*

* Of which the Ægyptians Kings had alwaie ready rigged 800. as *Appian* writeth.

* That is *Ptolomæus Cæsario.*

and also in * gate: And M. ANTONIVS avouched unto the Senate, that by the same resemblance he knew him to be his sonne: averring withall, That C. MATIVS, CAIVS OPPIVS, & the rest of CÆSARS friends knew as much. Of whō, C. OPPIVS (as if the thing were so pregnant, that it required some Apologie & defence) put forth a book entituled thus: TAAT HE WAS NOT CÆSARS SONNE, WHOM CLEOPATRA FATHERED VPON HIM. HELVIUS CINNA, a Tribune of the Com. confessed unto many persons, That hee had a Law drawne out in writing & in readines, which CÆSAR being absent himselfe cōmaunded him to propose, to this effect, *That it might be lawfull for him to marrie * what wives and as * many as he would, for to get children upon.* And that no man need at all to doubt how infamous he was, both for (*b*) uncleanneſse of body against kinde, and also for adulteries, CVRIO the Father in a certaine Oration calleth him *a woman for all men, and a man for all women.*

* *Incessu*, in his gang or manner of going.

* *Quas et quot, ducere vellet*, even an Alien.

* For otherwise, πολυγαμία was unlawfull. And *Antonius* was the first Romaine that had two wives at once.

53. THAT he was a most sparie drinker of wine, his very enemies would never denie. Whereupon arose this Apophthegm of M. CATO, *That of all that ever were, CÆSAR alone came sober to the overthrow of the State.* For, about his foode and diet C. OPPIVS sheweth hee was so indifferent & without curiosity, that when upon a time his Host set before him upon the bord olde ranke oile in steed of greene, sweet, & fresh, so that other guests refused it, he onely (by his saying) fell to it & eate therof the more liberally; because he would not be thought to blame his * Host either for negligence or rusticitie.

* *Conditum oleum penult. cor.* or *conditum product. id est unguentum*, an ointment.

* Or friend.

54 FROM other mens goods he held not his hands, neither when he had the cōmand of Armies abroad, nor when he was in place of magistracie at home: For, in *Spaine* (as some have recorded) he took money of the * Proconsul, & the Allies there, and that by way of begging, to help him out of debt: and certaine townes of the * *Lusitanes*, he sacked in hostile manner, albeit they denied not to do whatsoever he commanded them; and besides, did set open their gates for him against his comming: In *Gaule* he robbed & spoiled the Chappels & * Temples of the Gods, full of rich gifts & oblations. As for Cities, he put them to the sack, more often for bootie sake and pillage, than for any trespasse committed. Whereupon it came to passe, that he got abundance of gold, so as of it which he had to spare and did set to sale, * he sold throughout *Italy* and in the Provinces after (*a*) 3000 sesterces of silver the pound weight. In his first Consulship, when he had stollen out of the Capitoll three thousand pound waight of gold, hee bestowed in the place thereof as much brasse guilt. The priviledges of Societie and alliance with the Romanes, as also Kings Titles he gave for summes of money: as who (for example) from * PTOLOMEVS that was but one, tooke away wel-neere 6000 * talents, in the name of himselfe & POMPEIVS: But afterwards by most open pilling, poling, and sacriledges, he maintained the charges both of civill warres, and also of his triumphes and * solemne shewes exhibited to the people.

* Tubero.

* That is, in Portugale.

* *Templaq; deorū*, &c. or *templaq; dearum*, &c. the temples, ful of rich gifts and oblations to the Gods.

* *Divenderet*, some reade *divideret*, hee distributed and dealt away.

* *Aureos*. Sc: of silver after 80 pound weight the talent.

* *Munerum*

* *Eloquentia, militarique re*, after *Lipsius*.

55 IN eloquence and warlike feates together, he either equalled or excelled the glory of the very best. After his accusation of DOLOBELLA, he was no doubt ranged in the ranke of the principall Advocates at Law. Certes, CICERO in his Catalogue of Oratours to BRVTVS, sayeth; *He cannot set any one, unto whom CÆSAR might give place*; affirming withall, *That hee holdeth an elegant and gay, a stately also, and in some sort a generous and Gentlemanlike kind of pleading*: And unto CORNELIVS NEPOS, thus wrote he of the same CÆSAR. *What should a man*

say

say more? which of all there Oratours that practised nothing else but Oratorie, will you preferre before this CÆSAR? *who is there in sentences either quicker or comming thicker? who for words, yeelded more gallant or more elegant?* Hee seemeth whiles he was yet but young, to haue followed that forme of eloquence onely, which STRABO CÆSAR professed: out of whose Oration also intituled, *Pro Sardis*, he transferred some sentences, worde for word, into his owne, called *Divinatio*. It is said, that in his * *Pronunciation*, he used an high and shrill voyce; an ardent motion; and earnest gesture, not without a lovely grace. Some Orations he left behind him (in writing.) Among which certaine goe under his name, but vntruely as namely that *pro Q.* METELLO: which AVGVSTVS deemeth (and not without good cause) to to haue beene written rather by Notaries, who either tooke not his words aright, or wrote not so fast, as he deliuered them, than penned by himselfe. For in certaine copies I find that it had not so much as this Inscription, Pro METELLO: but * *quam scripsit* METELLO: being (as it is indeede) a speech comming from the person of CÆSAR, cleering METELLVS and himselfe, against the criminations and slaunders of common backebiters to them both. The Oration likewise,* *Ad* MILITES, in *Spaine*, the same AVGVSTVS hardly thinketh to be his: And yet there be 2. of them extant: the one, was pronounced at the former battaile: the other, at the latter: when, by the report of ASINIVS POLLIO, he had not so much as any time to make a speech; the enemies ran upon him & charged so suddainly.

* Take it generally for the whole Actions.

* Which he wrote for, or to Metellus.

* Orat. apud Milites.

He left Commentaries also *of his owne Acts*, to wit, as touching *the Gaule-warre, and the Ciuill warre with* POMPEIVS. For, of the ALEXANDRINE, AFRICAN, and *Spanish warres*, who was the writer it is uncertaine: Whilest some thinke it was OPPIVS; others, HIRTIVS; who also made up and finished the last of the *Gaule-war*, which was unperfect. As concerning those Commentaries aforesaid of CÆSAR, CICERO in the * same booke, writeth thus: *Hee wrote Commentaries exceeding well, I assure you, to be liked: (naked they be, straight and vpright, yea and lovely too, being deuested, as it were, of all ornaments & trimme attire of Style) but while his mind was, that other disposed to write a complet historie, should furnish and serue themselues with matter there ready to their hands, happilie to some foolish folke he did some pleasure, who are willing to curle and frizle the same with their crisping pins, but surely the wiser sort he skared altogither from writing.* Of the same Commentaries, HIRTIVS giueth this report. They are quoth he, in the iudgement of all men so approved, that it seemes he hath prevented writers, and not given them any helpe. And yet, our admiration of this matter is more than all mens beside. For, whereas others doe know onely how well and purely they were penned, wee note also with what facilitie & expedition he wrote them. POLLIO ASINIVS thinketh they were compiled with smal care & diligence: with as little regard also of sound truth: seeing that CÆSAR receiued hand ouer head, & beleeued most things lightly: namely such as were by others atchieued; and euen those Actes which himselfe exploited either of purpose or for default of memorie hee put downe wrong: He supposeth also that he meant to haue writte the same a new & corrected the. He left moreouer ij. books, *de Analogia*: & as many * *Anticatones*

* Ad Brutum.

* Asinius Pollio.

* Against Cicero in the dispraise of *Cato Vticensis* in whose commendation Cicero had written before,

besides

besids a Poeme, entituled *Iter*; of which bookes the *formost he made in his passage ouer the Alpes, what time as hauing ridde his *Circuits* and finished the *Assises*, he returned out of the hither prouince of *Gaule* to his armie: Those next *following, about the time of the battaile at *Munda*. And the last * of all, whiles he trauailed from the Citie of Rome into the farther prouince of Spaine, and performed that iourney within * 24. dayes. Extant, there bee also Epistles of his written unto the Senate: which (as it seemeth) he was the first that turned into pages and leaues, euen to a forme of a * *Memoriall*: whereas before time, the Consuls and generalles, never sent any letters but writtē overthwart the paper. MISSIVES likewise there be of his written to CICERO, and to familiar friends as touching home-affaires. In which, if any matters of secrecie were to be carried, he wrote them by priuie * markes: that is to say, placing the letters in such order, as there could not one word be made of them. Which if a man would descypher and find out, he must of *Necessitie* exchaunge euerie fourth letter of the Alphabet; to wit. d. for a. and the rest * likewise. Furthermore there be certaine workes of his abroad in mens hands written when he was a boy & a very youth: as namely, *The Praises of* HERCULES, *the Tragedie of* OEDIPUS: *as also, Collects of Sayings and* APOPHTHEGMES: All which pamphlets, AUGUSTUS forbad to be published, in a certaine Epistle of his; which beeing verie briefe and plaine; he sent to POMPEIUS MACER whome hee had appointed for the disposing and ordering of his *Libraries*.

*De Analogia

*Anticatones

*Iter.

*Or rather 27.

*A Booke of remembrance.

* In manner of Cyphres.

* e for b &c.

57 In * handling his weapon most skilfull he was, and in horsemanship as cunning: But what paines he would take, it is incredible. In the marching of his armie, his manner was to be formost: sometime on horsebacke, more often on foote: bare headed, whether the Sunne shone, or the Clouds poured raine. He made exceeding long Iournies with incredible speede: euen an hundred miles a day riding in some hired * wagon, if he were lightly appointed otherwise and without cariages. Were riuers in his way to hinder his passage? crosse ouer them he would; either swimming, or els bearing himselfe upon blowed leather * bottles: so that, verie often he preuented the letter-cariers, and messengers of his comming.

* Or bearing armes.

* Or riding an horse.

* Or carroch with fowre wheeles, ἁπήνη, or τετρά-κυκλον, Greek.

In imitatiō here of the Romains deuised *Ascogephros, quasi* ἀσκόφορος, bridges founded upon such leather bottles blowne with wind or lightly stuffed with straw.

58 In performing his expeditions & martialexploites doubtful it is, whether he were more warie or adventurous? He neither ledde his armie at any time through wayes dangerous for ambushments, before he had throughly vewed and descried the situation of the quarters. nor put ouer his fleete into *Britaine*, vntill he had beforehand in * proper person sounded the hauens, and tryed the manner of sayling, and arriuall to the Iland. Howbeit, the same man, (as circumspect as he was) upon newes brought unto him, that his Campe was beleagured in Germaine; passed through his enemies *Corps de guard* in French habite, and so came unto his owne men. From *Brundis* to *Dirrhachium*, he sayled ouer Sea in * winter, betweene Fleetes of the enemies riding opposite one to the other: and whiles his own forces which he had commanded to follow streight after him, lingered still behinde; hauing sent messengers oftentimes to call them away but all in vaine, at last himselfe secretly in the night went abourd into a verie small botume, with his head hooded: and neither discouered who he was, nor suffered the pillot to giue way vnto the Tempest that came

*Yet himselfe writeth that he sent C. Vossenus before.

*Hiems, or in a tempestuous and stormie season, as Virgil and others, vse the word.

came full affront the vessell, before hee was well nere overwhelmed with the waves.

No religious feare of diuine prodigies could ever fray him from any enterprise, or stay him if it were once in hand. As he sacrificed vpon a time, the beast made an escape & ran away: yet for all that differred not he his journey against SCIPIO and IVBA. He fortuned also to take a fall then, even as hee went forth of the ship to land: but turning this foretoken to the better presage, *I take possession* quoth hee, *of thee, O Afrike*. Moreouer, in verie skorne, and to make but a mockerie of those prophesies, whereby the name of *Scipions* was fatall to that province, and held luckie and invincible there, he had with him in his Campe the most base and abiect fellow of all the *Cornelian* family, & who in reproch of his life was surnamed * SALVITO. 59

*Or Salutio. Read *Plinie Natur.* Hist. lib. 7. cap. 12.

He fought * not often set fields appointed before hand, but vppon the present occasion offred: Many times he struck a battaile immediatly after his iourny, otherwhiles in most foule & stormie wether, when no man ever thought he would once sturre. Neither held he off, and detracted fight, but in his latter dayes: being then of this opinion that the oftener he had gotten victorie, the lesse he was to venture and make tryall of fortune; Also, *That a victorie could gaine him nothing so much, as some disasterous calamitie might take from him*. No enemie put he ever to flight, but he discamped him and draue him out of the field. By this meanes he gave them whom hee had once discomfited, no time to be thinke themselues. In any doubtfull and dangerous service, his manner was to send away the horses, and his owne with the first: to the ende, that when all meanes of flight were gone, they might of necessitie be forced the rather to stand to it and abide to the last. 60

*Non sæpe. Some read, *non tantum*, not onely &c. but also.

The horse he used to ride upon was strangly marked, with feete resembling verie neere a mans, and the houes cloven like toes, which horse was foaled about home: and when the Soothsayers of their learning had pronounced; that he presaged unto his owner the Empire of the whole world, verie carefull hee was to reare him and nourish him. Now when as the beast would abide no man els to ride him, himselfe was he that backed him first. The full pourtraict and proportion of which horse, he dedicated also afterwards before the Temple of *Venus (a) Genitrix*. 61

Many a time himselfe alone renued the battaile when it was discomfited, stading in their way that fled & holding thē one by one backe: yea & by wreathing their throats he turned them againe vpō the enemies. Thus dealt he I say with his own soldiers, whē they were many times verily so fearefully maskared, that a * Standerdbearer threatned as he staied him, to smite him with the * foote-poinct of the speare that carried the (b) Aegle: and another left behinde him the Ensigne in CÆSAR shand as he deteined it. 62

*Aquilifer. Some read *Aquilifero*, as if *Cæsar* threatned the Standerdbearer. *See Valer. Max. lib. 3 cap. 2.*

*Wherewith it was pitched into the ground.

63. Of his constant resolution these be no lesse tokens, if not greater (which I shall now reherse). After the battaile af PHARSALIA, when he had sent his forces before into *Africke*, and himselfe crossed the seas through the streight of *Hellespont* in a small * passengers barke, where he met with L. CASSIUS one of the adverse part, with x. strong war-ships armed with brasen beakeheads: he avoided him not, nor, gave way: but affronting him, began to exhort him for to yeld: and so upon his humble supplication receiued him abourd.

*Pectoria naviculo a ferrie boate If you read *victor*, i. being conquerour, distinguish there.

but plaine *Souldiours*. Nay hee would not suffer them otherwise to be termed so much as by his sonnes, or his wives sonnes: thinking it was a more affected manner of Appellation than stoode either with martial Law, or the (*a*) quietnes of those times, or the maiestie of himselfe and his house: (*b*) Libertines he emploied in soulderie unlesse it were at *Rome* about skarfires by night, (not withstanding there was feared some tumult and uprore by occasion of great dearth and scarcity) but twice onely: once in garizon for defence of those *Colonies* which bounded fast upon *Illyricum*; a second time for keeping the banks of the riuer of *Rhene*. And those, being as yet bond, imposed upon men and women of the wealthier sort for to set out, but without delay manumised, he kept with him to serve under one of the formost *banners in the vantguard; neither intermingled with such as were Free borne, nor in the same manner armed. As for militarie gifts hee gave unto his souldiours trappers collars and *whatsoever stoode upon gold or silver, much sooner than (*c*) *Vallar* or *Mural* coronets which were more honourable. These he bestowed most sparily; and when he did, it was without suit made therefore: and many times upon the cõmon (*d*) and base souldiers. He gave unto M. AGRIPPA after a nauale victory in *Cilicia*, a blew streamer. Those Captaines onely who had triumphed, albeit they were both companions with him in his expeditions, and also partakers of his victories, he thought not meete to be rewarded with any gifts at all: because they also had power to bestow the same upon whom they would. Moreover he deemed nothing lesse beseeming a perfit and accomplished Captaine, than hast-making and rashnesse. And therefore, these mots and sentences were rife in his mouth. Σπεῦδε βραδέως,

Ασφαλὲς δ' ἐς ἀμείνονα, θἠθεμιτοὺς σεσεγμένος ἐστί:

As also, *Sat celeriter fieri, quicquid fiat satis bene.*

His saying was, *That neither battaile nor warre was once to be under taken, unlesse there might be evidently seene more hope of gaine than feare of damage: for such as sought after the smallest commodities, not with a little danger, he likened unto those, that angle or fish with a golden hooke: for the losse whereof, if it happened to be knapt or broken off, no draught of fish whatsoever, was able to make amends.*

26

He managed magistracies and honorable places of government before due *time; some of them also of a *new kinde; and others in *perpetuity. The Consulship hee usurped and entred upon in the twentieth (*a*) yeere of his age, presenting forcibly and in hostile manner his legions before the City, sending some of purpose to demaund it, euen in the name of the Armie for him. What time verily, when the *Senate* made some doubt and stay of the matter, CORNELIUS a Centurion and the chiefe man of that message, casting *of his souldiours Iacket and shewing his swords haft, stucke not to say thus openly in the *Senate* house, *This here shall doe the deede, if yee will not*. His second Consulship hee bare nine yeares after: the third, but one yeare betweene: the rest ensuing hee continued one after an other unto the eleuenth. Afterwardes hauing refused many Consulships when they were offered unto him; his twelfth Consulship a greater while after, euen 17 yeares, himselfe made suite for: so did hee againe, two yeares after it, for his thirteenth: to the ende that being himselfe in place of the Soueraine and highest Maiestrate, hee might bring honorably into the Common Hall. C. and L. his (adopted)

* *Sub primore vexillo* or *sub proprio vexillo*: under his owne banner.

* *Quicquid auro argentoq; constaret*: or rather, *quanquã aut oro argentoq; cõstarent*. Albeit they were made of gold and silver.

*By the lawes *Annuarie*, or *Annales*.
*As the Triumvirate.
*As the Tribunes authoritie and Censureship.
*Or casting it behind him *retro sagulo*.

adopted) * sonnes, each of them to Commence and performe their first pleadings at their * duerime in virile gownes. The five middle Consulships betweene, to wit from the sixth to the eleventh he helde the whole yeeres thorough: the other, for the space of sixe, or nine, foure, or three moneths: but the second, very fewe howres: for uppon the very Calends * of Ianuarie, when hee had sitten a while upon his curule chaire of estate before the temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*; hee resigned up the Office, and substituted another in his place. Neither entred hee upon all his Consulships at *Rome*: but the fourth in *Asia*; the fifth, in the Iland *Samos*; the eigth and ninth at *Tarracon*.

* The naturall sonnes of his daughter *Iulia* and *C. Agrippa*.

* The elder in his twelfth, the younger in his thirteenth Consulate.

* The first of Ianuarie of Newyeares day.

27

The Triumvirate for * setling of the Common-wealth, hee administred for the space of tenne yeeres: Wherein verily, hee stoode against his colleagues proceedings for a good while, That there might be no proscription: but when it was once on foote, hee executed it more sharply than they both. For, whereas they were exorable and would bee oftentimes intreated by favour and prayer, to respect the persons of many; hee alone was very earnest, that none might bee spared: among the rest, hee proscribed C. TORANIVS also, his owne *Tutor* and guardian, yea and the companion in the Office of Ædileship with his father OCTAVIVS. IVNIVS SATVRNINVS writeth moreover, that after the proscription was ended, when M. LEPIDVS had in the Senate house excused all that was past and given good hope of clemencie for the time to come, because there had beene execution enough done already: he on the contrarie side professed openly, That hee had determined no other end of the saide proscription, but that hee might have liberty still to proceede in all things as he would. Howbeit, in testimonie of repentance for this rigour and obstinacie of his, hee honoured afterward with the dignitie of Knighthood * T. IVNIVS PHILOPÆMEN, for that hee was reputed to have in times past hid his owne Patron, that was proscribed. In the same *Triumvirate*, hee incurred many waies the ill will and heart-burning of the people: for he commaunded that PINARIVS a Gentleman of *Rome*, (what time as he himselfe made a publike speech in an assembly whereunto hee had admitted a multitude of Paganes, that is to say, such as were no souldiours, and espied him there to take notes of something that he delivered before the souldiours, supposing him to be over busie and a spie,) should be stabbed to death even in his sight: yea, and hee terrified TEDIVS ADER, Consull elect, (because hee had maliciously in some spitefull termes depraved something that he had done) with so great menaces, that in a melancholy hee cast himselfe headlong and brake his owne necke. Likewise, as Q. GALLIVS the Pretour held under his robe a paire of duple writing tables, when hee came of course to doe his duty and salute him; he suspecting, that he had a (short) sword hidden underneath, and not daring straight-waies to search him farther, for feare something else than a sworde should bee found about him; within a little while after caused him to be haled out of the Tribunall seate of Iudgement, by the handes of certaine Centurions of Souldiours, and put to torture like a bondslave; yea & seeing he would confesse nothing, commanded him to be killed; having first

* That was the colour & pretence of it.

* Or *Plancus*. for so was his Patrone named.

with his owne hands plucked his eies out of his head. Howbeit AVGVSTVS writeth, that the said GALLVS by pretending to parle secretly with him, laid waite for his life; whereupon hee committed him to prison, and afterwards dismissed and enlarged him onely to dwell in *Rome*: and that in the end hee perished either by shipwracke, or else by the hands of theeves who forlayed him. Hee received and held the *Tribunate* in perpetuity. Therein, once or twice, he chose and assumed unto him a colleague, for severall † *Lustra*. Hee tooke upon him likewise the government of manners and Lawes as a perpetuall Censour: In full right whereof, although hee had not the honourable title of Censureship, yet hee helde a survey and nombring of the people thrice: the first and third with a companion in office; the middle by himselfe alone.

A.V.C. 732

† *i.* The space of 5. yeeres.

28

Twice hee was in minde, to have resigned up his absolute government. First, immediatly uppon the suppressing of ANTHONIA, mindfull of that which oftentimes * hee had objected against him, namely, as if it had beene long of * him, that it was not resigned, and the Common-wealth brought to a free state againe: and secondly, by reason that hee was weary of a long and lingering sicklinesse; what time he sent also for all the Magistrates * and the Senate, home to his house; and delivered up an Account-booke or Register of the * whole Empire. But considering better with himselfe, that were he once a private person, he could not live without daunger; and withall, that it would greatly hazard the Common-wealth, to be put into the hands and disposure of many; he continued in the holding thereof still. And whether the event ensuing, or his will herein were better, it is hard to say. Which will of his, as hee pretented oftentimes when he sate in place, so hee testified also by a certaine edict in these wordes: *O that I might establish the Common-wealth safe and sound in her owne * proper seat, and thereof reape that fruite which I desire: even that I may be reported the Author of an excellent estate, and carie with mee when I die this hope, that the ground worke and the foundations of the Common-wealth which I shall lay, may continue and abide stedfast in their place.* And verily what hee wished, * himselfe effected and brought to passe, having endevoured and done his best every way, that no man might repent of this newe estate. For the Citie beeing not adourned according to the maiestie of such an Empire and Subiect to the casualties of Deluges and fires, hee beautified and set out so, as iustly he made his boast, that where he found it built of bricke, hee left it all of marble. And for the safety thereof, hee performed as much for future posterity as could be fore-seene and provided for by mans wit and reason.

* The saide Antonie.

* *i.* Augustus.

* *At* Senatū: or, *e senatu. i.* out of the Senate.

* Or of his acts & proceedings in the government.

* Base or Piedstall.

* As if he had beene a God himselfe; according to the saying. *Sapiens ipse fingit fortunam sibi.*

29

Publike works he built very many whereof the chiefe and principall was his *Forum or stately Hall of Iustice*, together with the temple of MARS *the Revenger*. *The temple of* APOLLO *in* Palatinus, *The teple likewise of* IVPITER *the Thunderer*, in the Capitol. The reason why he built the said *Forū*, was the multitude of men & their suites: which because, (*a*) it would not suffice, seemed to have need of a third also. And therfore with great speed erected it was for that publike use, even before the temple of MARS was finished. And expresly provided it was

by

by law, that in it publike causes should be determined apart, and chooſing of Iudges (or Iuries) by it ſelfe. The temple of *Mars* hee had vowed unto him, in the Philippian warre which hee tooke in hand for the revenge of his fathers death. He ordained therefore by an Act, that heere the Senate ſhould be conſulted with, as touching warres & triumphs: that from heeee thoſe Pretours or Governours who were to goe into their provinces ſhould be honorably attended & brought onward on their way: and that hither they ſhould bring the enſignes and ornaments of triumph, who returned with victorie. The temple of *Apollo* he reared in that part of the *Palatine houſe*, which being ſmitten with lightning was by that *God* required, as the Soothſayers out of their learning had pronounced: hereto was adioyned a gallerie, with a librarie of Latine and Greeke bookes. In which temple, he was wont in his old age both to ſit oftentimes in counſaile with the Senate, and alſo to over-ſee & review the *Decuries* of the Iudges. He conſecrated the temple unto IVPITER the *Thunderer*, upon occaſion that he eſcaped a daunger, what time as in his *Cantabrian* expedition, as he travailed by night, a flaſh of lightning glaunced upon his litter, & *ſtrucke his ſeruant ſtone dead*, that went with a light before. Some works alſo he made under other folkes names, to wit his nephew, his wife and ſiſter; as the *Gallerie* and ſtately Pallace of *LVCIVS and CAIVS: likewiſe the *Gallerie* or *Porches* of LIVIA and OCTAVIA: the *Theatre* alſo of MARCELLVS. Moreover diuers other principall perſons hee oftentimes exhorted to adorne and beautifie the City, every man according to his ability either by erecting new monuments, or elſe by repairing and furniſhing the old. By which meanes many an Edifice was by many a man built: as namely the temple of *Hercules* and the *Muſes* by MARCVS PHILIPPVS: the temple of *Diana* by L. CORNIFICIVS. The *Court of Liberty by ASINIVS POLLIO: A temple of *Saturne* by MVNATIVS PLANCVS: a Theatre by CORNELIVS BALBVS; and an (*b*) Amphitheatre by *Statilius Taurus*: but many and thoſe very goodly monuments by M. AGRIPPA.

*His daughters children by *Agrippa*.

*Atriũ libertatis A trium, quaſi aithrit. A place where learned men were wont to meete and conferre, as our Merchants doe in the *Royall Exchange*. built not unlike unto it with arched walks on every ſide ſtanding upon pillers: & as this cloiſture was called *Periſtylium*, ſo, the open yard within, *Area* or *Subdiuale*.

30. The whole ſpace of the City he devided into (*a*) wards and ſtreetes, He ordained, that as Magiſtrates or Aldermen yeerely by lot ſhould keepe and governe the former: ſo their ſhould be Maiſters or Conſtables elected out of the Commons of every ſtreete, to looke unto the other. Againſt skarefires he deviſed night-watches and watchmen. To keepe downe Inundations and Deluges, he enlarged and cleanſed the channell of the River *Tiberis*, which in times paſt was full of rammell and the ruines of houſes, and ſo by that meanes narrow and choaked. And that the Avenues on every ſide to the City might be more paſſable, he tooke in hand himſelfe to repaire the high way or Cawſie *Flaminia*, ſo farre as to ARIMINNVM: and the reſt he committed to ſundry men who had triumphed, for to pave; and the charges thereof to be befraied out of the money raiſed of ſpoiles and ſackage. The ſacred Churches and Chappels decayed and ruinate by continuance of time, or conſumed by fire he reedified: and thoſe together with the reſt hee adorned with moſt rich oblations; as who brought into the Cell, or Tabernacle of *Iupiter Capitolinus* at one Donation, 16000. pound weight of gold, beſides pretious ſtones valued at 50 millions of Seſterces.

But after that hee entred now at length upon the High prieſthood when 31
LEPIDVS A.V.C.741.

LEPIDVS was once dead, which he never could finde in his heart to take from him whiles he lived: what bookes soever of propheſies & deſtinies went commonly abroad in Greeke and Latine, either without authors, or ſuch as were not authenticall and of credite, he cauſed to be called in from all places, to the number of 2000 & aboue: and when he had burnt them, he reteined thoſe only of *Sibyls* propheſies. And even of thoſe alſo he made ſome ſpecial choice: and beſtowed them cloſe in two litle Desks or coffers under the baſe & piedſtoole of APOLLO PALATINVS. The yeeres revolution reduced as it was into order by IVLIVS of ſacred memory, but afterwards through negligence troubled and confuſed, he brought againe to the former calculation. In the diſpoſe whereof, he called the moneth Sextilis (rather than September wherin he was borne:) by his owne name, becauſe in it there befell unto him both his firſt Conſulſhip & alſo notable victories. Of all the Religious & prieſts, but eſpecially of the veſtall virgins he augmented the number, the dignity and the commodities alſo. And whereas in the rowme of any veſtall Nun deceaſed, there muſt another of neceſſity be choſen & take, he perceiving many to make ſuite that they might not put their daughters to the lottery; proteſted and bound it with an oath, that if any one of his owne Nieces or daughters daughters were of competent age he would preſent her to the place. Divers auncient ceremonies alſo which by little & little were diſuſed and aboliſhed, he reſtored againe, as namely the (*a*) *Augurie* of SALVS, the *Flaminſhip* of IVPITER, the *ſacred Lupercal*, the (*b*) *Secular* playes and the *Compitalitij*. At the *Lupercall* Solemnities, he commanded that no beardleſſe boyes ſhould runne. Likewiſe, at the Secular playes, he forbad young folke of both ſexes, to frequent any ſhew exhibited by night; unleſſe it were in the company of ſome auncient perſon of their kindred. The *Tutelare* Images of croſſe-wayes called *Lares Compitales* he was the firſt that ordained to adorne twice in the yeere with flowers of the ſpring & ſommer ſeaſõs. The principal honour next unto the immortall gods, he performed to the memoriall of thoſe worthy Captaines, who had raiſed the *Remaine* onpire from a ſmall thing to ſo high and glorious a ſtate. And therefore both the works & monuments of every of them he repaired & made againe, reſerving their titles and inſcriptions ſtill; and all their Statues alſo in triumphant forme and ſhape he dedicated in both the Porches or galleries of his *Hall* of *Iuſtice*. And in a publick edict he profeſſed thus much, That he deviſed it to this end, That *both himſelfe whiles he lived, and the Princes or Emperours his ſucceſſors for the ages to come, might be called upon and urged by their ſubiects and Citizens to conforme themſelues as it were to their pattron and example.* The Statue likewiſe of POMPEIVS, tranſlated out of the *Court* wherein C. CÆSAR was murdered, he placed over againſt the princely Pallace of his *Theater* under an Arch of marble in manner of a Through-fare.

* *Suppo ſuit*: ſome reade, *ſuperpoſuit*. i. upon ſuch an arched Ianus or Through-fare.

Many moſt daungerous enormities and offenſive abuſes, which either had continued by cuſtome and licentious liberty during the civill warres, or elſe crept in and began in the time of peace to the utter ruine of the Commonwealth, he reformed. For a number of bold roiſters & profeſſed *Robbers* ietted openly with ſhort ſwords & skaines by their ſides, under colour of their owne defence: Paſſengers & waifaring men, as they travailed through the Country, were caught up (by them) as well Free borne as ſlaves without reſpect; & kept hard

32

hard to worke in the *Prisons* of landed men: many factious crewes also, under the title of a *New Colledge* had their meetings & joyned in *fellowship to the perpetrating of mischiefe whatsoeuer. Whereupon, he disposed streng guards, and set watches in conuenient places: he represſed those Robbers and Hacksters, he visited and surveyed the foresaid Prisons: and all Colledges or Guilds save onely those of auncient foundation and by law erected, he dissolved and put downe.* The * bills of old debts due to the Chamber of the City, he * burnt, as being the chiefe matter and occasion of malitious accusations. The publike places & houses in the City, whereof the tenure & hold was doubtfull, he adiudged unto those who were in present possession. The debts & actions commenced against such as had been troubled and sued a long time in the Law, by whose mournfull habite & distressed estate their adversaries sought for nothing but pleasure and the fulfilling of their wils he anulled & denounced this condition withall, that if any one would needes bring them into new trouble againe, he should be liable to the like daunger of punishment or penalty as the molested party was. And to the end that no lewd Act might escape with impunity; nor * businesse in Court be shuffled over by delaies, he added unto the * *Terme* time 30. (*a*) daies over & above: which daies the *Honorarie* * *Games* & playes tooke up (before.) To three Decuries of Iudges he added a fourth out of a lower & meaner degree, which went under the name of * *Ducenarij*, and were to iudge of smaller summes. As for those Iudges hee enrolled & elected them into the Decuries after they were once * 30 yeeres of age: that is to say, five yeeres sooner then they were wont. But seeing that most of them refused & were loth to execute this burdensome office of iudging, he hardly granted that each Decurie should have their yeeres * vacation by turnes; and that the law matters which were wont to be pleaded and tried, in the * moneths of November & December should be let passe & omitted quite.

*In manner of Bridewels or houses of correction.

+Or, obligations.

*Exussit or exussum. cancelled.

*Or cause.

+Law daies, or pleading times.

*Libralia, Bacchanalia, Prasseria, or others in the honour of men living which might be well spared.

*For that they were valewed at 200 Sestertia: where as the other were worth 400.

*Or 20 rather for the ordinarie age was 25 yeares, at which they were eligible:

*Quarto quoq; anno: every 4. yeare.

*Vppon certaine dayes. of those moneths, during which, there were Sports & Reuels and the licentious feast Saturnalia.

33 Himselfe sat daily in Iudgement, yea and other whiles untill it was darke night, lying if he had not his health, in a licter which was of purpose set before the tribunall seate, or else in his owne house: and he ministred iustice not onely with exceeding severity, but also with as great lenity. For when upon a time there was one accused for a manifest parricidy, because he should not be sowed up in a leather (*a*) male or budget (a punishment that none suffred but such as had cõfessed the Fact) he examined (by report) upon interrogatiues in this maner, Certes thou never murderedst thy father, diddest thou? Againe, when as a matter was handled before him as touching a forged will, & all the witnesses that set their hands & seales thereto, were attaint by the (*b*) Law *Cornelia*, he delivered unto the Commissioners who had the hearing & deciding together, of the cause, not onely the two (ordinarie) tables of condemnation and acquitall, but a third also; whereby they might have their pardon, who were certainly knowne to have beene seduced & brought to be witnesses as is before said, either by fraudulent practise or error & over-sight. As for the appeales in Court, he yeerely assigned those which were for the City-Suiters unto Pretours of the City; but if they were for Provinciall persons unto certaine men of the Consuls degree, such as he had ordained, in every province one, for to be in commission and to determine provinciall affaires.

34 The lawes made before time he revised & corrected: some also hee ordained & established a-new: as namely (*a*) *Sumptuaria*, as touching expenses

at the bord: Of (b) *Adulteries* & * unnaturall filthineſſe cõmitted with the male kind: *Of* (c) *indirect ſuite for offices. Of the* (d) mutall mariages of *Senatours* and Gentlemen with Commoners. This act laſt named, when he had amended and reformed ſomewhat more preciſely and with greater ſeveritie then the reſt, he could not carie cleerely and go through with, for the tumult of thoſe that refuſed ſo to do, but that part of the penalties at length was quite taken away or els mitigated; an * immunity alſo & toleration (of widow-head) graunted for * 3 yeeres, & the rewards beſides augmented. And notwithſtanding all that, when the order of Gentlemen ſtood out ſtifly & ſtoutly calling in open ſight, & publikely for the repealing of the ſaid Statute; he ſent for GERMANICUS his children, and taking ſome of them himſelfe, & beſtowing the others in their fathers armes, ſhewed & preſented them unto their view: ſignifying as well by the geſture of his hand, as by countenance, *That they ſhould not be loath nor think much, to imitate the example of that young Gentleman*. Moreover perceiving that the force and vigor of that Law was dallied with, & avoided by the * immaturity of young eſpouſed wives, as alſo by often * changing of mariages: he brought in to a narrower compaſſe the time of wedding and having ſuch ſpaces, and alſo limited divorcements.

35

The number of Senatours growing ſtill to a ſhameful & confuſed company (for there were not of them ſo few as a 1000, and ſome moſt unworthy, as who after CÆSARS death were taken into the houſe for favour or bribes; whõ the common people termed * abortive, (as it were untimely births or born before their time): he reduced to the auncient * ſtent & honorable reputation: and that in two elections: the former, at their own choiſe, wil, & pleaſure, whereby one man chooſeth his fellow. The ſecond, according to his owne & AGRIPPAES mind: at which time he is thought to have ſitten as preſident, armed with a ſhirt of maile or privie coate under his gowne, & a ſhort ſword or skeine by his ſide; having a gard alſo ſtanding about his chaire of eſtate, to wit, ten of the ſtouteſt & talleſt men that were of Senatours degree, & all his friends: CORDUS CREMUTIUS writeth, that there was not ſo much as admitted then into the Senate-houſe any Senatour but ſingly one alone by himſelfe, & not before his clothes were well ſerched & felt, for having any weapon under them. Some of them he brought to this modeſtie, as to excuſe * themſelves: and yet for ſuch as thus made excuſe he reſerved ſtill the liberty to weare a Senatours (a) habite: the honor alſo to ſit & behold the *Games* & plaies in the * *Orcheſtra*; together with priviledge to keepe their place at the ſolemne publique feaſts. Now, to the end that being thus choſen & allowed (as is above ſaid) they might with more religious reverence & leſſe trouble execute the functions belonging to Senatours: he ordained, That before any one ſat him downe in his chaire, he ſhould make devout ſupplication & ſacrifice with frankincenſe & wine, at the * altar of that *God*, in whoſe temple they aſſembled for the time: and that ordinarily the Senate ſhould not be holden oftner then twice in a moneth, to wit upon the (e) *Calends* & (d) *Ides* of the ſame: and that in the moneths * September & October, none els ſhould be bound to give attendance, ſave thoſe that were drawne by lot: by whoſe number, Decrees might paſſe. Furthermore, he deviſed to inſtitute for himſelfe, & that by caſting lots, a privie Counſell for 6 moneths: with whom he might treat before hand of buſineſſes and affaires to be moved unto a frequent Senate-houſe fully aſſembled. As touching matter of greater importance

* *De pudicitia, or impudicitia.*

* Of living unmarried.
* After the deceaſe of a former wife or husband.

* Vnripe age, i. under 12 yeres
* By meanes of divorſes.

* *Abortivos*: Some reade *orcivos* Of *orcinos*, *velut Orco ſeu terra natos*, i. obſcure & baſe.
* 300.

* For taking upon them that dignity.
* Among other Senators.

* And that they ſhould not need to come and ſalute him, but ſave that labour.
* Haply, by reaſon of vintage that was not to be neglected.

tance put to queſtion, he demanded the opinion of the Senatours, not after the vſuall manner & in order, but as it pleaſed himſelfe: to the end that everie man ſhould bend his mind ſo intentively thereto, as if he were to deliver his owne aduiſe, rather then give aſſent unto another.

Other things there were beſides, wherof he was the author and beginner: and among the reſt: *That the* Acts of the Senate ſhould not be publiſhed nor appeare upon record: Item that no magiſtrates after that they had left or given up their honorable places, ſhould eftſoones preſently, be ſent as governours into any provinces. That for proconſuls or preſidents, their ſhould be a certaine rate in monie ſet downe and allowed, For their ſumpter-mules, for their tentes and hales: which were wont really beforetime to be ſet out and allowed for them, at the publike coſt of the Citie. Item, that the charge of the Cities Treaſure, ſhould be tranſlated from the Queſtours or treaſurers of the Citie, unto thoſe that had been pretours, or to the pretours for the time being: laſtly, that certaine* Decemvirs ſhould ſummon and aſſemble the (a) Centumvirall court, and call the Centumvirs to the ſpeare, which they onely were wont to do, that had borne the office of Queſtourſhippe.* 36

* *Acta Senatus* and not *Senatusconſulta*: He meaneth *Diurnalia i.* the proceedings that paſſed there every day of ſitting.

* Ten men either choſen out of the Centumvirs by lot; or created of purpoſe.

And to the end that more men might beare their part in adminiſtration of the common weale, he deviſed new offices: to wit, *The overſeeing of the publike workes, the ſurveying of the waies, ſtreetes, and cauſies, of the water courſes or conduits, of the channel of Tybris, and diſtributing corne among the people.* Alſo the prouoſtſhip of the Cittie: One* Triumvirate, for chuſing Senatours; an another for reviewing & viſiting the troupes or cornets of horſemen, ſo oftē as need required. The Cenſours, whoſe creation was forlet and diſcontinued, after a long time betweene, he created againe. The number of pretours he augmented. He required alſo and demanded, that ſo often as the Conſulſhip was conferred upon him, he might have for one; ij. colleagues or cōpanions in office: but he could not obtaine it; whileſt all men with one voice cried out, *That his maieſtie was abridged enough alreadie, in that he bare not that honourable office by himſelfe, but with another.* 37

* An office which 3: men ioinctly bare.

Neither was he more ſparing in honorably rewarding martial prowes, as who gave order, that to 30. *Captaines* and above, there ſhould be granted by publike decree full tryumphs: and to a good many more tryumphall (a) ornaments. Senatours Children, to the end they might be ſooner acquainted with the affaires of State, he permitted to put on even at the firſt their viril gown: to weare likewiſe the Senatours robe poudred with broad headed purple ſtuds; and to have their places in the Senate houſe. Alſo at their firſt entrance into warfare, he allowed them to be, not onely* militarre *Tribunes* in the legions, but alſo captaines over the* horſemen in the wings. And, that none of them might be unexpert of the Camp-affaires: he ordained for the moſt part over everie wing or Cornet, ij. ſuch Senatours (ſonnes) to be provoſts. The troupes & cōpanies of *Romaine Gentlemen*, he often reviewed; & after a long ſpace of time betweene, brought into uſe againe the manner of their* muſter or (b) riding ſolemnly on horſe backe, to ſhew theſelues. Neither wold he ſuffer any on of thē during this ſolemnity, to be unhorſed & arreſted by his adverſary, that pretēded any matter in law againſt him: a thing that was uſually don. And to as many as were known to be aged or to have any defect or imperfection of body, he gave leave to ſend their horſes before, and to come on foote to aunſwere when ſo ever they were cited. And ſoone after he did thoſe this favour, to deliver uppe their 38

* Colonels of 1000. foremen.

* Or men of Armes.

* *Transvectionis.*

their (publike) horſes, who being above 45. yeares of age, were unwilling to keepe them ſtill.

39 Having obtained alſo by the *Senate. x. *Coadiutours*, hee compelled euerie Gentleman (that ſerved with the Cities horſe) to render an accoumpt of his life. And of ſuch as were blameable and could not approve their liuing; ſome he puniſhed, others he noted with ſhame & ignominie: the moſt part of them with admonition, but after ſundrie ſorts. The eaſieſt & lighteſt kind of admoniti on, was the tendering unto thē in open place & all mens ſight, a paire of *writing tables, to read unto themſelues preſently, in the place where they ſtood: Some alſo he put to rebuke & diſgrace for taking up of mony upō ſmal intereſt for the uſe, and putting it forth againe for greater gaine and uſurie.

*A *ſenatu* or *ſenatoribus*, x: out of the Senatours degree

*wherein were writren al their faults.

40 At the *Election of* *Tribunes (of the Commons)* if their wanted (*a*) Senatours to ſtand for that office, he created thē out of the degree of *Romaine Gentlemē*: ſo as, after they had born that magiſtracy, they might remaine ranged in whether degree *they would thēſelues. Now, when as many of the *Romain Gentlemē*, hauing waſted & decaied their patrimonie, & eſtate in the civil wars, durſt not out of the 14. formoſt ſeats behold the publike plaies & games, for feare of the penalty by the (law ROSCIA & IVLIA) caled THEATRALIS, he pronoūced opēly & made it knowne, that ſuch gentlemen were not liable thereto if either themſelues or their *fathers before them, were euer at any time valued to the * worth of *Romaine Gentlemen*: He made a review of the people of *Rome*, ſtreet by ſtreet: & to preuent that the cōmon people ſhold not be oftē called away frō their affaires by occaſion of the dole and diſtributiō of corne, he purpoſed to give out thrice a yeare, tiquets or talles for to ſerve 4: moneths: But when the people were deſirous of the old cuſtom, he grāted thē again to receive the ſame upō the (*b*) *Nones* of every moneth: The ancient right and libertie alſo, in *Elections* & *Parliamentes* he brought in again: & having reſtrained the indirect ſuing for dignities by manyfold penalties, upō the day of ſuch *electiōs* he diſtributed out of his own purſe among the (*c*) *Fabians* & *Sceptians*, who were of the ſame *Tribes*, wherein himſelfe was incorporate: a thouſand Seſterces a peece, becauſe they ſhould not look for ought at any of their hands who ſtood for offices. Moreover ſuppoſing it a matter of great conſequence to keepe the people incorrupt & cleare from all baſe mixture of forain & ſervile blood; he both granted the freedom of the City of *Rome* moſt ſparily, & alſo ſet a certain gage & limitatiō of manumiſing & enfranchiſing ſlaves: When TIBERIVS made requeſt unto him by letters, in the behalfe of a *Grecian*, his client to be free of *Rome*: he wrot backe unto him, *That he would not grant it unleſſe he came perſonally himſelfe, and could perſwade him, what iuſt cauſes he had of his ſuite: And, what time as* LIVIA intreated the like for a certaine French-man, tributarie to the Romains: he flatly denied the freedome of the City, but offred in lieu thereof immunitie and remiſſion of Tributes; avowing, that he would more eaſily abide that ſomewhat went from the publike treaſure and chamber of the Cittie, than have the honour of the Romaine Citie to be made vulgar, & common: Nor content, that he had by diverſe ſtraight edicts & proviſoes kept many ſlaves from all manner of freedome, but more a great deal frō ful freedom in the beſt cōdition; as having preciſely & with much curioſitie put in caveats both for the nūber & alſo for the condition & reſpect otherwiſe of thoſe that were to be made free: he added thus much moreover.

*Demarchia. Dion.

*Of gentlemen or of the Senatours

parentibus comprehēding all auncestours.
*400. *Seſtertia* or 400000. *Seſtertij*. i. 3125. l. ſterling
*Nonis cuiuſq; Menſis.

That

That no slaue, who had euer beene bound and imprisoned, or examined by torture should obtaine the freedome of the Cittie, in any kind of enfranchisement whatsoeuer. The olde manner of going and wearing apparell also, he endeuoured to bring into use againe. And having seene upon a time assembled to heare a publike speech, a number of Citizens cladde all in blacke *clokes or *sullied gownes, taking great indignation thereat crying out with all. Beholde, quoth he.

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

The *Romaines, Lords of all the world, and longe rob'd Nation.

He gaue the *Aediles* in charge not to suffer any person from thence forward, to abide or stay, either in the Common place or the Cirque, but (*d*) in a gowne, laying a side all clokes or mantills thereupon.

His liberality unto all degrees of Citizens he shewed often times as occasions and opportunities were offred: for both by bringing into the Cittie in the ALLEXANDRINE *Tryumph* the treasures of the (*Aegyptian* Kings he caused so great plentie of monie, that usurie fell, but the price of Landes and Lordships arose to a uerie high reckoning: and also afterwards, so often as out of the goods of condemned persons there was any surplusage of monie remaining above their fines; he granted for a certaine time the free lone and use thereof to as many as were able to put in securitie for the principall, by an obligation in duple the summe. The substance and wealth of Senatours hee augmented, and whereas the valew thereof before amounted to the summes of *800000. Sesterces: he taxed or sessed them at 1200000: and looke who had not so much, he supplied and made it up to the full. Hee gave *Congiaries often times to the people but lightly they were of diuerse summes, one while 400, another while 300. and some times 200: and fiftie Sesterces: and he left not so much as boyes under age, whereas they had not wont to receive such congiaries, unlesse they were above eleuen yeares olde: Hee measured out also to the people by the Poll, Corne in times of scarcitie oftentimes at a verie lowe price, and otherwhiles freely, without payinge therefore: and as for the Tickets, of monie, he dupled the summe in them conteined,

And that you may know, hee was a prince more respectiue of thrift and holesomenes, than desirous of popularitie, praise, & honour: when the people cõplained of the want & dearth of wine, he checked and snibbed thẽ with this most severe speech, *That his sonne in lawe* AGRIPPA *had taken order good enough that men should not be athirst, by conueighing so many waters into the Cittie.* Vnto the same people demanding thẽ congiarie; which indeede was by him promised, he answered; *That his credite was good, and he able to performe his word:* but when they earnestly called for one which hee had never promised, hee hit them in the teeth by an edict or proclamation with their dishonestie, & impudencie: assuring them, that give it he would not although he had intended it.

And with no lesse gravitie and resolution, when uppon his proposing & publishing of a congiarie, he found that many in the meane time were manumised and inserted into the number of Citizens, he reiected such, and said; they should not receiue any, unto whom he had made no promise: and to all the rest hee gave

*By blacke he meaneth clokes or gownes of a selfe russet colour, for their gownes should be white and faire notsullied

*By the trope *Ironia* meaning those that were in clokes or foule gownes,

41

*the *Ptolomeis*

*Duple the worth of Gentlemen.

*Largesse:

42

29 And these things were so much the more remarqueable in him, for that in
* A The Senatours. speaking to them * either one by one severally, or to all at once in generall, yea and in reverencing them, himselfe exceeded in a manner the measure of all humanity. When he dissented one day in opinion from Q. HATERIUS in the Senate: *Pardon mee, I beseech you*, quoth hee, *if I as a Senatour shall speake ought over-frankly against you*: and then directing his speech unto the whole house: *Both nowe*, quoth hee, *and many times else, my Lords, this hath beene my saying, That a good and gracious Prince, whom yee have invested in so great and so absolute a power, ought to serve the Senate and all the Citizens generally: often times, also, yea and for the most part, every of them particularly. Neither repent I that I have so said, for I have ever found you, and doe so still to be my good, my gracious and favourable Lords.*

30 Furthermore, he brought in a certaine shew of the common Libertie, by preserving entier for the Senate and Magistrates, both their auncient maiestie and also their authority: neither was there any matter so small or so great, pertaining to publique or private affaires, but proposed it was at the Counsell-table before the Senatours: as namely, about Tributes, Customes and Reuenewes of the State; of Monopolies: of building and repairing any publique works: of enrolling or discharging Souldiours: of setting downe the number as well of Legions as of auxiliarie forces: Finally, who should have their place of commaund and government continued by a new commission? or take the charge of extraordinary warres? as also what, in what forme they thought it good to write againe, & to answere letters sent by Kings? A certaine Captaine over a * cornet of horse-men, being accused for an outrage and for robberie, he compelled to make his answere before the * Senate. Hee never entred the *Curia* but alone. And being one time brought in sicke within his litter, (*a*) he caused all his traine and company to void.

*Or wing.
*Whereas by course he should have had his triall before the Lord Generall, or prince himselfe.

31 That some Decrees were enacted against his minde and sentence, hee never once complained, nor found himselfe grieved. Notwithstanding hee opined, that Magistrates appointed to any charge, ought not to bee absent; to the end that by their presence they might the better intend their function and calling: yet one Pretour elect, obtained the favour of a free * (*a*) embassage. Againe, when he advised in the * *Otriculanes* behalfe a graunt, that they might bestowe the money in paving a cawsie or high-way, which was by legacie given to the building of a new Theater: hee could not prevaile but that the will of the Testator should stand and be fulfilled. When it fortuned upon a time that an Act of the Senate should passe by going to a side, and himselfe went over to the other part where the fewer in number were, there was not one that followed him. Other matters also were handled and debated by the Magistrates and the ordinarie course of lawe, and not otherwise: Wherein the Consuls bare so great sway and authority, that certaine Embassadors out of *Africk* repaired unto them for dispatch, as complaining that they were put-of and delayed by CÆSAR unto whom they had beene sent. And no mervaile: For evident it was, that himselfe also would arise up unto the side Consuls and give them the way.

*Liberam legationem.
*Or Trebians.

32 Hee rebuked Generalls of Armies even such as had beene Consuls for not writing

writing unto the Senate of their warre exploites: alſo for conſulting with him and asking his adviſe as touching the graunt of * militarie giftes, as if it lay not in their owne power to give and diſpoſe all. Hee commended a Prætour for bringing uppe againe the auncient cuſtome, in the entraunce of his gouernment, to make an honourable mention and reherſall of his Anncestours before a frequent aſſembly of the people. The funerall obſequies of certaine Noble perſonages, he accompanied with the common multitude to the very (a) fire. The like moderation he ſhewed in meaner perſons and matters both when hee had called foorth unto him the Magiſtrates of the *Rhodians*, for delivering unto him publike letters from the State without the due (b) ſubſcription, he gave them not ſo much as one hard worde but onely commanded them to ſubſcribe and ſent them away. DIOGENES the profeſſed *Grammarian*, who was wont to *diſpute and diſcourſe at *Rhodes* every * Sabbath, had put him backe and would not admit him into his ſchoole comming of purpoſe extraordinarily to here him, but by his page poſted him of untill the 7. day. Nowe when the ſame DIOGENES ſtood waiting before his gate at *Rome* to doe his dutie and to ſalute him, he quit him no otherwiſe than thus, namely by warning him to repaire thither againe 7. yeares after: when the preſidentes and gouernours abroad gave him counſell to burden the provinces with heavie tributes and taxes he wrote backe unto them. *That it was the part of a good ſhepheard to ſheare his ſheepe and not to flay them*:

*As collars, Cheines, ſpeares, chaplets &c.

*or reade a lecture.

*once a weeke or every 7. day

By little and little he put himſelfe forth and ſhewed his princely maieſty; however for a long time, in ſome variety, yet for the moſt part, rather mild and gratious than otherwiſe, and more inclined to the good of the common wealth: and at the firſt, thus far forth onely interpoſed he his abſolute power & inhibition, *That nothing ſhould be done* vniuſtly*. Therfore he both repealed certaine conſtitutions of the Senate, & alſo very often, when the Magiſtrates were ſitting judicially upon the Bench, to decide matters, he would offer himſelfe to joyne as it were in counſell, and to be aſſiſtant with them, or elſe juſt over againſt them in the fore part (of the Tribunall.) And if the rumour went that any defendant were like by favour to eſcape cleere; all on a ſodaine, he would be in place, and either on the (a) ground below, or elſe from the Tribunall ſeat of the Chiefe Iuſtice, put the other Iudges and Iurie in mind of the lawes, of their conſcience and religion, and of the crime whereupon they ſat. Alſo if any thing were amiſſe and faultie in the publike ordinances and manners of the Cittie, forlet by occaſion of idleneſſe or taken up through evill cuſtome, he undertooke to reforme the ſame. 33

*Beſide the rule of law.

He abridged and reſtrained the expenſes of Stage playes and *games exhibited unto the people, by cutting ſhort the wages paied to Actours uppon the ſtage, and reducing the couples of ſword fencers to a certaine number. That *Corinthian* veſſels & manufactures grew to an exceeding high rate, & that three barbels were ſold for 30000. ſeſterces, he grievouſly complained, and gave his opinion, that there ſhould be a gage ſet, and a mediocritie kept in houſhold furniture: as alſo that the price of victuals in open market ſhould be ordred yeerly at the diſcretion of the Senate, with a charge given unto the *Aediles* for to inhibite victualling houſes, tavernes, and thus farre foorth, as they ſhould not ſuffer any paſtry-workes (a) to be ſet out to ſale: And to the end, that by his owne exam- 34

*Of ſword-fencers.

ample alſo, he might put forward the publike frugalitie, himſelfe at his ſolemne and feſtivall ſuppers cauſed oftentimes to be ſerved vp to the bord, Viands dreſſed the day before and thoſe halfe eaten alreadie, ſaying, *That the ſide of a wild Bore had in it all the ſame that the whole.* He forbad expreſſely by an Edict, the uſuall and daily kiſſes commonly given and taken: likewiſe the intercourſe of new yeares gifts ſent to and fro: Namely, that it ſhould not continue after the Calends of Ianuarie. He had wont to beſtow for his part a new yeares gift foure fold worth that which he received, and to give the ſame with his owne hand: but being offended that a whole moneth together hee was in his other affaires troubled with ſuch as had not beene with him, nor felt his liberalitie uppon the verie feaſt, hee never gave any againe after the ſaide day.

35 Wives of leawd and diſhoneſt life, if their wanted accuſers to call them publikely into queſtion, his adviſe and ſentence was, that their next kinsfolke ſhould, * *more maiorum* agree together in common, for to chaſtice and puniſh. He diſpenſed with a gentleman of *Rome* for his oath (who had ſworne before, *never to divorce his wife*) and gave him leave to put her away being taken in adulterie with her * ſonne in law. Certaine women infamous for whoredome and filthineſſe, began to profeſſe before the *Aediles* bawderie: to the ende, that having by this baſe trade and occupation loſt the right priviledge and dignitie of matrones, they might delude the* lawes (*a*) and avoide the penalties thereof. Semblably, out of the youth of both * degrees, the leawdeſt ſpendthrifts of all other, becauſe they would not be liable to an Act of the Senate in that behalfe, for performing their parts iu acting upon the ſtage, or their devoir * within the liſts, wilfully underwent the ignominious not of * infamie. But, as well them, as thoſe light women aforeſaid he baniſhed all: that none ever after ſhould by ſuch deluſion of the law ſeeke evaſion. He tooke from a *Senatour his robe, after he knew once, that iuſt before the Calends of (*b*) Iulie hee remooved out of his dwelling houſe into certaine * Hortyardes and gardens, to the end that when the ſaid day was paſt, he might take his houſe againe within the Citie at a lower rent. Another he deprived of his Queſtureſhip for that having (as it were) by lotterie, choſen and married a wife the one day, he diſmiſſed her on * another.

*According to the maner and cuſtome of their auncetours.

*That married her daughter.

*Iulix &c. *de Adulteriis.*

*As well Senatours as gentlemen.

*In ſword-fight at the ſharpe.

*By committing ſome leawd parts

*He deprived him from his Senatours place.

*Without the Cittie.

i. The morrow: his levitie was notable as well in making choiſe ſo ſlightly, as in caſting her of ſo quickely, making but a game of marriage.

36 All foraine ceremonies in Religion: the *Aegyptian* alſo and the *Iewiſh* rites he prohibited: compelling * thoſe who were given to that Superſtition, for to burne all their religious veſtiments: the inſtruments likewiſe & furniture what ſoever thereto belonging. The ſerviceable youth of the *Iewes*, under colour of a militarie oth he ſent into ſundrie prouinces which were in a peſtilent (*a*) and unhol-ſome aire above others: the reſt of that Nation or ſuch as were addicted to the like religiõ, he baniſhed out of *Rome*, upon paine of perpetuall bondage if they obeyed not. He expelled alſo Aſtrologers: but u pon their erneſt intreatie and promiſe to give over the practiſe of that Art, he permitted them there to remaine.

*Romaine Citizens.

*Neere unto the wals therof as *Plinie* writeth. Lib. 4. cap. 5. Nat. Hiſt.

37 Aſpeciall care he had to keepe the peace, and to preſerve the ſtate frõ outrages & robberies, as alſo from licentious mutinies & ſeditions. The ſet guards and gariſons of ſoldiers, hee diſpoſed thicker than the wonted manner was, throughout all Italie. Hee ordained a ſtanding * Campe at *Rome*, wherein

the

the *Prætorian* Cohorts wandering up and downe before that time & disperſed in diverſe Innes and *Hoſtelries*, might be received. All Inſurrections of the people he puniſhed moſt ſharply; hee tooke likewiſe much paines to prevent ſuch commotions. There happened upon ſome diſcord and variance to be a murder cõmitted in the *Theatre*: But the principal heads of the factiõ, as alſo the actours themſelnes for whoſe ſake the qũarrel and fray began, he exiled: neither could he ever be brought for any prayer and intreatie of the people to revoke and reſtore them. When the Commons of *Pollentia* would not ſuffer the dead corps of a certaine principall *Centurian* to be carried with funerall obſequies out of their market place, before they had forcibly extorted out of his heires hands a peece of money to the ſetting out of a game of Fencers with unrebated ſwords, he tooke one Cohort from *Rome*, and another out of K. *COTIVS Kingdome, diſſimuling the cauſe of this journey, and ſodainely diſcovering their armes and weapons which they cloſely carried, and giving alarum with ſound of trumpets, all at once he put them into the Towne with banner diſplayed at ſundrie gates and ſo caſt into perpetuall priſon the greater part of the Commons and *Decurions. The priviledge and cuſtome of Sanctuaries, where ever they were, he aboliſhed. The *Cyzicenes* who had committed ſome notorious out-rage & violence vpon *Romaine* Citizens, he deprived generally of their freedom, which in the warre againſt MITHRIDATES they had by their good ſervice gotten. The rebellions of enemies he repreſſed: not undertaking therefore, any expedition afterwards himſelfe, but by his lieutenant onely: and not by them verily without lingring delayes, and driven thereto of neceſſitie. Kings that rebelliouſly tooke armes, or were ſuſpected to breake out, hee kept downe with threats rather and complaints, than otherwiſe by force and open hoſtilitie. Some of them, whome hee had trained out of their owne Realmes unto him with faire words and large promiſes hee never ſent home againe: as by name MARABODUUS the *Germaine*, THRASYPOLIS a *Thracian*: and ARCHELAVS the *Cappadocian*, whoſe kingdome alſo he reduced into the forme of a province.

*A petie king about the *Alpes*.

*Senatours, & Aldermen.

38

For two yeares together after he came unto the Empire, hee never ſet foote once out of *Rome* gates. And the time enſuing, hee abſented not himſelfe in no place unleſſe it were in townes neere adioyning, or as farre as *Antium* when he trauailed fartheſt: and that was verie ſeldome and for a few dayes: albeit he promiſed and pronounced openly oftentimes that hee would viſite the provinces alſo and armies abroade: yea and everie yeare almoſt hee made preparation for a journey, taking up all the waines and wagons that were to be gotten, and laying proviſion of Corne and victuals in all the good Burroughes & Colonies by the way, yea and at the laſt ſuffered vowes to be made for his going forth and returne home: in ſo much as commonly by way of a jeſt and byworde, hee was called (*a*) CALLIPPIDES, who in a Greeke proverbe is noted to bee alwaies running, and yet never gaineth ground one cubit forward.

39

But being bereft of both his ſonnes, of which *GERMANICVS died in *Syria*, and *DRVSVS at *Rome*, he withdrew himſelfe into *Campania*, as to a retyring place: and all men well neere, were fully perſwaded and ſpake it as conſtantly, that he would never returne but die ſoone after. Both which had like

*Adopted. *Naturall. A.V.C.779.

like indeede to have come to paſſe. For, in truth he never came againe to *Rome*: and within ſome few dayes, neere unto *Tarracina*, in a certaine part of his mannour houſe (built eſpecially for his owne lodging) and called *Spelunca*, as hee ſat there at ſupper, a number of huge ſtones from above chaunced to fall down: whereby many of his gueſtes at the Table and ſervitours there waiting were cruſhed and ſquized to death; but hee himſelfe beyonde all hope eſcaped,

40 Having made his progreſſe over *Campania*, when he had dedicated a Capitol at *Capua*, and the Temple of AVGVSTVS at *Nola*, which hee pretended to have beene the motive of his journey, he betooke himſelfe to *Capreæ*: delighted eſpecially with that Iland becauſe there was but one way of acceſſe unto it and the ſame by a ſmall ſhore and landing place: as being otherwiſe encloſed round about, partly with craggy rockes & ſteepe cliffes of an exceeding height: and in part with the deepe ſea. But ſoone after, when the people called him home, and unceſſantly beſought him to returne, by occaſion of an unhappie & heauy accident, wherby at *Fidenæ* xx.* thouſand folke and more, at a ſolemn fight of ſword players periſhed by fall of an Amphitheater, he paſſed over into the maine and firme land, permitting all men to come unto him: the rather, for that when he firſt ſet forth and went out of *Rome*, he had given ſtreight commandement by an Edict that no man ſhould trouble him, and all the way voided as many as were comming towards him.

*Strangers that conflowed thither to ſee the ſhowes.

41 Being retired againe into the ſaid Iſle, he caſt aſide all care verily of Common weale; ſo farre forth as never after he did ſo much as repaire and make up the broken decuries of horſe men: Hee chaunged no militarie Tribunes nor Captaines: no nor any preſidents and Governours of Provinces. He held *Spaine* and *Syria* both, for certaine yeares, without Conſulare Lieutenantes: hee neglected *Armenia* and ſuffered it to bee overrunne and poſſeſſed by the *Parthians*: *Maſia* to be waſted and ſpoyled by the *Dakes* and *Sarmatians*, as alſo *Gaule* by the *Germanes*, to the great ſhame and no leſſe daunger of the whole Empire.

42 To proceede, having now gotten the libertie of this ſecret place, and being as one would ſay remooved from the eyes of people: at lenght hee poured foorth and ſhewed at once all thoſe vices which with much a do for a longe time he had cloked and diſſimuled. Of which I will particularize and make relation from the very beginning. In the Campe when hee was but a newe and untrained ſouldier, for his exceſſiue greedineſſe of wine bibbing, hee was for (*a*) TIBERIVS named BIBERIVS; for CLAVDIVS, CALDIVS: for NERO, MERO: After being Emperour, even at the very time when hee was buſie in reforming the publike manners and miſdemeanour (of the Cittie) he ſpent with POMPONIVS FLACCVS and L. PISO one whole night and two dayes in *gluttonie and drunkenneſſe, unto the former of theſe twaine he preſently gave the governement of the province *Siria*: uppon the other hee conferred the Provoſtſhip of *Rome*, profeſſing even in all his letters and writings; *That they were moſt pleaſant companions and friends at all aſſaies*. To *SEX: CLAVDIVS a *Senex* fornicatour and prodigal dingthrift, who had in times paſt been by AVGVSTVS put to ignominie and ſhame, yea and by himſelfe ſome fewe dayes before rebuked before the Senate, he ſent word, that hee would take a ſupper with

*In eating and drinking.

*Or Séſtius Gallus.

with him: uppon this condition, *that he altered nothing, nor left ought out of his ordinarie and cuſtomed manner*: and namely, *that wenches all naked ſhould ſerue at the Table*. He preferred one to be a competitour for the Queſtorſhip, who was a moſt baſe and obſcure perſon, before others that were right noble gentlemen: onely for carouſing and drinking up at a banquet, a whole (*b*) *Amphor* of wine when he *dranke unto him. Vnto ASELLIVS SABINVS he gaue 200000. Seſterces for a diologue of his making, in which he brought in a combate or diſputation, betweene the *Muſhrome*, the (*c*) *Fieldfare* the *Oyſter* and the (*d*) *Thruſh*? To conclude, he inſtituted a new office, forſooth, * *a voluptatibus*, wherein he placed PRISCVS a gentleman of *Rome*, and one who had beene Cenſor.

* Or tendered it unto him.

* For the deuiſing of newe pleaſures. &c.

But during the time of his private abode in *Capreæ*, he deuiſed a roome with ſeates and benches in it, even a place of purpoſe for his ſecret wanton luſts. To furniſh it there were ſought out and gathered from all parts, a number of youngs drabbes and ſtale Catamites, ſorted together: ſuch alſo as inuented monſtrous kinds of libidinous filthineſſe, whom he termed *Spintrie*: who being in three rankes or rewes linked together ſhould abuſe and pollute one anothers bodie before his face: that by the verie ſight of them he might ſtirre up his owne cold courage and fainting luſt. Hee had bed-chambers beſides, in many places, which he adorned with tables and petie puppets: repreſenting in the one ſort, moſt laſcivious pictures, and in the other as wanton ſhapes and figures. He ſtored them likewiſe with the bookes of *Elephantis*: that none might be to ſeeke for a patterne of the ſemblable forme and faſhion, in that beaſtly buſineſſe performed in everie kind. He deviſed in the woods alſo and groves here and there, certaine places for lecherie and venereous Acts: wherein he had within caues and holow rockes youthes of both ſexes ſtanding at receit readie proſtitute, in habit of *Paniſkes* and *Nymphes*; In ſo much as now men in open place, abuſing the vulgar name of the Iland, termed him uſually, * *Caprineus*.

43

* Or *Caprimulgus* or *Caprineus*.

He incurred yet the infamie of greater and more ſhamefull filthineſſe, ſuch as may not well be named or heard, and much leſſe beleeued: to wit, that hee ſhould traine up and teach fine boyes the tenderest and daintieſt that might be had (whom he called his little fiſhes) to converſe and play betweene his thighes as he was ſwimming, and pretily with tongue and teeth ſeeme to make unto his ſecret parts, and there to nibble: Whom likewiſe, as babes of good grouth and ſtrength, howbeit as yet not weaned, he ſhould ſet unto his privie member as unto the nipple of a breaſt, to ſucke. And verily, both by nature and for his yeares, more prone he was and given to luſt in this * kind. Therefore, whereas a certaine painted table of PARRASIVS making, (in which ATALANTA yeldeth her mouth unto MELEAGER in that beaſtlineſſe) was given unto him as a legacie: upon condition, that if he were offended with the argument or matter repreſented therein, he might in lieu thereof receive a millian of Seſterces, hee not onely preferred the ſaide picture before ſuch a ſumme of monie, but alſo dedicated it in his owne bed-chamber. It is reported beſides, that being at ſacrifice upon a time, he caſting a fanſie to the beautifull and well fauoured face of a youth and ſeruitour as he carried before him the * Cenſer, coulde not containe, but immediatly and before the complements of ſacrifice were

44

* *Irrumatio*.

* Or incenſe pan.

well and fully performed, even there and then take him aside out of the place and so abuse his bodie: and together with him a brother of his, the minstrel: yea and soone after, for that they twitted and upbraided one another for this abominable act, he brake their legges both.

45 Moreover, in what sort he was wont to offer abuse unto the very heads of women, and those nobly borne and of good reputation, appeared most evidently by the wofull end of one dame named MALLONIA. For when shee was by force brought unto his bed, and most resolutely to die for it, refused to suffer any more, than naturally a woman was to suffer: hee suborned certaine promoters falsly to accuse her: and evermore as she pleaded in her owne defence asked her still, *whether shee repented not yet of her Obstinacie?* which hee followed so long, untill at length shee left the Court, made hast home to her house, and there ranne her selfe through with a* sword: after shee had openly and aloud reproched the shaghaired and rammish old churle with his filthy & beastly mouth. Whereupon in a by-enterlude called, *Atellanicum Exodium*, this infamous and shamefull Note, received with exceeding great accorde, was rife and currant abroade in everie mans mouth, *That the olde butke-goat was licking the* nature of the does (or females.)

*Or dagger.

*Or shape, as the kinds of such beasts to do,

46 Being a very niggard of his purse, and one that would part with nothing, he never maintained those of his traine in all his journies and expeditions with any wages or set* salaries, but found their meate and victuals onely: yet must I needes say, that once out of his father in lawes indulgence and bounty, he bestowed uppon them a peece of liberalitie: when having raunged them according to the worthinesse of everie one into three rankes, he dealt among those of the first 600000. sesterces: of the second 400000: of the third 200000: And the same called he the* companie, not of his friends but* *Gratorii.* of his *thankfull favourits.*

*In monie.

*Or ranke.

*Some reade *Græcorum*, of Greekes by way of contept

47 All the whiles he was Emperour, neither built he any stately workes* (For the verie temple of* AVGVSTVS, and the reedification of POMPEIVS Theatre which onely and none else he had undertaken, after so many yeares he left unfinished) nor exhibited so much as one solemne shew unto the people: and at those which were by any other set out, he was very seldome present: and all for feare least some thing should be demanded at his hands: & namely after that he was compelled once to manumise the *Comedian* * *Actius*. Having releeved the want and povertie of some Senatours, because he would not helpe more of them, he denied to succour any other than those, who alledged before the Senate good and just causes of their necessities. By which deede of his he frighted the most part upon a modestie and bashfulnesse in them: & among the rest, one ORTALVS, the nephew of Q. HORTENSIVS the professed Orator, who being of a very meane estate had begotten foure children, by the meanes *and perswasion of AVGVSTVS.

*At *Rome*:

*An Actour in a Comædie,

*He had married a young wife upon hope of maintenance by vertue of the lawes *Papia Poppæa*, and *Iulia*.

48 As touching his publike munificence, he never shewed it but twice: once, when he purposed and published a free lone for 3. yeares of an hundred millians of Sesterces: & againe, when unto certaine Land-lords of faire houses and tenements, which situate upon mount *Celius*, were consumed with fire, he restored the full price and worth of them. One of these Boones he was forced to grant, by reason that the people in great want of monie called earnestly

for

for his helpe: what time as by vertue of an Act of Senate hee had ordained, That Vsurers should lay out two (third) parts of their * Stock in lands, tenements and appurtenances immoveable: the Debtours likewise make present payment of two parts of their debts: and yet the thing * was not done and dispatched accordingly: The other, for to mitigate the greevousnesse of those* heavie times. Howbeit this (latest) beneficence of his he so highly prised, that he commaunded the name of *Mount Calius* to be changed and called AUGUSTUS. The Legacies given by AUGUSTUS in his last will unto the Souldiours being once * published, he never after bestowed any Largesse upon them: saving that among those of the * *Prætorium* hee dealt one thousand Deniers a peece: in & to the Legions in *Syria* certaine gifts, for that they alone among all their Ensignes in the field honoured no * image at all of SEIANUS. Moreover, he made very seldome any * discharges of olde Souldiours: as expecting upon age their death, and by death gaping for some gaine and vantage. Neither succored he the very Provinces with his bountiful hand, except it were *Asia*, by occasion that certaine Cities * therein were by earthquake overthrowne.

49 Afterwards, and in processe of time he gave his mind wholly even to rapine and plaine pillage. It is for certaine knowne, That CN. LENTULUS the *Augur*, a man of exceeding great wealth, for very feare & anguish of mind was by him driven to a loathing and weariesse of his owne life; and at his death to make no other heire but himselfe: That dame LEPIDA likewise, a right noble Lady, was condemned by him, to gratifie * QUIRINUS, one that had beene Consull, but passing (*a*) rich and * childlesse withall: who having before time put her away being his wedded wife, twenty yeeres after called her iudicially into question, and laid to her charge, that long agoe she had bought and provided poison for to take away his life. Besides, as well knowne it is, that certaine Princes and Potentates of *Gaule*, *Spaine*, *Syria* and *Greece*, forfaited their estates upon so slight a slaunder and impudent imputation, that against some of them nought else was obiected but this, That they had part of their substance and wealth * lying in money: yea and that many Cities and private persons lost their auncient immunities and priviledges, as also their right in mines and mettals, Tolls and customes: and finally that VONONES a King of the Parthians who being driven out of his kingdome by his owne subiects, retired himselfe with an huge masse of Treasure into *Antiochia*, under the protection, as it were, of the people of *Rome*, was perfidiously stript out of all and killed.

The hatred that hee bare to his kinsfolke and neere Allies, hee bewraied, first in his brother DRUSUS by disclosing a letter of his: wherein hee dealt with him about compelling AUGUSTUS to restore the common Libertie: afterwardes, in others also. As for his wife IULIA, so farre was he from shewing any courtesie or kindnesse unto her when she stoode confined (which had beene the least matter of a thousand) that whereas by an Ordinance of her fathers, shee was shut up within one Towne, hee gave straight order that shee should not steppe out of dores, but enioy the Societie of people and worldlie commerce: nay, hee proceeded so farre, as to bereave her of that little locke and household-stuffe which her Father allowed her: yea, and defrauded her of the yeerely Pension and exhibition for her maintenaunce:

* Or patrimonie
* That thereby their money might come abroad.
* Debts paid.
* For then it was that XX thousand were killed at Fidenæ by the fall of a Theater.
* *Publicans*.
* Or Guard.
* As of their Generall.
* With allowance of lands, fees or yearely Pensions for their service.
* In number as *Plin. lib. 2. cap. 84. Euseb. Chron. num. 13.*
* Her husband
* And therefore he hoped to be his heire.
* more than by law they might

and all, forsooth, under a colour of common right and law; because AUGUSTUS in his last will and testament had not expresly provided in this behalfe. Being not able well to endure his mother LIVIA, as chalenging to her selfe equall part with him in power and authority, hee avoided both to keepe ordinary and daily company, and also to entertaine long speech or secret conference with her; because hee might not be thought ruled and directed by her counsailes; which otherwhiles notwithstanding he was wont both to stand in neede of, and also to use. Semblably, he tooke to the very heart the passing of this Act in the Senate, *That in his stile as he had the title, Sonne of* AUGUSTUS, *to this addition should runne withall Sonne of* LIVIA. And therefore it was, that he would not suffer her to be named *PARENS PATRIÆ, nor to receive any remarkable honour in open place and by publique decree. Oftentimes also he admonished her to forbeare intermedling in greater affaires, and such as were not meet for women; especially after he perceived once, that when the Temple of *Vesta* was on fire, she also came thither in person among others, & there encouraged the people and souldiours both, to doe their best and help all what they could, as her manner was to doe in her husbands dayes.

* Mother of her Country.

By these degrees he proceeded even to secret rancour & malice against her, but chiefly upon this occasion, as men report. She had been very earnest with him many a time to enrole one in the (a) Decuries of the Iudges who was made free Denizen & Citizen of *Rome*: but he denied flatly to choose and admit the party, unlesse it were upon this onely condition, That she would suffer a clause to be written & annexed to the Instrument or Roll, in these words, *This graunt was by my mother wrung and wrested from me.* Whereat she highly displeased and offended, brought forth out of her Closet & Cabinet certaine old letters of AUGUSTUS (written) unto her, as touching his perverse, bitter and intollerable manners; and those she openly read. He againe tooke the matter so greevously, that she had both kept those writings so long by her, and also cast them in his dish so spitefully, that some thinke this was the greatest cause of his departure from the Citie. And verily, for the space of three yeeres compleat, during which time hee was absent and his mother living, hee sawe her but once: and that was no more than one day, and very fewe howers of the same. And afterwards as little minde hee had to be by her lying sicke: and when shee was dead, suffering her corps by staying so long above ground (whiles men hoped still of his comming) to corrupt at length and putrifie: after shee was enterred, he forbad that she should be canonized and registred in the Catalogue of Saints: pretending as if the her selfe had given that order. Her will hee annulled, all her friends and familiars, even those unto whom upon her death-bed she had committed the charge of her Funerals, within a short time he persecuted and plagued, yea and one of them, to wit, a worshipfull Gentleman of *Rome*, he condemned to the * pump.

* Querum nomina, or such like.

* Or wheele & bucket in Antium: Some read, in Antiliam, or Anticyram an Iland: or else *Lacunam*, a dungeon in the common prison.

51

52

Of his two sonnes, hee loved neither DRUSUS that was by nature, nor GERMANICUS by adoption, as a father should doe; as taking offence at the vices of the * one. For DRUSUS was of an effeminate minde; given to a loose and idle life. Therefore was not TIBERIUS so neerely touched and grieved for him being dead, but presently after his funerall, returned to his

* Of *Drusus*,

his ordinarie and accustomed businesse prohibiting vacation * of Iustice to continue any longer. Moreover, when the *Ilienses* Embassadours came somwhat with the latest to comfort him; he, (as if now by this time the memorie of his sorrow had beene cleane worne out,) scoffed at them and made this answere; *That hee likewise was sorie in their behalfe for the losse they had of* HECTOR *so noble and brave a Citizen.* As for GERMANICUS, he depraved and disgraced him so, as that not onely he did extenuate and diminish all his worthy exploits as mere vaine and needlesse, but also blamed his most glorious victories, as daungerous and hurtfull to the Common-wealth. Also, for that without his advise, hee went unto *Alexandria*, (by occasion of an extreame and suddaine famine) hee complained of him in the Senate: yea, and it is verily beleeved, he was the cause of his death, and used the meanes of CN. PISO, Lieutenant of *Syria*; who soone after beeing accused of this crime, would (as some thinke) have uttered abroad those directions and warrants that hee had so to doe: but that SEIANUS secretly withstood it. For which, TIBERIUS was oftentimes and in many places much * blamed, and in the night season commonly called upon with this crie and note, *Redde Germanicum i.* Giue us GERMANICUS againe. The suspition whereof himselfe afterwardes confirmed and made good, by afflicting in cruell manner the wife also and children of the said GERMANICUS.

* *Iustitium*, as the maner was in any mournfull time.

* *Ni Seianus secreto obstaret*: or, *Nisi ea secreta obstarent*: but that they were in secret delivered, and therefore could not be proved.

53

Furthermore, his daughter * in law AGRIPPINA, for complaining overboldly of him after the death of her husband, he tooke by the hand, and recited unto her a (*a*) Greeke verse to this effect, *If thou hast not soveraine Rule and Dominion*, quoth he, *I thinke thou pretty daughter that thou art wronged*: *and so vouchsafed her no speech at all after.* Also, because upon a time, when shee durst not at supper tast of those appels which he had reached unto her, he forbare to invite her any more; pretending, that she charged him with the crime of attempting her with poison: when as in deede, it was of purpose plotted & packed aforehand, both that himselfe should by the offring of such fruit tempt her, and she againe beware most present and assured death. At the last, having untruly accused her, as if shee minded to flie one while to the Statue of AUGUSTUS, and another while to the Armies, hee confined and sent her away to the Isle *Pandataria*; and as shee railed at him, hee by the hands of a Centurion with whipping and lashing her over the face strucke out one of her eyes. Againe, when as shee was fully determined to pine her selfe to death: hee caused her mouth perforce to bee opened, and meate to be crammed into her throate: Yea, and after that by continuance in this minde shee consumed quite away and died in the end, hee inveighed against her in most odious and reproachfull termes: having oplused first in the Senate, that her birth-day also should bee reckoned among the dismall and unlucky dayes. Furthermore, he expected thankes, as for an high favour done unto her, in that hee strangled her not before with a cord, and so flung her to the * (*b*) *Gemonie*, and in regard of such singular clemencie as this, hee suffred a Decree to passe, *That thankes should be given unto him, and a Present of Golde consecrated unto* IUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

* *Nisi ea secreta obstarent*: but that they were in secret delivered, and therefore could not be proved.

* *Interpretum*: others read *inscriptum*. This inscription was in many places set upon his Statues.

* *Germanicus* his adopted sonnes wife, & daughter to *Agrippa* and *Iulia*.

* *Scala*.

Whereas by GERMANICUS he had three nephewes, NERO, DRUSUS & 54

faigneth folly.

39 Among other thinges, men wondered at him for his oblivion and unaduisedneſſe, or (that I may expreſſe the ſame in Greeke) his μετεωρίαν καὶ ἀλεξίαν, *i.* his groſſe over-ſight or forgetfulnes, and inconſiderate blindnes. When MESSALLINA was (by his owne commaundement) killed, within a while, after he was ſet in his dining parlour hee asked why his * Lady came not? Many of thoſe whom he had condemned to death, the very morrow immediatly after, he commaunded to have warning both to ſit in counſell with him, and alſo to beare him company at Dice-play: yea, and by a meſſenger chid & checked them as drowſie and ſlothfull for ſtaying ſo long and making no better haſt. Being minded to take AGRIPPINA to wife againſt all law of God and man, he ceaſed not in all his ſpeech to call her, *His * daughter and nourceling*: to give out alſo, *That ſhe was borne and brought up in his boſome*. Having a purpoſe to admit NERO into the very name of his owne houſe & family, as if he had not incurred blame enough already for adopting (him) his wives ſon, having a naturall * ſonne of his owne who was now of ripe yeeres, hee eft-ſoones divulged, *That never any one had beene by adoption inſerted or incorporate into the family of the* CLAUDII.

*Or Miſtres of the houſe, Domina, Grace, ſtowtnes.

*And in deede he was her Vnkle.

*Britannicus

40 He ſhewed oftentimes ſo great negligence & careleſnes what he ſaid or did, that he was thought not to know nor conſider, either who made any ſpeech, or among whom, or at what time, and in what place? When there was ſome queſtion and debate about Butchers & Vintnars, he cried out in the Senate houſe, *I beſeech * you, my Maiſters who is able to live without a little piece or morſell of fleſh?* and withall deſcribed the * abundance of the olde Tavernes (*a*), from whence himſelfe alſo in times paſt was wont to bee ſerved with wine. As touching a certaine Queſtour, who was a Candidate of his and by him recommended: among other reaſons why he favoured him, he alleadged this, *Becauſe his Father*, quoth he, *had quickly and in due time given him lying ſick, cold water to drinke.* Having in the Senate brought in a woman to depoſe, *This*, quoth he, *was my mothers freed woman, and ſhe that kept her ornaments, and uſed to deck and dreſſe her: But ſhe alwaies tooke me for her Patrone. This have I*, quoth he, *delivered of purpoſe, becauſe there be ſome yet in mine houſe, who think me not to be her Patron.* Moreover, ſitting upon the Tribunall, when he was in a great chafe, & the men of *Oſtia* requeſted at his hands (I wot not what) in the name of their towne; he cried out aloud, *That he knew nothing wherefore he ſhould oblige thē unto him: And if any man elſe*, quoth he, *I alſo am free and at mine owne liberty.* As for theſe words of his which now I will relate, they were rife in his mouth daily, yea every houre & minute therof. *What doeſt thou take (b) me for* THEOGONIUS *and* λογιώτατος? beſide many ſuch fooliſh termes, not beſeeming private perſons, much leſſe a Prince, otherwiſe not uneloquent nor unlearned: nay, rather one eagerly given to his booke, and a great Student in the liberall Sciences.

*Rogo vos, or I demaund of you:
*Or exceſsive number:

41 In his youth, he attempted to write an Hiſtorie, exhorted thereto by TITUS LIVIUS; and having the help beſides of SULPITIUS FLAVUS. And when he put the ſame firſt to the triall & iudgement of men in a frequent auditorie, hardlie & with much a-do he read it through, being often in the while coldly heard, by an occaſion that himſelfe gave. For, when, (as hee began his reading) there was ſet up a laughter, by reaſon that many of the ſeates brake with the weight

of

of a certeine corpulent and fat ſwad, he was not able to hold, no not after the tumult appeaſed, but eſtſoones ever and anon call to minde that accident and fall afreſh to unmeaſurable laughing. During his Empire likewiſe, hee both wrote much and alſo rehearſed the ſame continually by his reader. The beginning of his foreſayd hiſtorie he tooke from the time preſently enſuing the murder of CÆSAR DICTATOR: but hee paſſed over to the latter dayes: and began againe at the civill pacification: perceiving that it was not left in his power and libertie to write of the occurrents in thoſe former times, as who was often checked both by his *mother and alſo by his *grandame. Of the former argument he left behinde him two volumes, of the later, fortie-one. Hee compiled of his owne life eight bookes: a report not ſo wiſely and diſcreetly put downe, as otherwiſe elegantly penned: *Item*, an Apologie or defenſe of CICERO againſt the bookes of ASINIUS GALLUS: a peece of worke full enough of learning. He deviſed moreover three (*a*) new characters or letters in the (Latine) Alphabet, and put them to the number of the olde as moſt neceſſarie. And having publiſhed whiles he was yet a private perſon, concerning the reaſon of thoſe letters, one booke: ſoone after beeing Emperor he eaſily effected that they ſhould be brought into uſe alſo indifferētly with the reſt. And verely ſuch manner of writing with thoſe characters is now extant to be ſeene in many bookes of records in Iournels, and titles or inſcriptions of works.

*Antonia the Triumvirs daughter.
*Octavia the wife of Antonie of Livia Auguſta her ſelfe.

42

With no leſſe diligence ſtudied hee the *Greeke* diſciplines, profeſſing as any occaſion was offered, his affectionate love to that tongue, and the excellency thereof. When a certaine Barbarian diſcourſed in Greeke and Latine, ſee you be skilfull, quoth he, in both our languages; And in recommending ACHAIA unto the LL. of the Senate, he ſayde it was a province that he affected well and delighted in, for the commerce and ſociety of ſtudies common to him and them: and many a time he anſwered their embaſſadors in the Senate, with a long and continued oration (in Greeke). But upon the Tribunall he uſed very much verſes alſo out of HOMER. CERTES whenſoever he had taken revenge of enemie or traytor, he lightly gave unto the Tribune over the Sentinels and guard of his perſon, calling unto him after the uſuall manner for a watchword, none other but this

Ανδρ' επαμυναθε ὅτις πρότερος χαλεπηνῃ

Reſiſt, revenge with maine and might.
When one provokes thee firſt to fight.

To conclude, in the end he wrote Greeke hiſtories alſo, to wit twentie books entituled **Tyrrhenicoon*, and 8. entituled **Carchedoniacoon*. In regard of which hiſtories, unto the auntient ſchoole at *Alexandria* he adjoyned another bearing his owne *name: and ordained it was, that every yeare in the on of them his books *Tyrrhenicoon*; and in the other his *Carchedoniacoon* upon certaine daies appointed therefore ſhould (as it were in a frequent Auditorie) be read whole and through by ſeverall ſingle readers in their turnes.

*Of Tuſkane affaires.
*Of Carthaginian matters Called *Claudium*.

43

Toward the end of his life, hee ſhewed certaine ſignes and thoſe evident enough, that he repented both his mariage with AGRIPPINA, and the

adoption also of NERO. For by occasion that his freed-men made mention and gave their commendation of a judiciall proceeding of his, wherein he had condemned the day before, a Woman in the case of adulterie, hee avouched *That the destinies likewise had so ordained, that all his *mariages should bee unchaste howbeit not unpunished*: And soone after, meeting his sonne BRITANNICUS and *embracing him harder and more closely than his manner was, growe apace* quoth hee, and *take accompt of me for all that I have done. Using withall these Greeke* words, ὁ ἔρως δ' ἐπείγεται, *i. *Love enforced me*. And when he had fully purposed to give him being as then very young & of tender yeeres his (a) *Virile Robe*, seeing that his stature and growth would beare and permit it, he uttered these words moreover, *To the end that the people of Rome may yet at last, have a true and Naturall* CÆSAR.

*Matrimonia, or Wives like as Coniugia pro coniugibus.

* Or rather, ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰασεται, i. He that wounded will also heale, I that have done thee wrõg will make amends.

44

And not long after this he wrote his wil and signed it with the seales of al the (a) head-magistrates: whereupon before that he could proceed anie further, prevented hee was and cut short by AGRIPPINA. Whom they also who were *privie to her and of her councell, yet nevertheless enformers, accused besides all this of many crimes. And verely it is agreed upon generally by all, that killed he was by poyson: but (a) where it should be, and who gave it, there is some difference. Some write, that as he sat at a feast in the (Capitoll) Castle with the priests, it was presented unto him by HALOTUS the Eunuch his taster: others report that it was at a meale in his owne house by AGRIPPINA her selfe, who had offered unto him a mushrome empoisoned; knowing that he was most greedy of such meats. Of those accidẽts also which ensued hereupon, the report is variable. Some say, that streight upon the receipt of the poyson he became speechlesse, & continuing all night in dolorous torments, dyed a little before day. Others affirme, that at first he fell a sleepe: and afterwards, as the meate flowed and floted aloft vomited all vp, and so was followed againe with a ranke *poyson: But whether the same were put into a messe of thicke gruell, (considering hee was of necessitie to be refreshed with food beeing emptied in his stomacke) or conueied up by a clister, as if being overcharged with fulnesse and surfeit, he might be eased also by this kind of egestion and purgation, it is uncertaine.

*Conscij: Some read Conscientia quoque even his owne conscience.

*Toxico.

45

His death was kept secret until all things were set in order about his successour. And therefore, both vowes were made for him as if hee had lyen sicke stil, and also comicall Actours were brought in place colourably to solace and delight him, as having a longing desire after such sports. He deceased three dayes before the Ides of October, when ASINIUS MARCELLUS and ACILIUS AVIOLA were Consuls: in the 64th yeere of his age, and 14th of his Empire. His funerals were performed with a solemne pompe and procession of the Magistrates: and canonized he was a Saint in heaven: Which honor forlet and abolished by NERO hee recouered afterwards by the meanes of VESPASIAN.

*The 13th. of October. A,V,C.807

46

Especial tokens there were presaging & prognosticating his death: to wit the rising of an * hairy starre which they call a Comet: Also the *monument of his father DRUSUS was blasted with lightning: and for that in the same

*Or blazing.
*Or tombe.

yeare

yeere moſt of the (a)Magiſtrates of all ſorts were dead. But himſelfe ſeemeth not either to have beene ignorant that his end drew neere, or to have diſſimuled ſo much: which may bee gathered by ſome good arguments and demonſtrations. For both in the ordination of Conſuls hee appointed none of them to continue longer then the moneth wherein he dyed: and alſo in the Senate, the very laſt time that ever he ſat there, after a long and earneſt exhortation of his children to concord, he humbly recommended the age of them both to the LL. of that honourable houſe: and in his laſt Iudiciall Seſſion upon the Tribunal once or twice he pronounced openly, That come he was now to the end of his mortalitie: notwithſtanding they that heard him, greived to heare ſuch an Oſſe, and praied the gods to avert the ſame.

THE HISTORIE OF Nero Claudius Cæſar, vvritten by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



A.V.C. 586. *Caſtor* and *Pollux* reſembling two yong men.

VT of the Domitian ſtocke and name, there ſprung two famous families, to wit, the *Calvini* and the *Aenobarbi*: Theſe *Aenobarbi* have for the firſt Author of their originall, and ſurname likewiſe, L. DOMITIUS: whome, as he returned in times paſt homeward out of the countrey, two yong men twinnes, carying with them a venerable preſence and countenance more then ordinary, encountred, by report, and commanded to relate unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, newes, of that victorie whereof as yet they ſtood in doubt: and for the better aſſurance of their divine maieſtie ſtroke his cheekes ſo, as that therewith they made the

hayre of blacke, *redde, and like in colour to *braſſe. Which marke and badges continued alſo in his poſterity; and moſt of them have ſuch *red beardes. Moreover, having borne ſeuen Conſulſhips, triumphed likewiſe and beene Cenſors twice, & therwith bin choſen into the ranke of the *Patrityj*, they remained al in the ſame ſurname. Neither were they knowen by any other forenames than CNEVS & LVCIVS: & the ſame in variety worth the noting and obſeruation: onewhile continuing either of the ſayd names in three perſons together: otherwhiles changing alternatively one after another in every deſcent. For, we have heard ſay, that the firſt, ſecond and third of theſe *Aenobarbi* were forenamed LVCII: and againe, the three next following them in order were CNEI. All the reſt no otherwiſe then by turnes one after another had their forenames, firſt LVCII and then CNEI. That many perſons of this houſe deſcended ſhould be knowen, I ſuppoſe it very pertinent and materiall: whereby it may the better appeare, that NERO degenerated from the Vertues of his Auncеſtors ſo, as yet he caried away & reſembled the vices of them all, as infuſed into him and inbred by nature.

*Capillum, i, Pilum, Gellius
*Orruddy.
*Or Copper
*Orruddy.

A,V,C. 593
632
658
660
700
722
785
632
639
663

2

To fetch the beginning therefore, of this or diſcourſe ſomewhat farther of, his great Grandfathers Grandfather CN. DOMITIVS, beeing in his Tribunate much offended at the *Pontifies*, for electing any other but himſelfe into his fathers place, transferred the right and power of ſubrogating prieſts in the roome of thoſe that were deceaſſed, from their Colledges to the bodie of the people. But in his Conſulſhip having vanquiſhed the *Allobroges* and the *Arverni*, he rode through his *province mounted upon an Elephant, whiles the whole multitude of his ſouldiours attended upon him in a traine after the manner of a ſolemne triumph. This DOMITIVS it was, whom LICINIVS CRASSVS the oratour in a certaine declamation ſayd, *It was no meruaile he had a braſen beard whoſe face was made of Iron, and heart of lead.* His ſonne being Pretour was the man, who as *CÆSAR went out of his Conſulſhip (which he was thought to have borne againſt the* *Auſpicia* and the *lawes*) conuented him before the Senate to be by them examined, tried and cenſured. Afterwards when he was Conſull he attempted to fetch him backe, Lord Generall as he was of an armie, from his forces in *Gaule*: and being by the aduerſe *faction nominated his ſucceſſour in that province, was in the beginning of the civil warre taken priſoner before *Corfinium*: From whence being diſmiſſed and ſet at libertie, after he had by his comming to the *Maſſilians* ſtreightly beleagured, much ſtrengthened them, ſodainely he forſooke them: and in the end, at the battaile of *Pharſalia* loſt his life; A man not very conſtant and reſolute, but with all of a fell and ſauage nature. Being driven to utter deſpaire, he was ſo much afraid of death, which for feare he had deſired, that after a drawght of poyſon hee repented the taking thereof and caſt it up againe; yea and enfranchiſed his Phiſitian, who wittingly and of purpoſe had ſo tempered it that it might do him no great harme. And what time as CN. POMPEIVS put to queſtion *what ſhould be done to thoſe Neuters* that ſtood indifferent and ſticked to no part? He alone opined, *That they were to be reckoned enemies & proceeded againſt accordingly*

*Atauus eius, his Grādfather 4, degrees of.
*High Prieſts.

A,V,C. 631
*Gallia Narbonenſis.

A,V,C. 698

*Iul. Cæſar Dictator

A,V,C. 700
*Approbation of the gods
*The Pompeians.

3

Hee left behind him a ſonne, worthy without queſtion, to be preferred before

fore all others of his name and linage. This man being among those that were privie to CÆSARS death, and of that conspiracy, standing condemned (though guiltlesse) by the law *Pedia, when he had betaken himselfe to CASSIUS and BRUTUS his neere kinsfolke, after the end of them both, held stil in his hand the fleet committed before time to his charge, yea and augmented the same: Neither yeelded he it up to M. ANTONIUS before his owne side was every where quite overthrowen: which he then did of his owne accord; and so, as that ANTONIUS took himselfe highly beholden unto him therfore. He only also of all those who by vertue of the like law stood condemned, being restored into his native countrey, went through the most honorable offices of state: Soone after likewise, when civil dissension was kindled againe and renewed, being in quality of Lieutennat to the said ANTONIE, what time the soveraigne Empire was offered unto him by those who were ashamed of *CLEOPATRA, not daring to accept thereof nor yet to refuse it reasolutely, by occasion of sodaine sickenesse wherewith he was surprised, went and sided with AUGUSTUS, and within few dayes after departed this life: being himselfe also noted with some infamie: For, ANTONIE gave it commonly forth, *That for the love of one* SERVILIA *Nais whom he kept, he fled to* AUGUSTUS *side.*

A.V.C. 720 *Which Q. Pedius made against the murderers of Cæsar

*The present state governed according to his wil and pleasure.

A.V.C. 723.

4

From him came that DOMITIUS, who soone after had the name abroade to have beene the *chapman of AUGUSTUS goods and substance left by his wil and testament: a man no lesse renowmed in his youth for good skill in ruling of Chariots & running with them a race, as afterwards for the triumphant ornaments achieved by the *Germaine* warre; but arrogant of spirit, wastefull in expence, and therewith cruel. When he was Aedile he forced L. PLANCUS that had beene *Censor, to give him the way. Bearing the honorable offices of Preture and Consulate, he produced upon the stage to act a Commicall and wanton Enterlude, the gentlemen and dames of *Rome*. He exhibited baiting of wilde beastes both in the cirque and also in every quarter of the City, yea and a shew of sword-fight: but with so great cruelty, that AUGUSTUS was compelled of necessitie to restraine him by an edict, since that no secret warning nor admonition at his hands would prevaile.

*Dicis causa, i. by an imaginarie bargaine of sale to have bought them to the behoofe & use of the heyre.

*Censorium, not Censorem.

5

Of ANTONIA the elder, hee begat the father of NERO: an impe in all the parts of his life ungracious and detestable. For accompanying *CAIUS CÆSAR in his youth into the East-parts, where he killed a freed-man of his owne, because he refused to quaffe as much as he was commanded, being discharged therfore out of the cohort of his friends, he led his life never a whit more modestly: but both within a village standing upon the street Appia, sodainely put his horses to gallop, and not unwittingly rode over a little child and trode him to death: and also at *Rome* in the midst of the *Forum* plucked a Romane gentlemans eye out of his head, for chiding him somewhat over boldly. So false and perfidious beside, that he defrauded not onely the bankers and money changers of the prices of such commodities as they had bought up, but also when he was Pretour put the runners with Chariots besides the prises of their victories. For which prankes, reproved he was merily even by his owne sister (LEPIDA) and upon complaint made by the Masters of the foure (4) factions hee

*Sonne of M. Agrippa and Iulia, adopted by Augustus.

enacted

enacted, *That from thence-forth ever after, the said prises should be presently payed.* Being accused likewise for * treason to the State and many adulteries, as also for incest committed with his sister LEPIDA a little before the decease of TIBERIUS, yet escaped he the danger of Law by the alteration of the times, and died at *Pyrga* of (*b*) the * Dropsie, when AGRIPPINA daughter to GERMANICUS had brought him a sonne named NERO.

* *Morbo aqua intercutis*: that kind of dropsy wherein water runneth between the fell and the flesh all the bodie over, *Leucophlegmatia* in Greeke.

6

This NERO was borne at *Antium*, nine moneths after that TIBERIUS departed this world, eighteene daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, iust as the Sunne was newly risen, so as his beames * light well neere upon him before they could * touch the earth. As touching his * Horoscope, many men straightwaies gave many guesses and coniectures of fearefull events. And even a very word that his father DOMITIUS spake, was taken to be a presaging osse. For when his friends by way of gratulation wished him ioy of his sonne new born: he said, *That of himselfe and* AGRIPPINA *there could nothing come into the world but accursed, detestable and to the hurt of the weale publick*. Of the same future infortunity there appeared an evident signe upon his (*a*) naming day: For CAIUS CÆSAR (CALIGULA) when his sister (AGRIPPINA) requested him to give the Infant what * name he would, looking wistly upon CLAUDIUS his Vnkle, (by whom afterwards being Emperour (the child) was adopted), said he gave him his name. Neither spake hee this in earnest, but merily in boord: and AGRIPPINA scorned and reiected it, for that as then, CLAUDIUS went for a foole, and one of the laughing stocks of the Court. At three yeeres of age he became fatherlesse: and being his fathers heire but of one third part, yet could not he touch so much as that, full and whole, by reason of CAIUS his coheire who had seized upon and caught up before-hand all the goods: and for that his mother also was soone after confined and packt away, he being in manner destitute of all helpe and very needy, was fostered in his Aunt LEPIDAES house under two Pædagogues, a dauncer and a Barber. But when CLAUDIUS was come once to the Empire, hee not onely recovered his * patrimonie, but also was enriched by the inheritance of CRISPUS PASSIENUS his mothers husband, that fell unto him. And verily through the grace and power of his mother now called home againe and restored to her estate, hee flourished & grew so great, that commonly it was bruted abroad, *That* MESSALLINA *the wife of* CLAUDIUS *sent some of purpose to take the opportunity of his noones sleep and so smother and strangle him, as the onely Competitour of* BRITANNICUS, *and one that eclipsed the light of his glorie*. Now in the tale it went, besides that the said parties tooke a fright at a Dragon flying out of his pillow, whereupon they fled backe and forsooke the enterprise. Which fable arose upon this, That there was in deede found the * slough of a serpent in his bed about the bolsters. And yet, this slough he enclosed within a bracelet of gold (as his mother wild him) and wore it a good while after, upon his right arme: and at length, wearie of any memoriall and monument of his mothers flung it away: but in his extreamity and despaire of his estate sought for the same againe, in vaine.

* Or shone

* *Dies* layth, hee was compassed with the sunne beames: and yet no sunne appeared aboue the Horizon.

* Or Nativitie.

* Forename.

* Fathers goods

* Her Sonne.

* Or skinne

7

In his tender yeeres, and whiles hee was yet a boy of no full growth, hee acted

(*b*) It seemeth that *Nero* in his Poeme entituled *Troica*, had used to chaunt of *Nauplius* the father of *Palamedes*, who abid many calamities himselfe, and in revenge of his sonnes dearth, wrought much mischiefe to others. The *Cynicke* therefore, noteth *Nero* for his singing, as also for abusing his owne good parts in perpetrating all wickednesse, or else for mispending his treasure to dissolutely.

(*i*) Ἔφησε δὲ καὶ ὑγιαίνοι, ἂν τὴν γνώμην ἀλλάξῃ, ἀγαθὸν, φησὶ, πρᾶγμα βούλεται, ἂν μὴ μόνον τὰ ἀφάλλειν, τοῦτο καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοῦς ἀφάλλεται, καὶ ὄνος ἀφάλλεται. *Artemidor. lib.* 1. *cap.* vlt.

(*k*) By *Orcus*, or *Pluto*, taken for the God of Hell or the Grave, is understood death, in this place, readie to seize upon the Senatours, whose overthrow *Nero* had intended. Now, well knowne it is, that the manner was then, among the Romans, as at this day with us, to cary forth their dead with the feet forward.

It should seeme, this answere was delivered in these words.

Ἑξήκοντ' ἴσθι τριετηρίδας ἔνθεν ἐόντα.
Of sixtieth yeare (I doe thee reed)
And thirteenth more, see thou take heed.

Whereby *Apollo* (for his oblique answers rightly of the Greeks termed *Loxias*) or the Divell himselfe, whether you will, playing with him in a two-fold and ambiguous construction, (as his manner was) deluded him. For whiles he rested secure, dreaming still of the 73 yeare, which he supposed was meant of his owne age, and which he was farre short of, he fell into the hands of *Galba*, a man indeede of those yeares.

Rome was wont to be served of corne from *Alexandria* in Aegypt, in the time of dearth especially, when *Sicilie*, otherwise reckoned *Horreum populi Romani*. i. the people of *Romes Garner*, was not able to furnish them. Now, when in steede of corne long expected, there arrived certaine saile from thence fraught with dust and sand for the sports of his gallants: no mervaile if all the discontentment and heart-burning of the people conceived against Cornmongers and such as made gaine by the scarcitie of grayne, redounded upon NERO and his Cotgraine, redounded upon NERO and his Cotgraine, redounded upon NERO and his Cotgraine

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Servius Sulpitius Galba.

3 (a) THE like narration is reported of *Hipparchus* and *Crates* the Thebane, a Cynick Philosopher.

6 (a) *Tessera data.* How ever this word [*Tessera*] in our Author hath other significations, to wit, of a watchword, a Signall, a Tally or Ticket, &c. Yet here verily, it seemeth to be put for a Precept or Commaundement, whether it were delivered by word of mouth unto those that stood next, or in writing, and so passed through the campe, it matereth not.

(b) It may appeare, that *Gabulicus* their former Generall, had allowed his Souldiers more libertie and pastime.

8 (a) THESE were also called *Taici*, by *Tacidus*, of *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*.

(b) They tooke their name of AVGVSTVS: like as other orders afterwards, as *Flavians*, &c. of the Emperours following.

10 (a) IN habit of a woman, and with winges, holding forth a garland in the right hand, and bearing in her left one Olive braunch: as is to be seene in many Antique coynes.

(b) A truncke of a tree, or post erected: upon which hung the Armour and apparell of enemies slaine and despoiled.

14 (c) During which time, were held the festivall daies of the *Saturnalia*, Newe yeares tide and others.

19 (a) THEY used in olde time such curaces (in steed of brest plates) made of linnen webbs, folded eighteene times and more. For, so *Nicetas Acominatas lib.* 1. *vers. Isaaci Angeli*, writeth: ῥιπίσματα δὲ οἷς ἐπανατείνεται καὶ πλοκὴν ὑφαίνεται σανίδων ἦσαν; Which foulds being throughly steeped and soaked in viniger or Austere wine, with salt put thereto, and afterwardes well driven and wrought together in maner of Felt, became so tuffe, an and Armour of so good proofe, ὥστε μὴ βλάπτειν ἀλλὰ ἀποκρούεσθαι τὰς ἐκ τόξων βολάς; i. as that it would cheuse the dint of any dart or shot whatsoever.

As touching the Souldier thus reprooved by GALBA, it was IVLIVS ATTICVS, as TACITVS writeth, one of those who were under the name of *Speculatores*. i. Billmen: or *Speculatores* rather, as some would have it, employed in Espiall, executions, &c. as hath before beene noted. Heere also in the clause, *Dimota paganorum turba*, is to be understood the multitude of the people and common sort, who were not Souldiers. For so *Pagani* are taken, as in opposition to *Milites*.

20 THESE *Aurei* among the Romans, were valued at one hundred *Sestertij* a peece, so as in round reckoning, they may goe for our olde EDWARD Star-Reals, or fifteene shilling peeces. For, by exact computation, one of them ariseth to fifteene shillings, seven pence halfe penie. The fourth part iust, of the Roman pound, (conteyning one hundred Deniers or Atticke Drachmes) which maketh three pound, two shillings sixe pence starling.

(b) This place where PATRORIVS was executed, and into which they flung their heads, who by commaundement of the CAESARS were put to death, was called *Sestertius*. *Plutarch.*

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Marcus Salvius Otho.

(a) NOT without the Rampyer and precinct of the Campe, where was the ordinarie place of execution: not by the ministerie of a Centurion, who by order was deputed, to see Iustice done: but in the verie face and most frequented quarter of the Campe called *Principia*, not farre from the Lord Generals Pavilion, and where the Principall Captaines quartered and lodged: Wherein also, the maine Standard named the *Aegle* and other militarie ensignes of the bandes and cohorts were kept: even in his owne sight being Generall, whose manner was not to be prescript. 1

(a) THIS rude and grosse kinde of sport was thereupon called *Sagata*, not unlike to that pastime with us in some place called the canvasing, and elsewhere, the vanning of dogs. 2

(a) FOR, after that by commaundement of NERO, he and POPPAEA, were in some sort put asunder, he sollicited her as being his owne wedded wife to keepe him companie, which, in regard of her marriage with NERO, was held Adulterie. 3

(a) A Columne erected in the upper end or head of the *Forum Romanum*: at which, all the principall high waies in *Italy* began, with directions therein engraven, to everie gate of the Cities, leading unto the said highwaies. 6

(a) SOME read, for *ἀνδὶς ἀνδὶς*, to no good sense at all. But the former, accordeth well with IVVENAL. *Satyr.* 11. Who to the same effect saith: 7

Bucca
Noscendus est maxime tuus.

and proverbially implyeth thus much, that he was not able to manage the Empire.

(a) *Germanicique exercitus.* Which served in Campe, or as Garison Souldiers in Germanie, whether they were Romanes, Germanes or any other *Auxiliaries* from associate Nations, it skilled not. 8

(b) The manner, that who soever enterprised a worre-voyage should enter into the Chappell of *Mars*, where hung his sacred Scutcheons or Shield called *Ancilia*, and first stirre them, after that, shake the speare also of *Mars*, and say withall *Mars, Vigila*, i. Awake *Mars*. This had OTHO done, but according to the religious ceremonie, not bestowed them quietly againe in their places.

(d) This bread was made of Beane and Rice flower, of the finest wheat also, a verie *Psilothrum* as the Phisicians termie it, or a Depilatorie, to keepe haire from growing, especially being wet and soaked in some juyce or liquor appropriate therefore, as the bloud of bats, frogs, or the Tunie fish, &c. To this effeminacie of OTHO, alludeth the Satyricall, Poet IVVENAL in this verse. 13

Et prælum in faciem digitis extendere panem. *Satyra.*

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON
Titus Flavius Veſpaſianus Auguſtus.

1 (*a*)  Place in *Rome* ſo called of a building there, which ſtood upon ſeven courſes of Columnes or Pillars, ariſing all round and higher every one than other, in manner of ſo many circles or girdles.

(*b*) He meaneth not a Phyſiognomer, who hath taken upon him by inſpection of eyes, forehead, face, &c. to tell ones nature and diſpoſition: ſuch an one as ZOPYRVS was, who noted SOCRATES for to be by naturall inclination a wanton lover of women: but a fortune teller, by looking on the forehead onely. Such as in theſe daies, by the art of Palmeſtrie, for-ſooth, can aſſure folke, how long they ſhall live, and what not? If they do but ſee lines in the palmes of their hands, or by ſeaxe in the forehead, will ſay, how many wives a man ſhall have? &c. As vaine as thoſe, who by counting the letters of the husband and the wives name, will confidently pronounce, whether of them ſhall burie the other?

(*a*) By titles in this place, and many others of 3
SVETONIVS, are to be underſtood inſcriptions, teſtifying for what conſiderations ſuch Statues were erected. Such alſo were uſually ſet up at publicke executions, to ſhew the offences and cauſes why any ſuffered. A thing uſuall among the Romanes, and in their government, in what Province ſo evet, as may appeare by that which ſtood upon the Croſſe of our Saviour Chriſt.

(*a*) THAT is to ſay a white band or ribband: Such as the Royall Diademe at firſt 4
was.

(*a*) OF theſe Games, with what ſpeede and 6
celerity they were finiſhed, MARTIALIS writeth thus:

Hic ubi miraſſur velocia munera, Thermas.

(*a*) DOOING them thus much credit in the 8
eyes of the world, as to give the allowance and approbation, or otherwiſe, of the weapons wherewith they ſhould fight. For, in this ſenſe may Ornaments be taken: the rather, becauſe ſome copies have *Ferramenta*. Or this place may be underſtood of other furniture, as well as armes, wherwith they ſhould come appointed into the liſtes.

(*a*) THIS hath beene obſerved in all ages, to 9
fore-runne the death of ſome Prince. Thus, before the end of *Iulius Ceſar*, as *Virgil* writeth,

Non alias laeto ceciderunt plura ſereno
Fulgura, &c.

Horace likewiſe.

——Per purum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum.

Our owne * Chronicles alſo exemplifie no leſſe. *a little before the To ſay nothing of the freſh reſemblance of that, which happened with us three yeares ſince, in Iuly. death of king Henry the ſecond.*

(*a*) SOME write, and TZETZES by 10
name, that hee was poyſoned with eating of Seahares.

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON *Flavius Domitianus.*

1 (a) THIS was some Satyricall Poeme, of which IVVENALIS writeth thus:

——*Improbior ſatyrâ ſcribente Cinædo.* i. *Nerone*

(b) A veſtment of white linnen, after the manner of a Surplice: for ſuch prieſts thereupon were named *Linigeri.*

4 (a) TOGA *Græcanica.* Which is ſpoken χλαμυδικὸς, *prochlamyde.* i. a cloake or looſe caſſocke. For *Toga* was *Romanorum.*

7 (a) PHILOSTRATVS alledgeth another reaſon of this Edict, namely for that many ſeditious broyles and commotions were occaſioned by drunkenneſſe.

(b) Or rather, as *Caſaubonus* expoundeth [*remigrari caſtra*] that two legions ſhould not encampe in one leaguer. For, the pollicie of warre found the ſame alwaies dangerous, in regard of mutinies, that by occaſion thereof might ariſe. Souldiers, as *Dion* writeth, ἐπὶ τῷ ὄχλῳ πλείους ὁρῶντες ἀφροντιστότερον. i. Seeing their owne numbers great, grow to be ſtout and malapert.

(c) For, before time, it was thought good Policy, that ſouldiers ſhould lay up a portion of their donative, about the Enſignes within the campe, and not ſpend all their ſtocke, (which commonly they are given unto,) whereby they might be put in mynde to fight more valiantly, and not to forſake their colours, ſo long as they had ſomewhat to ſave or looſe.

8 (a) NAMELY, to be buried quicke under the ground, that is to ſay, to be let downe into ſome grot or vault, and there to be ſterved to death.

10 (a) PATREM-FAMILIAS. i. A good honeſt Citizen of *Rome*, ſuch as came to behold the Games.

(b) Vnder theſe Tyrannicall Emperours of *Rome*, that favorized, ſome this faction of Fencers and Chariot-riders, others that, it was high Treaſon and Impietie, for men to ſpeake a word, not in open place onely and in the Theatre, but alſo at home in their houſes, even in table talke, in commendation of the adverſe faction, by way of compariſon. *Martial* inviting a friend to his bourd, and promiſing that no mirth and free ſpeech at meat ſhould turne him to any daunger and diſpleaſure, writeth thus unto him,

De Præſino conviva meus vonitoque loquatur:
Nec facient quenquam pocula noſtra reum.

Now, it is to be underſtood, that *Domitius* affected the fenſers called *Mirmillones*, againſt the others named *Thraces* or *Threces*, whom his brother TITVS favoured.

(c) By *Parmularius* underſtand, him that ſpeaks favourably in the behalfe of thoſe fencers, named *Parmularii*, of the little bucklers, wherwith they were armed: otherwiſe called *Threces*, (as one would ſay *Thracians*, whoſe armature they had) in oppoſition of others which were the *Mirmillones*, who were otherwiſe appointed after the French faſhion, and therefore tooke the name otherwhiles of *Galli*, and ſo is that verſe of *Horace* to be expounded. *Thrax an Gallina Syro par?* As touching blaſphemie, no mervaile, if theſe Tyrants taking upon them to be Gods heere upon earth, held everie word derogatorie any waies unto their Majeſtie, high Treaſon and Impietie.

(d) *Domitian* and other ſuch monſterous Tyrants, as namely CALIGVLA, envied all perſons and things that were excellent. It behooved therefore *Lamia* to be ſilent, and to diſſimule what he thought, as well as he might: although, for griefe of heart, happily, hee could not chuſe but fetch a ſecret ſigh to himſelfe with a *Heu* i. *Holas.*

12 (a) I obſerve a double acception of this word CÆSAR, in this Hiſtorie penned by SVETONIVS. Firſt for a noble houſe in *Rome* whereof IVLIVS CÆSAR DICTATOR was deſcended. Whoſe line, eyther in bloud or by adoption, were called *Cæſares.* And in this ſenſe it is truly ſaid, that *Progenies Cæſarum in Nerone defecit.* i. that the race of the *Cæſars* was extinct in *Nero.* And in this ſenſe the heires apparent of the Emperours in that line were named *Cæſars.* Secondly for all the Soveraigne Emperours of *Rome* after *Iulius Ceſar.* So *Galba* and the reſt, his ſucceſſors were ſtiled *Cæſares.*

(b) This exaction levied of the Iewes, which he calleth *Iudaicum fiſcum*, was for the profeſſion and exerciſe of the religion within *Rome*: who, as *Xiphilinus* witneſſeth, were permitted before, by *Veſpaſian* his father to obſerve the rites and ceremonies of their owne religion, paying an yearely Tribute, to wit, a Didrachme. i. two Roman deniers, or fifteene pence with us. And ſo the Chriſtians afterwardes for a time had the ſame Indulgence.

(a) IN ſome copies are inſerted theſe words, *Aream & Calvitium*, to noſenſe, unleſſe ye would have him thereby noted, for his baldereſſe and fall of hayre, which ſome Phyſcians call *Area.* 15

(b) This

(b) This FLAVIVS CLEMENS, is thought to have beene a Proselite, and convert to the Iewish * Religion, by reason whereof, being somewhat mortified, and making conscience to do evill, he was reputed base minded, and as SVETONIVS saith, *contemptissimæ inertiæ*. Imputations charged by Paganes upon Christians, and the true servants of God, for their quiet cariage and modest behaviour.

* or Christianity rather

(c) Whose sonne, I would not else, he would be thought, as who put one to death, because in his publike prayers he had not made mention of him, as the sonne of *Minerva*, *Philostratus. lib.7.*

17 (d) Little Images, which *Painims* devoutly kept and worshipped, (as the Tutelare Gods of their bedchamber) within a certaine Closet called *Lararium*.

18 (e) IT may be thought by the circumstance of this place, that this *Rubor vultus in Domitian*, was a tincture of vertue and modestie. But there was nothing lesse in him, so that it was rather an hypocriticall visard and maske, under which was couched a most fell and cruell nature, as being by the iudgement of *Tacitus* more sanguinarie than *Nero*. For whereas *Nero*, *subtractis oculis*, *insitasque sceleris*, *non spectavit*, *sub Domitiano præcipua miserarum pars erat videri & aspici*, *cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus*, *sufferret servus ille Domitiani vultus & rubor*, *quo se contra pudorem munibat*. A flushing red therefore is not alwaiies a signe of grace.

(a) AT *Alexandria* in Aegypt, was that famous Librarie of King *Ptolemaus Philadelphus* and the other *Ptolomees* his progenitors and successors, conteyning to the number well neere of 700000 bookes. *Aul. Gel. Noct. Attic. lib.7. cap.17.* 28

(a) ACCLAMATIONS must be restrained heere to the worse sense, for all manner of Curses and Detestations, such as before were taken up by the people in this time, *Tiberium* in *Tiberim*, and afterwards by the Senate, against *Commodus*, that wicked Emperor, in these termes, *Hosti patriæ honores detrahantur*, *paricida trahatur*, *hostis decernatur*, *carnifex Senatus unco trahatur*, *in Sestiario ponatur*, *&c.* 23

(b) *Nerva*, *Traianus*, *Hadrianus*, *&c.* Of whom, *Sextus Aurelius* writeth thus. *Quid Nerva prudentius aut moderatius? Quid Traiano divinius? Quid præstantius Hadriano?*

Anno

Page 1 Col. 1 l. 17, for Caesius r. Caesius, col. 2 l. 17, for Camillus r. Camillus, l. 23, for Cato r. Cato, l. 37, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 39, for Cato r. Cato, l. 43, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 47, for Cato r. Cato, l. 49, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 51, for Cato r. Cato, l. 52, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 53, for Cato r. Cato, l. 54, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 55, for Cato r. Cato, l. 56, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 57, for Cato r. Cato, l. 58, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 59, for Cato r. Cato, l. 60, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 61, for Cato r. Cato, l. 62, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 63, for Cato r. Cato, l. 64, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 65, for Cato r. Cato, l. 66, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 67, for Cato r. Cato, l. 68, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 69, for Cato r. Cato, l. 70, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 71, for Cato r. Cato, l. 72, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 73, for Cato r. Cato, l. 74, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 75, for Cato r. Cato, l. 76, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 77, for Cato r. Cato, l. 78, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 79, for Cato r. Cato, l. 80, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 81, for Cato r. Cato, l. 82, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 83, for Cato r. Cato, l. 84, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 85, for Cato r. Cato, l. 86, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 87, for Cato r. Cato, l. 88, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 89, for Cato r. Cato, l. 90, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 91, for Cato r. Cato, l. 92, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 93, for Cato r. Cato, l. 94, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 95, for Cato r. Cato, l. 96, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 97, for Cato r. Cato, l. 98, for Cassius r. Cassius, l. 99, for Cato r. Cato, l. 100, for Cassius r. Cassius.

[illegible] r. [illegible], l. 45, for unpeth, r. [illegible], l. 46, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 47, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 48, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 49, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 50, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 51, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 52, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 53, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 54, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 55, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 56, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 57, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 58, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 59, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 60, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 61, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 62, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 63, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 64, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 65, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 66, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 67, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 68, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 69, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 70, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 71, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 72, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 73, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 74, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 75, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 76, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 77, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 78, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 79, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 80, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 81, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 82, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 83, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 84, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 85, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 86, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 87, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 88, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 89, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 90, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 91, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 92, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 93, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 94, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 95, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 96, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 97, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 98, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 99, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 100, for [illegible] r. [illegible].

[illegible] r. [illegible], l. 1, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 2, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 3, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 4, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 5, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 6, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 7, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 8, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 9, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 10, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 11, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 12, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 13, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 14, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 15, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 16, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 17, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 18, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 19, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 20, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 21, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 22, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 23, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 24, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 25, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 26, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 27, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 28, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 29, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 30, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 31, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 32, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 33, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 34, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 35, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 36, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 37, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 38, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 39, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 40, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 41, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 42, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 43, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 44, for [illegible] r. [illegible], l. 45, for [illegible]